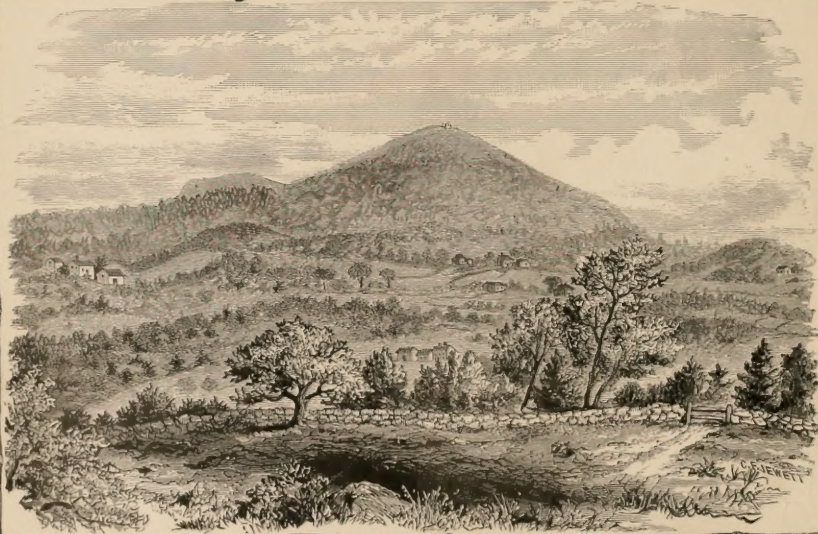
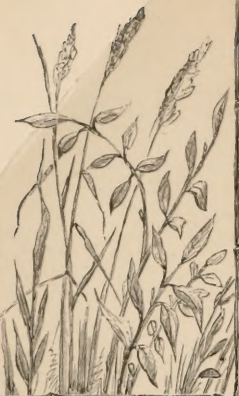


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QUINSIGAMOND



✓
HISTORY
OF
WORCESTER COUNTY,
MASSACHUSETTS,
EMBRACING A
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME,
WITH A
HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ITS CITIES AND TOWNS

—
Illustrated.
—

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:
C. F. JEWETT AND COMPANY.
1879.



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PREFACE.

IN placing before the public, for their consideration and acceptance, a work as extensive and peculiar as the present, the Publishers conceive it to be no less due to their readers than themselves, to offer some preliminary thoughts, as to the nature of the work itself, and the circumstances, felicitous or otherwise, that have attended its production.

It must, probably, be admitted as a unique feature, that this History covers, in a sense strictly local and minute, a greater space of territory than has ever before been embraced in a single effort of the kind. We certainly are not aware of any one historical work, hitherto issued, that has dealt with an area of one thousand five hundred square miles, distributed between fifty-six thrifty towns and two large incorporated cities. There would not, indeed, be very numerous cases of such a possibility. Yet this is the task which we have proposed to ourselves, and with the execution of which we now advance, as we hope, to the approbation of a candid and intelligent public.

There seems to be little need to explain our purpose, to have every town history prepared by some author of full and admitted acquaintance with the place in question. We have, we think, been able to do this in nearly every instance, even to the employment of an author dwelling on the very ground. While the effect of this system, working in compliance with a prospectus of definite historical topics, may be found to be the production of a certain mannerism in style, we cannot but affirm, that it has led to the gathering up of more and better facts, more lucidly arranged and more vividly recited, than could have been found in the work of any single writer attempting to handle the whole subject.

We have not, however, left the effort to itself, even at this point. The manuscript of the local author has been, in almost all cases, carefully examined and supervised by the best available talent, before going to press. Thus the history of the county proper has all passed under the eyes of Judge P. Emory Aldrich and Samuel F. Haven, LL. D., of Worcester, and every statement in it has been strictly verified under their direction. We desire to record our obligations to these gentlemen and scholars in the clearest manner. Also to Edmund M. Barton for his vigilant and courteous attention to the authors and publishers in their frequent visits to the Library of the American Antiquarian

Society. Likewise, for similar services rendered in respect of single towns, we present our acknowledgments to Rev. J. D. Crosby, Hon. George W. Johnson, Hon. E. B. Lynde, Hon. Freeman Walker, E. B. Bigelow, Esq., Hon. N. L. Johnson, Stephen Shepley, Esq., Rev. John Haven, Rev. Samuel May, Col. Asa H. Waters, Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., Rev. G. H. DeBevoise, J. J. Johnson, M. D., George F. Daniels, Esq., Hon. Jason Goulding, Hon. George Whitney, Samuel I. Howe, Esq., Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, Samuel M. Lane and Manning Leonard, Esqs., Charles A. Wheelock, Esq., J. G. Mudge, Esq., Bethuel Ellis, Esq., Dr. William D. Peck, Hon. Wm. Upham, and others who may have escaped our present memory. We do not fail to be deeply sensible of the value of the services of these gentlemen, both to our readers and ourselves, nor of their notable kindness in affording those services so readily.

A somewhat ripe experience in this kind of literary labor has rendered us fully sensible of many things that are almost certain to be alleged, with more or less vigor, as defects in the work after its best completion. We wish here to be well understood, when we say that we do not warrant against defects in our book. We do not believe we have included false, nor even incorrect, statements: at least we have used every exertion to prevent it. But that some facts — possibly important ones — may have been omitted, is not only likely, but the contrary would be quite incredible if not impossible. We have not undertaken to collect *all* the history of Worcester County, but we have agreed for certain classes of facts, and we think our agreement has been faithfully kept on our part.

We have endeavored to make this work essentially a Worcester County production, and in conformity with this idea the paper of the present edition was made expressly for us by Crocker, Burbank & Co., the long-established and extensive paper manufacturers at Fitchburg, and is in itself a commentary on the industry of the district which the whole work is given to describe.

In conclusion, we only ask that every one disposed to be critical of such a production, will candidly remember the difficulties that must inevitably beset the progress of every part. The result, however, is before the public. We have sought to make it not only a History, but an Exhibition of Worcester County. An equal array of its local features, in beautiful and artistic illustration, was never before brought together. The plates are in every instance new, and their execution bears evidence of good workmanship in the high art of wood engraving.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

	PAGE
PREFACE,	iii
CONTENTS,	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS,	vii
MAP,	ix
INTRODUCTION TO COUNTY HISTORY,	xi

HISTORY OF WORCESTER COUNTY, BY REV. ABELIAH P. MARVIN:

CHAPTER	I. — Topography and Water System of Worcester County,	1
CHAPTER	II. — Geological Notes,	5
CHAPTER	III. — Indians in Worcester County,	7
CHAPTER	IV. — Incorporation,	18
CHAPTER	V. — Origin of the Towns,	21
CHAPTER	VI. — Administration of Justice,	27
CHAPTER	VII. — Interesting Cases before Courts in Worcester County,	51
CHAPTER	VIII. — County Roads and other Ways of Travel,	73
CHAPTER	IX. — Worcester County as a Political Unit,	89
CHAPTER	X. — The Spirit of Worcester County in the Revolution,	96
CHAPTER	XI. — Shays' Rebellion,	99
CHAPTER	XII. — Education and Schools,	105
CHAPTER	XIII. — Societies and Associations,	133
CHAPTER	XIV. — Religious Conferences and Denominations,	145
CHAPTER	XV. — Religious History of the County,	151
CHAPTER	XVI. — Business in Worcester County,	174
CHAPTER	XVII. — The Worcester County Press,	185
CHAPTER	XVIII. — Military History of the County,	192
CHAPTER	XIX. — Four Celebrated Inventors,	196

TOWNS IN WORCESTER COUNTY:

	PAGE
ASHBURNHAM,	Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, 201
ATHOL,	George W. Horr, LL. B., 213
AUBURN,	George A. Stockwell, A. M., 240
BARRE,	Frederick Clifton Pierce, 252
BERLIN,	Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, 272
BLACKSTONE,	Judge Arthur A. Putnam, 280
BOLTON,	Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, 298

TOWNS IN WORCESTER COUNTY, CONTINUED:

	PAGE
BOYLSTON, Augustus Flagg,	309
BROOKFIELD, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin,	319
CHARLTON, George A. Stockwell, A. M.,	372
CLINTON, John T. Dame, Esq.,	385
DANA, George W. Horr, LL. B.,	408
DOUGLAS, William A. Emerson,	420
DUDLEY, Rev. Zephaniah Baker,	430
FITCHBURG, Eben Bailey,	444
GARDNER, Rev. William D. Herrick,	505
GRAFTON, Rev. John H. Windsor,	525
HARDWICK, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin,	546
HARVARD, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin,	558
HOLDEN, Maj. Isaac Damon,	570
HUBBARDSTON, William Bennett,	584
LANCASTER, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin,	595
LEICESTER, Rev. Abijah P. Marvin,	616

INDEX TO WORCESTER COUNTY,	635
--------------------------------------	-----

INDEX TO TOWNS:

ASHBURNHAM,	641
ATHOL,	642
AUBURN,	643
BARRE,	644
BERLIN,	645
BLACKSTONE,	645
BOLTON,	646
BOYLSTON,	647
BROOKFIELD,	648
" NORTH,	648
" WEST,	649
CHARLTON,	650
CLINTON,	651
DANA,	651
DOUGLAS,	652
DUDLEY,	653
FITCHBURG,	653
GARDNER,	655
GRAFTON,	656
HARDWICK,	656
HARVARD,	657
HOLDEN,	658
HUBBARDSTON,	659
LANCASTER,	660
LEICESTER,	661

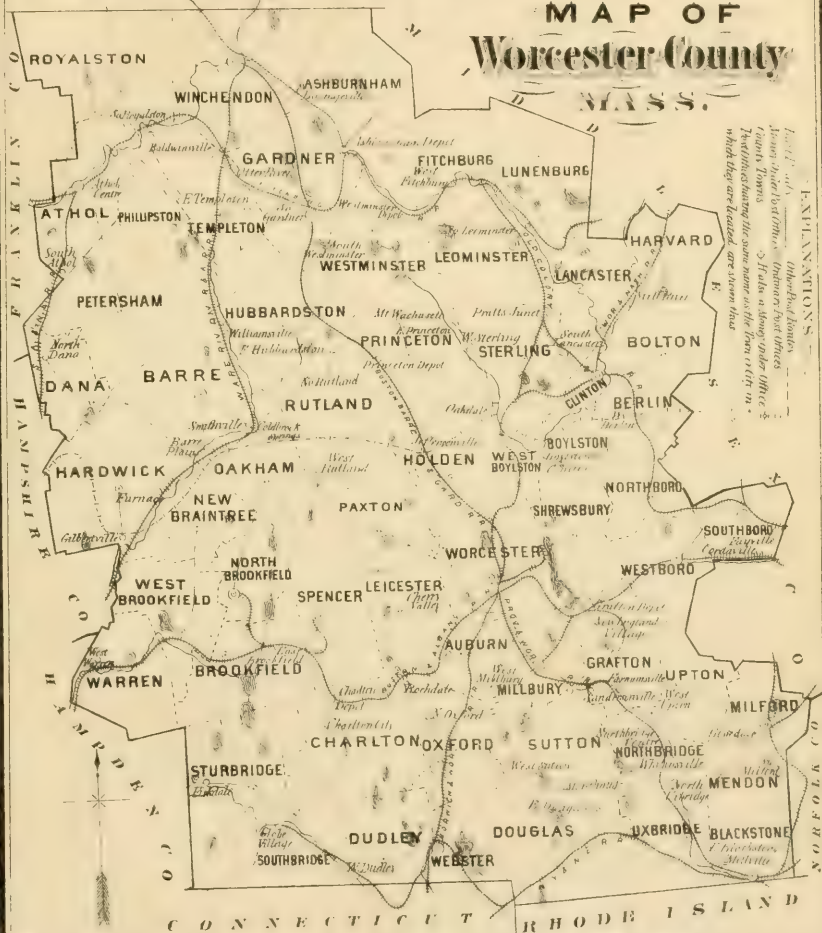
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

American Antiquarian Society's Building,	Facing page	32
First Court-house, built in 1732-3,	"	48
Present Court-houses,	"	64
County Jail, Worcester,	"	80
County Jail, Fitchburg,	"	96
Worcester County Free Institute,	"	128
Christ Church, Court-house, and Soldiers' Monument, Fitchburg, .	"	176
Cushing Academy, Ashburnham,	"	210
Mills of C. W. & J. E. Smith,	"	246
Chestnut Hill Meeting-house, Blackstone,	"	282
Old Wait Tavern, West Brookfield,	"	360
Lawrence Felting Company's Mill,	"	380
C. E. Morse & Co.'s Factory,	"	380
Town Hall, Clinton,	"	390
Reuben Gibson House, Fitchburg,	"	448
Joseph Spofford House, Fitchburg,	"	448
Fitchburg Savings Bank Block,	"	452
High and Grammar Schools, Fitchburg,	"	452
Residence of Charles T. Crocker, Fitchburg,	"	458
Residence of Mrs. S. W. Putnam, "	"	458
Union Passenger Station, Fitchburg,	"	462
Fitchburg Woolen Mill Company's Building, Fitchburg,	"	462
Residence of Samuel E. Crocker, Fitchburg,	"	466

Residence of Mrs. Eugene T. Miles, Fitchburg,	. . .	Facing page 466
“ of Rodney Wallace,	“ . . .	“ 470
“ of William H. Vose,	“ . . .	“ 470
Rodney Wallace's Paper-mills,	“ . . .	“ 476
Putnam Machine Company's Works,	“ . . .	“ 484
Woolen Manufactory of James Phillips, Jr., Fitchburg,	. . .	“ 484
Office of Crocker, Burbank & Co., Fitchburg,	. . .	“ 488
Crocker, Burbank & Co.'s “Stone Mill,” Fitchburg,	. . .	“ 488
“ “ “ “Snow Mill,”	“ . . .	“ 492
“ “ “ “Hanna Mill,”	“ . . .	“ 492
“ “ “ “Upton Mill,”	“ . . .	“ 496
“ “ “ “Lyon & Whitney Mills,” Fitchburg,	. . .	“ 496
Portrait of Hon. Alvah Crocker, Fitchburg,	. . .	“ 500
“ of Salmon W. Putnam,	“ . . .	“ 502
“ of Hon. Eugene T. Miles,	“ . . .	“ 504
Heywood Bros. & Co.'s Chair-factory, Gardner,	. . .	“ 508
Residence of Levi Heywood,	“ . . .	“ 512
“ of Seth Heywood,	“ . . .	“ 512
“ of Henry Heywood,	“ . . .	“ 516
Paint-shop of Heywood Bros. & Co.,	“ . . .	“ 516
Residence and Factory of Philander Derby, Gardner,	. . .	“ 518
First Congregational Church,	“ . . .	“ 522
First Parish Church and Memorial Hall, Lancaster,	. . .	“ 614
Town Hall, Leicester,	. . .	“ 622

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MAP OF Worcester County MASS.



EXPLANATION

- Black dots indicate towns.
- Shaded dots indicate villages.
- Thin lines indicate roads.
- Thick lines indicate the same name as the town is in.
- Thick lines indicate the same name as the town is in.

INTRODUCTION.

It is important that the reader should bear in mind the fact that the first division of this work is the history of the County of Worcester, as a county. The history of the several towns in the county is entirely distinct. A constant recognition of this distinction will prevent disappointment, and, in some cases, will forestall criticism.

A county is a unit in the commonwealth, and the historian of a county must treat of matters pertaining to it as a territorial division, created for special purposes. The first use of a county is as a judicial division of the State. It follows that a view of the judicial system of the county, and the action of the courts, must have a prominent place. This will include a list of all judges, district-attorneys, sheriffs, clerks of court, and other officers connected with the administration of justice. The county buildings, as court-houses, jails and houses of correction, are entitled to notice. It will be proper, also, to refer to some of the important cases which have excited great interest in the county in former times.

Again, a county is a political unit of the commonwealth. At the adoption of the Constitution in 1781, it was strictly so, because the State senators were chosen on a general ticket, and each one was a representative of the whole county. At present a certain number of senators is allotted to each county, though they are chosen by districts.

Thirdly, a county has, for one of its functions, the laying-out and ordering of roads, which towns are not responsible for, or are not willing to make. This business, and the arranging of railroad crossings, are among the most important duties of the county commissioners.

In some respects the Indians have a legitimate place in the history of the county. The whole of the territory out of which Worcester County was carved, formerly was in possession and under the sway of the Nipmuck or Nipnet tribe. The seven Christian Indian churches in the county belonged to this tribe. They are therefore noticed at some length in this division of the work. The sections of the tribe, as the Weshakim of Lancaster, the Qua-

boars of Brookfield, the Hassanamesetts of Grafton, the Pegans of Dudley, and some others, will have due mention in the sketches of the towns to which they belonged.

The County of Worcester has also, as a section of the State, a distinct arrangement or collocation of mountains and hills; a distinct and almost exclusive water-system connected with these elevations, and a geological formation exhibiting peculiar features, all of which transcend town limits, and must therefore be treated county-wise. Natural scenery which is peculiar to the several towns, falls into the province of the town historians, who have not failed to describe the natural beauties of the places assigned to them.

In treating of other subjects, such as education, religion, business, political affairs and secular associations, it is necessary to be confined to those aspects of these things which are general, and not confined to town or city limits. For example, Conferences, Denominations, Academies, Agricultural and Antiquarian Societies embrace many towns, and, in some cases, the whole county. None of the schools in Worcester are local institutions, except those which are supported and supervised by the city. Those not under municipal control are properly included in the history of the county. Historically considered, there were events in the Revolution and in Shays' Rebellion, for which Worcester furnished the *scene*, but the events themselves are a part of the annals of the county.

So much may be said for what is claimed as pertaining to the county history proper. A few words may be pertinent in relation to the matters which are excluded from this part of the work, and left to the town and city historians. Everything belongs to the history of a New England town. Its origin; its scenery; its inhabitants; its acts as a town; its roads; its schools; its parochial annals; its business; its military history; its characteristics; its prominent or distinguished men and women; all there is in it to be interested in, or proud of, comes within the purview of the town historian. Towns are before counties. They have more important functions, except in the administration of justice. Their history is far more interesting than that of counties can be, and to the town histories the reader must look for the matters of chief interest in this work.

HISTORY OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

BY REV. ABIAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY AND WATER SYSTEM OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

THE surface of the county is variable, consisting of valleys, plains, hills, and mountains. The elevation of the land, above the level of the sea, is from two hundred to a thousand feet, in general, with many summits rising much above the latter height. The Great Watatic, in the north of the county, whose broad base extends into New Hampshire, is more than eighteen hundred feet above tide-water. The height of Wachusett Mountain is, by good authority, two thousand three hundred and twenty feet; earlier surveys or estimates gave it a much higher elevation. In 1777, the Hon. John Winthrop reported its summit to be three thousand and twelve feet above the sea-level.

A lofty range extends entirely across the county, from north to south, with Wachusett Mountain nearly in the middle. This mountain range, with the valleys which are the beds of streams that take their rise near the base of Wachusett, includes the whole county, except the north-west corner, separated by Miller's River, and a tier of towns on the east side from Harvard to Blackstone, divided off by the valleys of the Nashua, Lake Quinsigamond, and Blackstone River.

The water system of the county is simple in one respect. Nearly all the streams and rivers flow from the central elevation. As said above, the north-west corner of the county, including Royalston and a small section of one or two other towns, is cut off from the rest of the county by Miller's River, but the largest affluents of this river are from the western base of the Wachusett range. Turning south we find the sources of Ware River, and other feeders of the Chicopee on the western base of the mountain. The united waters empty into the Connecticut. The head springs of the Quinebaug and French rivers are in the southern spur of Wachusett, and flow into Long Island Sound; while the Blackstone, rising in Holden, near its base, and in Grafton receiving the outflow of Lake Quinsigamond, flows south to Narragansett Bay. Coming to the northern and eastern sides of Wachusett, we find the main sources of the north branch of the Nashua River in Westminster and Ashburnham; and the springs of the south branch in Princeton and Rutland.

These latter flowing northerly to Lancaster, unite with the north branch; and the main stream extends to the Merrimac at Nashua, and by that channel reaches the Atlantic Ocean.

The eastern tier of towns forms a watershed. The western side of the range pours its waters into the valleys of the Nashua and the Blackstone. The streams on the easterly side empty into the Charles, the Sudbury, and the Assabet; the two latter forming the Concord, which joins the Merrimac at Lowell.

From the above description it will be seen that if travelers should start from the mouths of the Nashua, the Blackstone, the Quinebaug, the Chicopee, and the Bayquage, or Miller's rivers, and follow them up to their highest sources, they would find themselves in not remote proximity around the base of Wachusett, which rises like a grand and regular dome in the centre of the county.

The valley, which divides the eastern tier of towns from the main body of the county, is worthy of the study of the general reader as well as of the geologist. It seems to be one valley from the north to the harbor at Providence, though the two main streams of the valley run in exactly opposite directions. The Nashua turns to the north at West Boylston, and the Blackstone bends to the south at Worcester; but Lake Quinsigamond, which flows into the Blackstone, is separated from the Nashua by a short and low depression which is lifted by only a slight elevation above the intervalle at West Boylston. There are indications that the Nashua once flowed southward in a much more copious stream; and it is, perhaps, a not extravagant conjecture, that its waters poured through Quinsigamond and the Blackstone valleys into Narragansett Bay. However this may be, there is a continuous valley from Pepperell to Providence, and it is a beautiful feature in the scenery of the county.

It is expected that the historians of the several towns will note the pleasant aspects of nature in their localities. These will include objects of local pride or pleasure, as hills, ponds and valleys, confined by the limits of the township. On the other hand, the ranges of land, and the rivers which extend through the county, binding the whole together into one geographical system, belong to the county history. There is a great difference in towns, in regard to their surface, and general contour. Towns lying side by side often show this diversity in their make-up. One will be all loveliness in the mingling of hill and valley, meadow and woodland; another will be wild, rough, and perhaps grand in its outlines; while a third will have nothing either pleasant or awe-inspiring. The scenery is either common-place or vulgar, if that epithet can be properly applied to any of the works of nature. Again, there are towns in which the tourist can find nothing to please the eye, but they furnish a lofty standpoint from which a wide extent of the country is visible. The near is repulsive, while the distant is extensive and grand. At the feet of the observer are rocks, swamps, and stumpy fields, but at a distance lakes, and far-off mountains, rising in serried ridges to the clouds. There are towns which

combine the distant and the near in an harmonious whole, and therefore please the eye in whatever direction it is turned. Such townships are Petersham, Barre, Leominster, Lancaster, Worcester, not to speak of others scarcely less noted for beautiful scenery. The wildest aspects of nature, within the limits of the county, are probably in Royalston and Sutton. The wild glens, cascades, and waterfalls in the former, and the rugged, and awful chasms of "Purgatory" in the latter, are a never-failing attraction to visitors.

When the county was first explored, little was found to draw the settler hither except in the intervalles of the Nashua, and the streams which flow southward from Wachusett. The region was hilly, covered with woods, filled with wild animals, and roamed over by the natives. Insects, and snakes, often venomous, were an annoyance or a dread to the hunter and explorer. The adder, the copperhead and the rattlesnake, were to be guarded against in all places. The journals of the captains, in the old Indian wars, often make mentions of poisonous serpents. Wild-cats, wolves, and bears were common, not only preying upon tame animals, but endangering human life. We need not wonder, therefore, that leading men in Boston, not having the gift of prophecy or of statesmanlike foresight, doubted whether Worcester could ever become a "respectable county." They could not forecast the time when this wild section should be free from noxious animals, and these hills and valleys be brought under skilful cultivation, and these streams, turned to the work of driving machinery, should be lined with thriving villages and flourishing cities.

The large streams of the county, especially those dignified by the names of rivers, cut through or divide several towns, and may, therefore, come into this review without apology. The current of Miller's, or Bayquage river, from its source in Ashburnham, flows some twenty-five miles before passing into the county of Franklin; and with its chief affluent, the Otter, drains wholly, or in part, eight towns. Its flow of water is abundant, and owing to great ponds and reservoirs, is constant. The stream descends so rapidly that it furnishes numerous sites for mills and factories. This river, insignificant as it may seem on the map, is the means of life and growth to much of the business in the north-west of the county. There are many pleasant scenes on the river and its branches, lined with meadows and plains; but there is very little of that peculiar formation called intervalle.

Ware River, rising on the west side of Wachusett, has its head springs in Princeton, Westminster and Hubbardston. Gathering the water from several considerable streams, it binds ten or twelve towns into one group, on the western side of the county. It is fed by numerous ponds, which gem the landscape; and though the country it traverses is, in part, rough and swampy, yet there are reaches of surpassing loveliness on its banks.

Numerous streams, rising in Paxton, Oakham, Spencer, and the Brookfields, feed the Chicopee; and in their flow add much to the physical features of a region which has always called forth the admiration of the traveler, and

endeared it to the hearts of its inhabitants. The south-west section of the county is watered by ponds, lakes and streams, which swell the flood of the Quinebaug and French rivers and the great pond or lake in Webster, (whose bigness the Indians seem to have labored to express by its long and sounding name, Chau-bun-a-gun-ga-maug,) flash in the sunshine, ripple under the breeze, and lighten up the face of the county.

The Blackstone gathers the waters from a dozen or more towns in the south-eastern part of the county, reaching from the centre to the line of Rhode Island. The numerous ponds which diversify the landscape in Leicester and Sutton; Quinsigamond Lake, which, like a section of a great river, beautifies the borders of three or four towns, and glasses the gentle slopes of Worcester and Shrewsbury for several miles; the many artificial as well as natural ponds in Upton, Northbridge, Douglas, Uxbridge, Milford, Mendon and Blackstone, and the winding of the main river, swelled by these unfailling affluents, through its long valley, — lend a peculiar charm to the whole region.

Of all the rivers in the county, however, the Nashua is the largest within county limits, and has the greatest variety and beauty of scenery. The northern branch is fed by streams from the eastern base of the Great and Little Watatic, and the northern base of Wachusett, then flowing through Fitchburg, and Leominster, it joins the southern branch in Lancaster. This latter stream has its fountains on the eastern and western sides of the mountain, and pours its accumulated flood through Holden, Sterling, the Boylston and Clinton to the junction in Lancaster, and so on to the north. The scenery of a whole province is found in its course. Mountains, lofty hills, granite domes, gorges, rapids, lakes, ponds, reservoirs, plains, meadows, uplands and, above all, intervalles, are brought into a natural unity, and contribute to form one of the most pleasant and interesting sections of the State. Nothing can exceed the intervalles of the Nashua Valley in fertility and diversified beauty. There is a charming little vale in Holden; there is a broader sweep of alluvial plain in West Boylston, on the southern branch. On the northern, as it flows through Leominster, there is a long stretch of the same formation, adding much to the wealth of the town, as well as to its natural amenity. But the perfection of intervalle formation is to be found in Lancaster, on both branches; and the main river, for miles and miles, as the stream hurries along over rapids, or gently curves and doubles on itself, and lingers as if it loved the child of its own creation. Its channel has run, in successive ages, all over the broad valley, from side to side, and every great flood swells it to a mighty river that covers all the space between the bordering hills. The loam of not less than sixteen towns, annually brought down from the hills, contributes to the fertility of the soil and nourishes a diversified vegetation.

There can be little doubt that the intervalle has been growing more regular and even on its surface in the course of centuries. Every overflow tends to fill up hollows, and smooth over inequalities of surface. An occasional

divergence of the river from its channel leaves a dead river, or an unsightly ditch, but successive floods fill these places with the debris of forests, mills and bridges, mixed and covered with vegetable mould, until a good soil is created, and the surface of the intervale is unbroken. A great change of this kind has taken place within a comparatively brief period of time, between the junction at Lancaster and the Shirley line. There is a small body of water on the western border of Bolton and Harvard, called "Still River." On old maps this was called the "Long Pond" or "Long Lake," and was three or four miles in length, with a much greater breadth than the widest part of the main river at present. South of this lake, or perhaps a shallow continuation of it, and directly opposite Lancaster station, at the east, was a swampy tract called the "Swans' Swamp." This swamp was crossed by the main road to Concord till near the middle of the last century. It is now filled so as to be passable, dry shod, in the summer. The land is mowed and pastured. In like manner the greater part of the "Long Lake" has become solid land, and the time is coming when "Still River" will dwindle to a brook, unless the Nashua forsakes its present bed in Lancaster and seeks its ancient course in Bolton and Harvard. The banks of the river are higher than the land on the eastern side of the intervale, and at every flood the overflow tends to the eastward, carrying vast quantities of fine sand and finer loam to fill and enrich the fields.

CHAPTER II.

GEOLOGICAL NOTES.

THERE are some points of interest, though nothing remarkable to the general observer, in the geology of Worcester County. It is different, of course, to the scientific explorer. He finds "books in the running brooks" and "sermons in stones." Every ledge, rock, pebble and stone, water-worn till round and smooth as an ivory ball; every bed of clay and mass of sand; every mountain and valley and swamp; every water-course and pond, is filled with the records of countless centuries of work wrought by the elements and by perished animals whose pulverized particles have passed through a thousand forms. But, leaving this minuter scrutiny to those who have time and taste for the study, we note here merely what is apparent to the eye of the traveler.

The general rocky formation of the county is gneiss, a rock aggregated of quartz, feldspar and mica. This prevails over the western half of the county, through its whole length. The same is true of the eastern side, beginning in a narrow strip on the east of Harvard and widening to the line of Rhode Island. The exception to this general fact is found in a section beginning at the centre

and extending north and east, in fan-like shape, into Middlesex. At the north end of lake Quinsigamond, a vein of argillaceous slate a mile or two in width, appears, and gradually widening to three or four miles as it traverses Lancaster, passes out of the county. In this formation there are many beds of fine clay, especially in Lancaster, from which bricks have been made in great quantity during several generations. There is also a fine and extensive slate quarry at the north-east corner of the town. Slate in coarser variety crops out in several places.

Starting from the same locality — the north end of Quinsigamond — another vein of about the same width extends to the north and east, steadily widening till it passes out of the county towards Lowell. This formation is mica slate; and it passes through parts of Shrewsbury, Boylston, Clinton, Berlin, Bolton and Harvard, and runs parallel with the argillaceous slate the whole length of the eastern side of Lancaster.

Taking now a new starting point at the State line in Webster, we find another formation of mica slate, about two miles wide, which extends north through Oxford and Auburn to Worcester, where its width is not far from three miles. Here it joins the argillaceous slate, mentioned above, and runs parallel with it on the western side, widening as it extends into West Boylston, Sterling, Leominster and Fitchburg, where it bends to the right, and covering Lunenburg, passes out of our bounds. This slaty formation, single and narrow at the southern extremity, and triple from Worcester to the northern end, with constantly increasing breadth, is a peculiar feature in the geology of the county.

Granite, a crystallized aggregation of quartz, feldspar and mica, was formerly found in the shape of bowlders, in all parts of the county. Much of this has been utilized in foundations, piers, abutments and buildings. Immense masses of granite are located in Fitchburg, Harvard and Northbridge. It crops out in lesser proportions in many places. Good building-stone is common, especially in Worcester, where are several massive and elegant structures made of the cream-colored stone, tinged with iron, which is drawn from quarries in and near the city. The quartz rock in Bolton and Harvard bears such a close resemblance to the gold-bearing quartz of California, that geologists and old miners seem alike surprised at the absence of the precious metal. None in paying quantity has yet been found.

Formerly iron was obtained in several places, as Sterling, Hubbardston, etc., but the amount was so small, and the distance from market so great, that the mines could not be worked at a profit. The geological maps are marked with tokens of iron in Worcester, Hubbardston, Sterling, Oakham, New Braintree, North and West Brookfield, Hardwick, Sturbridge and Southbridge.

Coal of an inferior quality has been taken from a mine in the hill north-east of the city of Worcester, but the search for more and better has not been encouraged by good results.

The limestone quarry in Bolton was formerly worked, and large quantities of good lime have been burned there in early times; but nothing has been done recently, though the material is not exhausted. Steatite, or soapstone has been discovered in several places, as Fitchburg, Worcester and Millbury, but the quarries cannot compete with those of New Hampshire, and are of little pecuniary value. Greenstone, or trap, crops out in several towns, especially in a kind of group north and west of Wachusett, as in Westminster, Hubbardston, Barre and Holden. But these and other geological and mineralogical facts of local interest, will be duly noticed by the historians of the several towns.

These notes, which do not pretend to be the result of scientific study, except as they are gathered from the reports of scientists, may be properly closed by a brief extract from President Hitchcock's "Geology of Massachusetts," pp. 555-6, referring to the Worcester County clay slate. "Some geologists," he remarks, "would probably regard the slate that forms the roof and floor of the mine of anthracite in Worcester, as argillaceous slate; and maintain that the range of this slate in Worcester County, extends at least as far south as that spot. But I regard that slate rather as a fine mica slate, much impregnated with carbon, which gives it the appearance of argillaceous slate. . . . I have not found much well characterized argillaceous slate south of Boylston. And north of this place, the country is so much covered with diluvium, and so little hilly, that the slate does not often come into view. . . . Its characters appear most fully developed in Lancaster, where it has been quarried for roofing slate, and here the range is broadest. . . . It passes, on either side, into the peculiar mica slate, already spoken of in Worcester County, and in this latter rock protrusions of granite are not infrequent."

The passing remark in this extract, that the slate does not "often come into view," suggests what more recent observers confirm, that argillaceous slate is to be found in other beds than those already worked in Lancaster and Harvard.

CHAPTER III.

INDIANS IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

WHEN the English came to Plymouth, in 1620, and to Boston, ten years later, the whole territory which now belongs to Massachusetts was thinly inhabited by Indians. These were divided into several tribes. Some of these tribes were subdivided into lesser bodies. Perhaps it would be quite as correct to say, that some tribes were subordinate to the chiefs of tribes more numerous and powerful. For example, Daniel Gookin states that the Nipnicks or Nipmucks were, to a certain extent, under the tribe of the Massachusetts.

SECTION 1. *The Nipnet Country.* — The region called in early times the Nipnet, Nipmuck or Nipmug country, was nearly conterminous with Worcester County, as now bounded. Gov. Winthrop, under date of January 27, 1631, old style, writes of a journey made by himself and others, to a point which was in the present town of Sudbury, as is believed, where, on the west side of an elevation styled Mount Feake, from the top of a very high rock, "they might see all over Neipnett, and a very high hill due west, about forty miles off, and to the north-west, the high hills by Merrimack, above sixty miles off."

The "very high hill due west" could be no other than Wachusett Mountain, near the centre of Worcester County, though the distance is not more than thirty-five miles. The hills to the north-west probably included all in view from the Watatics to the Temple hills. Possibly the Leonine brow of the grand Monadnock towered up in the far distance, nearly sixty miles away. But we must remember that the country had not then been explored; much less accurately surveyed.

From Gookin we learn that the Nipnet region extended from Marlborough to the south end of Worcester County, and around by the Brookfields, through Weshakim, [Nashaway], to the northern boundary of the State. There were no boundary lines by which tribes or sections of tribes were limited. They had a centre from which the territory of the tribe radiated irregularly, according to convenience. In hunting and fishing, though not in planting, they doubtless entered the territory belonging to other tribes; or certain border sections might have been neutral ground. It is quite near enough to aboriginal fact to say that the Nipnets inhabited, in this way, the present county of Worcester, though sometimes their hunting-grounds were entered upon, in peace or war, by the Massachusetts, Wampanoags and Narragansetts on the east and south-east, and by the Pequods and Mohegans on the south. An old map makes the Nipmuck region extend beyond the Connecticut, on the west, and northward into New Hampshire.

SECTION 2. *The Number of the Natives.* — Their number was not large. According to the most accurate historians, the Indians in Massachusetts, in the first age of English settlement, did not exceed ten thousand. As they were comparatively numerous on the sea-coast and in the valley of the Connecticut, they must have been thinly scattered over the rest of the surface of the Colony. There is no proof that any settlement within the limits of this county contained many wigwams. There were Indians in Marlborough, and probably in that part of the original town which is now divided into Southborough, Westborough and Northborough, all of which are in Worcester County. There were settlements also in Sutton, or that part of it which is now Grafton, in Uxbridge, Douglas, Dudley, Oxford, Worcester, and Lancaster, including Sterling. Besides these, there were Nipnets in Woodstock, then included in this county. Perhaps there was a permanent settlement or centre at Quaboag [Brookfield], and in other localities. The natives had many places of temporary sojourn,

as in rich valleys, for planting; by good fishing places, in the season of shad and salmon, when those fish came up the Nashua; and all over the woods in the seasons of hunting, snaring and trapping wild game. They were accustomed also to visit the mineral springs for the sake of health when their simples failed of effecting a cure. The iron spring in Winchendon, which gives the name to Spring Village, was a frequent resort of the natives. Doubtless other springs were familiar to them as fountains of health.

These people, whether few or many, welcomed our fathers to their wild, sylvan solitudes, and lived in peace with them till the outbreak of King Philip's war in 1675. The magic influence of that chieftain seduced hundreds of weaker men to their undoing and the destruction of their tribe. It is a matter of history that the first English settlement in the limits of the county was made at the instance of Sholan, the chief of the Indians living at Weshakim, as Washakum was written in former times. They were sometimes styled "the Weshakim." Their realm extended down the Nashua valley, and one of their names was the Nashaways or Nashawogs. The "Indian Camp Pasture," on the south-east declivity of George Hill, is probably the site of an ancient Indian gathering place, and there Mr. Thomas King, a trader of Watertown, by invitation of Sholan, built a "trucking house," and opened a store. In a year or two the business was bought out by John Prescott, and the store was opened in South Lancaster. This was a convenience to the natives and the English, and served to bind them together in good neighborhood.

SECTION 3. *Purchase of the Lands.* — In all cases, so far as is known, the settlers bought lands of the sagamores or chiefs at a fair valuation, or paid more than they were worth to exchange among themselves. A hundred acres of wild land in an uninhabited forest was hardly worth the having. But another capital fact must be always remembered, which was this: the Indians retained the right to hunt, fish, and plant, *ad libitum*. It was also within their power, as new settlers came in, to reserve all the lands which they cared to possess.

There has been much ink foolishly wasted by ignorant writers in blaming the early settlers of this country for cheating the Indians out of their lands; but no one who has read our history aright, will join in this censure. There is an old story still afloat to the effect that one of the early Houghtons bought of an Indian chief a large tract of land for a mere trifle. Investigation would probably show, first, that the Indian had no title, the land having been previously bought of Sholan; and secondly, that Mr. Houghton gave the Indian claimant more than the land was worth to him. Our fathers held their land by a double title: first, purchase of the natives; and second, a grant by the general court. The latter adjudicated rightfully, at least in disputed cases.

SECTION 4. *The Christian Indians.* — A brief account of the settlements formed by the converted Indians finds a place here, as these organizations rose and perished long before the incorporation of Worcester County.

The names of the seven Christian communities in the Nipnet country (omitting the three in Woodstock) were, according to Gookin, as follows: 1, Hassanamisset or Hassanamisco ("a place of small stones"), in Grafton; 2, Manchoag in Oxford; 3, Chabanakongkamom, or Chaubunagungamaug, in Dudley; 4, Pakachoag in Worcester and Auburn; 5, Waentug in Uxbridge; 6, Weshakim in Lancaster; and 7, Quaboag in Brookfield. According to Eliot, Nipmuk or Nipnet was a "great country lying between Conatacot and the Massachusetts, called Nipnet, where there be many Indians dispersed." These were the Indians out of whom the Christian settlements were gathered, of whom Eliot was the missionary and apostle, and Gookin was the superintendent, by appointment of the general court, with the general and cordial concurrence of the natives. They regarded both Eliot and Gookin with respect and veneration, and ever retained confidence in them as unfailing friends.

The Indians at Hassanamisco numbered about sixty souls, gathered into twelve families. The tract was four miles square. A church was formed in 1671, with sixteen members, men, women, and children, and about thirty baptized persons. The church had a pastor, ruling elder, and deacon, in imitation of the English churches. The pastor's cacophonous name was Tackup-powillun, and the elder's name was Piombow. At Manchoag or Manchage [Oxford,] there were twelve families and sixty souls. The church was formed in 1673. The name of the pastor was Waabesktamin. The settlement at Chabanakongkamom, or Dudley, contained nine families and forty-five souls, who manifested a deeper interest in the worship of God "than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher, named Joseph, was "sober, pious, and ingenious." In the Pakachoag community, between Worcester and Auburn, were twenty families and one hundred persons, in round numbers. The seat of this people was on a fertile hill, and was named from a "delicate spring of water." The name of the sagamore was John, or Horowaninit. Mr. Eliot preached to them, as to the other settlements, in his circuit. Gookin held a court here in 1673, when his chief assistant was Wattasacupamun, a ruler of the Nipmucks. He was of the blood royal. John and Solomon were rulers of co-ordinate power. James Spere, a man of good parts and pious, was the minister. He preached two years. At this time — 1673 — Matoonus, a native of Pakachoag, was chosen a constable by the Indians, confirmed by the court held by Gookin. He was a "a grave and sober Indian."

At this court held by Gookin and his assistants at Pakachoag, it was agreed to send a "grave and pious Indian there present, called Jethro, of Natick, to be a teacher unto a people living about ten miles more to the northward, at a place called Weshakim, *alias* Nashaway, near unto an English town called Lancaster. These have been a great people in former times; but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas wars, and other ways, and are not above fifteen or sixteen families." This was about thirty years after the pioneers of Lancaster entered on the scene, at which time the Indians were more numerous. The

reader will be pleased to notice the letter which Gookin sent from Pakachoag to the Weshakims or Nashaways, about three years before the massacre : —

“ To the Sagamore Shoshanim (Sholan) and the Indian people that live with him at Weshakim : Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.

“ Whereas, the honorable general court of the Massachusetts hath appointed and authorized me to rule and govern the Indians within this jurisdiction ; and in a special manner to endeavor the promoting of religion and civility among them, I have thought it expedient, with the concurrence of Mr. John Eliot, principal teacher unto the Indians, and approbation of several of the rulers and teachers belonging to the churches of Natick and Hassanamesitt, to send unto you Jethro, a man approved in the church of Natick, to be a minister and teacher among you, and to instruct you in the good knowledge of the Lord God, and in the Gospel of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. We pray you, therefore, to receive him in the Lord, and yield ready obedience to the word of the Lord dispensed by him. And in a special manner we exhort you to keep the Sabbath carefully, and abstain from drunkenness, whoredom and powowing, and all other evils. In ready compliance herewith you will promote your own temporal and eternal happiness. So committing you to the Lord, and the word of his grace, praying for a blessing on the means, for God’s glory and your good, I remain your loving and affectionate friend for promoting your everlasting welfare.

DANIEL GOOKIN.”

But it was not enough to send a religious teacher ; he was to be accompanied or supported by a man in civil authority. How this was secured is set forth in the following statement, in Gookin’s relation : “ After this business was over, — that is, the regulation of affairs at Pakachoag and the appointment of a minister for Weshakim, — it being night before we had finished the court, there was an Indian present which had come into the wigwam about an hour before. He was belonging to Weshakim or Nashaway. This Indian desired liberty to speak ; which being admitted, he made a speech with much affection and gravity, to this effect : to declare that he belonged to Weshakim near Nashaway ; and that he was desirously willing, as well as some others of his people, to pray to God ; but that there were sundry of that people very wicked, and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed among them. And therefore he earnestly importuned me that I would put forth power to help in that case to suppress the sin of drunkenness. When I asked him whether he would take upon him the office of a constable, and I would give him power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strong drink from them, and bring the delinquents before me to receive punishment, his answer was that he would first speak with his friends ; and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, then he would come to me for a black staff and power. I asked him whether he were willing to have Jethro go and speak to them, to which he readily complied, and seemed joyful thereat. After discourse we concluded with singing a psalm and prayer, and so retired to rest.”

This was about twenty years after the incorporation of Lancaster, and before any other town was settled in the region. Eliot and others began to labor among the Indians in the lower towns many years preceeding this date, and had probably preached already within the limits of Worcester County, inasmuch as the Indians were now collected into several settlements as Christian converts, with a church and a civil organization.

In this noble and beneficent work, Eliot and Gookin worked like brothers. Both stood high in their respective walks in life. Eliot was the respected pastor of the church in Roxbury. He was a graduate of Cambridge University, England, and a superior scholar as well as preacher. Besides attending faithfully to his own flock, he became the "apostle to the Indians," seeking first their spiritual elevation, but looking after their prosperity in all their ways of life. Gookin was a man of sense and energy. He was not a dreamy, unpractical philanthropist, but had a keen sense of what was best for the wild wards put under his government by the general court. For a term of years he was the senior military officer in the colony, ranking as major-general. The Indians never had better friends than these two men, and they soon had sore need of them. It appears from the foregoing narrative that Gookin and Eliot had perfected their plans for the government and instruction of the natives of this county in 1673; and there was a prospect that these wild denizens of the woods would become peaceable and industrious cultivators of the soil, with homes, schools, and churches. Many became converts to the Christian religion, and many more placed themselves and their children under Christian influences. They had already abandoned heathen rites, and had learned to pray to God, and praise the Most High in sacred psalmody. Their two friends rejoiced in what had been already effected, and looked forward to brighter results. But a dark spirit was abroad, moving stealthily among the tribes, and involving the converts in a common effort and a similar ruin. Philip of Pokanoket, son of Massasoit, and great chief of the Wampanoags, was already laying his plans and weaving his plots by which the Indians under his direct control or indirect influence were soon roused to action, and hurried on to their destruction.

SECTION 5. *Indian Wars in Worcester County.* — The story of Philip concerns us at present, only so far as he operated within the limits of the county. He commenced hostilities near his own home at Mount Hope by an attack on Swansey in June, 1675. Already the towns of Medfield, Sudbury, Marlborough, Groton, and Lancaster had been marked for destruction, and in a few months the fell design had been put in execution. Brookfield was the second town within Worcester limits to feel the blow. This town was incorporated in 1673, and in less than two years, when there were about twenty families, it was utterly destroyed. Philip had already drawn a part of the Nipnet tribe into his scheme, as is supposed, because they had killed, in July, four or five people at Mendon. The governor and council, in order to prevent the spread

of a hostile feeling among the tribe, sent messengers to Brookfield, where there was to be a great gathering of the natives, with several sachems. Capt. Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, with a company of about twenty of the men under his command, was ordered on this service, having Capt. Edward Hutchinson as a colleague. They arrived on Sunday, August 1, old style, and sent a message to the Indians with overtures towards a treaty. Three of the chief sachems promised to meet them the next morning near the head of Wickaboag Pond, some distance west of the meeting-house in what is now West Brookfield. The officers with their men and several prominent inhabitants went to the place of rendezvous at the time appointed, but the sachems did not appear. They then returned on their journey four or five miles towards the Nipmets' chief town, in search of the Indians. While in a close defile, between a steep hill and a narrow swamp, the English were ambuscaded by a party of two or three hundred Indians, when eight men were killed and five were wounded. Capts. Wheeler and Hutchinson were among the wounded; the latter mortally, though he was carried while yet alive to a fortified house. The survivors escaped by a by-path to Brookfield, and took refuge in a house where all the people had assembled for safety. While thus shut up they saw, in helpless agony, their homes, outhouses, and farms in flames.

In an hour after reaching the house, the officers sent two men, Ephraim Curtiss of Sudbury, and Henry Young of Concord, to Boston, to carry the evil tidings, and implore needed succor. They made the daring attempt, but were unable to get through the cordon of Indians. In about an hour, Curtiss made another unsuccessful attempt. But with true pluck he started again towards morning, and managed to elude the enemy. He reached Concord, after a hard and dangerous march, though much spent and worn by travel, exposure, and hunger. Resting, he revived, and hastened to Boston. In the meantime the Indians endeavored to set the garrison-house on fire. These attacks were kept up the two succeeding days and nights without success, when Major Willard arrived with forty-six men, and raised the siege.

While Major Willard (a former resident of Lancaster, but then living at Nonacoint, or Ayer) was on this expedition, an attack was made upon Lancaster, August 22, old style, when eight persons were killed in different parts of the town. The design of the enemy in attacking these outposts of the English was, doubtless, to break them up, and thus clear a wide extent of country for their hunting-grounds. They could hardly have hoped to destroy the towns near the coast. The raid on Lancaster was marked by violence and murder; but the place, unlike Brookfield, was not destroyed. Some fifty families still remained, the larger part of them within a mile of the meeting-house.

On the first of September, Lieut. Phinchas Upham, of Worcester, was sent with a hundred men into the Nipmet country to destroy planting-fields and burn wigwams, in order to distress the Indians in the coming winter. Gookin

says that this company attacked the villages of praying Indians only. The white people had begun to lose confidence in the praying Indians. It is due to truth to say, also, that many of the whites felt no interest in the converted natives, and did nothing to second the praiseworthy efforts of Eliot and Gookin for their elevation.

In November, the good Indians of Massanamisco were captured by the hostile natives in league with Philip. Wattasacompanum, the chief, having been seduced by Philip, broke faith with the English and the Christian Indians, and drew most of the tribe after him. This effect was produced in almost every place where Philip appeared in person. There are some in our day who doubt Philip's courage. According to them, he had a most unwarlike aversion to scenes of personal danger. But none can deny his wonderful address and power of persuasion. His success at Grafton was of a piece with the policy which bound many tribes, spread over a wide reach of country in a temporary confederacy.

As soon as the council heard of this outrage, they sent Capt. Henchman and Capt. Sill to range the country. At Massanamisco they rescued some captives and then marched to Pakachoag [Worcester], where they found corn in abundance. The Indians concealed themselves, prudently avoiding the swords of such bold riders as Henchman and Sill. A cold and wet night came on, and the soldiers lodged in two deserted wigwams. In the morning they vainly searched for the enemy who lurked in the woods and swamps. They found, however, one hundred bushels of gathered corn, and a large quantity still standing in fields. Shortly after the party left the place, on their return to Grafton, the captain had occasion to send back a few of his men in search of a missing article, when Indians were found in and around the wigwams. It seemed as if they had sprung up from the earth.

During the winter of 1675-6 a large number of Indians gathered around Wachusett. Besides the native capital at Weshakim, they had a station nearer the eastern part of Wachusett, not far from the border of Sterling and Princeton. The old sagamore of the Nashaways, and his son, both friends of the English, were dead. The new sachem, Matthew, or Sagamore Sam, a nephew of Sholan, was of a different stamp, and became an easy dupe of the chief of Pokanoket. In his wigwam, between the Weshakim lakes, the plan was laid for the utter destruction of Lancaster, in the winter of 1676. Philip was among them early in the year, and while the whites were feeling secure in the notion that the natives had retired to winter quarters, the latter were preparing for a terrible campaign while yet the winter lingered.

At length, by the tenth of February, 1675 (old style), and the twenty-first 1676 (new style), a force of fifteen hundred men had been collected from near and far by Philip for the purpose of making a perpetual desolation of the beautiful settlement at the "meeting of the waters," or Lancaster. The minute description of the attack, the massacre, and the burning, the torture, and

the captivity, belongs to the history of the town. Suffice it to say here, that the attacking force was divided into five parties, one of which is generally supposed to have been led by Philip. They fell, in the early morning, upon five different garrisons, and probably killed some persons in or near each one of them. But the main attack was upon the garrison house of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, the minister of the place, who was absent in Boston, with two brothers-in-law, whither they had gone soliciting aid in apprehension of impending danger. The peril came sooner than they expected; and before they returned the whole settlement was a ruin. Many had been slain, many had been carried captive, many had fled; and the remnant who remained were shut up in two houses, one in Centre and the other in South Lancaster, not daring to go out lest the bullet of a concealed Indian should lay them low. Half the houses were burned. As soon as the General Court had sent soldiers and teams to remove the trembling people, imprisoned in their garrisons, the Indians came from their lairs, and set fire to every remaining dwelling but one, and the meeting-house. Death reigned. A smoky canopy hung like a funeral pall over the lovely valley, still beautiful in its desolation.

In April, May and June, 1676, soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, traversed the country in search of the enemy. They crossed this county, near the centre, going west and east. Some marched as far as the Connecticut River. It was supposed, at one time, that Philip was at Quaboag, and at another at Pakachoag, but if so, he left before the arrival of the troops. During this season of marching and counter-marching, an attack was made on a party at Weshakim. White man or converted Indian was the same to Philip, unless he had a peculiar hatred to a countryman who owned the Christian's God.

Henchman made a report, dated at Marlborough, June 30, which gives a glimpse of men and things in those old days. He ordered a party, under command of Capt. Joseph Sill, "with sixteen files of soldiers, all my troop, and the Indians, excepting one file, being all we could make provision for." The bread which had been promised, fell short in quantity and proved to be mouldy, so that the rest of the men had but one biscuit per man. This party (Capt. Sill's) was "ordered towards Wachusett, and so to Nashaway and the Weshakim ponds, and so to return to this place."

By this war, the Nipnets or Nipmucks, who had been seduced by Philip, were involved in his ruin. Many were killed in war, or died of hardships induced by war. Some, who were taken prisoners, were executed as murderers or sold into slavery, as men who could not be trusted to keep faith with the colonists. In general, they deserved their fate, according to the laws of war, because they had broken away from their engagements, treacherously rising up against those with whom they had been living in peace and amity. Without declaring war or giving note or warning, they came out of the forests, and fell upon houses and settlements from which no injury or provocation had proceeded. To-day they visited the whites in the guise of friends. Before the dawn of another

day, they came with torch, tomahawk and gun, to kill, burn and destroy. There is no doubt that Philip's scheme embraced the complete extermination of the white settlements, as he exerted himself to rouse the jealousy and hatred of all the Indians in New England. It is the belief of some that he went to Canada in the early part of the winter of 1675, to engage the co-operation of the French and Indians in the fell work of annihilating the English, and preserving the country for his race. Disdaining to accept the religion and civilization of the white man, resolving not to coalesce with him, or live in amity with him, the Indian put everything to hazard, and lost all. The fittest survived; and now the land is filled with millions of civilized people in place of a few wandering savages.

However, we cannot read the story of Indian extinction or expulsion without a feeling of sadness. The conviction that they brought their doom upon themselves, reveals the depth of their barbarism, and excites regret that they could not be reclaimed. But the fate of the Christian Indians was peculiarly sad. Some were easily led away by their heathen friends; others were, in a measure, compelled to join the war against the colonists on pain of violence and death. One said in excuse of his apostacy from religion, and violation of his engagements to the Colony, that he held firm until the day when Philip came to a meeting of the tribe, when the influence of that chieftain was such as to carry all before him. Death was pronounced against those who would not join in the war of extermination.

But there were many in the Christian settlements who clung to their religion, and adhered to their English friends, under the most violent temptations to break faith, who, nevertheless, were distrusted by the colonists, and treated as enemies. Even Gookin, their friend, though a man of character and reputation, was in danger of being stoned in the street, because he took their part, and labored for their protection. Even the saintly Eliot became odious to some, because of his zeal for the welfare of his dusky brethren. Looking at this side of the historic picture, we are incited to condemn our forefathers for cruelty. But when we remember that they often met in battle men whom they had trusted and kindly entreated as converts; when we bring before us the false Indian who had been welcomed to the settler's house, coming by night with the bloodthirsty heathen, and smiting the tomahawk into the skull of wife or child, can we wonder that a feeling of distrust and anger spread through the Colony? How deep this distrust was, may be seen in the "Reminiscences of Mrs. Rowlandson," that wonderful little book, of which Edward Everett said: "It is almost enough to make one faint to read the simple narrative."

The power of the Nipmets was broken in King Philip's war, and the survivors left the region, some going to the East, and some to the West, except a few who were allowed to inhabit their old haunts, and hunt in their ancestral woods. A small number, called by Whitney the "Pegan tribe," lived in

Dudley. The old meeting-house in that town was on the summit of a hill, where the tribe gave four acres of land for a site, "on condition that all of their tribe, who should ever inhabit the town, should have the right to convenient seats in the meeting-house on days of public worship." As late as 1790 there were about a dozen of this tribe left, who owned some two hundred acres of good land near the centre of the town. They were cared for by a committee of the General Court.

One result of Philip's war was the opening of this whole region to the occupation of the white man; but this settlement was impeded by raids of Indians from distant places, under the inspiration and leadership of the French, who did not abandon the policy of conquering New England until the battle of Quebec extinguished their hopes, and secured, in its consequences, North America to the English-speaking race.

There was fighting in the limits of this county for a period of forty years after the peace of 1676; but as the particulars of the various local attacks and combats will be found in the history of the towns where they occurred, it will not be necessary in this place to do more than refer to the facts in the order of time.

In 1692, July 18, the Indians killed the wife and three children of Peter Joslin, and the widow Whitecomb residing in his family, in Lancaster. This was, perhaps, the first attack in this county, in King William's war. Not far from the same time, a raid was made upon the French Huguenots in Oxford. They were settled in 1686-7 in the east part of the town, but in a few years they were distressed and driven away by the Indians, who killed a man and one or two of his children, while his wife, with a child in her arms, escaped and went on foot, by night, nearly fifteen miles to Woodstock, where she found refuge in a garrison. This town was molested in after years, but no death was the result unless that of one of the assailants, who was shot by a lone woman, when he, with three others, was breaking into her house. The Indians retreated carrying their dead or wounded comrade. In 1692 a number of men, women and children, in Brookfield, were killed; others wounded, and others still carried away captive.

Lancaster was visited again in 1695, when one man was mortally wounded; and again in 1697, September 11, at which time they killed twenty men, women and children, wounded two persons, and carried six into captivity. One of the killed was the minister, Rev. John Whiting, who was scalped.

In the previous year, 1696, the Indians making hostile manifestations, in Woodstock, Major Fitch of Norwich, Conn., with a company of twelve soldiers and thirty-eight Norwich, Mohegan and Nipnet Indians, marched to the scene and continued through Oxford and Worcester to Lancaster, whence he sent a report, dated August 31, to Lt. Gov. Stoughton, commander-in-chief.

In the course of Queen Anne's war, the town of Brookfield suffered terribly.

A number of the inhabitants were killed and scalped, and others were captured. In the year 1710, six men were waylaid and shot.

Worcester was the scene of Indian hostilities in 1702, when Dickery or Diggory Sargent was killed. It seems that this man persisted in living on his farm though all the other settlers had left, and Worcester was broken up, about the time that a section of Lancaster was burnt. Sargent, as said above, clung to his place when Worcester was abandoned. A party of soldiers was sent to remove him and his family to a place of safety. They stayed, through a night dark with storm and snow, about two miles from Sargent's house. In the morning they found him on the floor of his house, dead and weltering in his blood. The Indians had just killed him, and had taken away his wife and five children. The mother, faltering with fatigue and suffering, as she ascended a hill, in the west part of the town, was killed. It was in this wise: a chief stepped out of the file and appeared to be looking off into the fields or woods, in search of game. Just as Mrs. Sargent had passed him, unsuspecting, he suddenly whirled and with one blow smote her dead.

In July, 1704, a party of French and Indians killed several persons in Lancaster, and burnt several buildings, including the second meeting-house. Other attacks followed, and the town had no settled peace until 1710. Sterling, then belonging to Lancaster, was, in 1709, the scene of a fierce battle, when nine Indians were slain. The place has since been known as *The Indian Fight*.

The town of Rutland, lying farther west, was more exposed to Indian attacks in King George's war, than the settlements on the eastern border. As late as 1723 two sons of Deacon Joseph Stevens were killed, and two carried prisoners to Canada. On the same day, August 14, the Rev. Joseph Willard, after a brave defence, was slain by four of the enemy. A year later, three persons were killed, one was wounded, and another was made prisoner. For other incidents of Indian warfare in Worcester County, which are exceedingly interesting, the reader must consult the histories of the several towns in which they occurred.

CHAPTER IV.

INCORPORATION.

THE county of Worcester was "erected, granted, and made" by an act of the General Court, dated April 2, 1731. Jonathan Belcher was the royal governor at the time, and the tradition is that he did not encourage the measure, though he put his signature to the act of incorporation. Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards governor, was a member of the General Court, and he is said, according to Whitney, to have "strenuously opposed" the formation of

a new county, "urging the utter impracticability of its ever making any figure." As the territory which was included in the new county was, with the exception of a few valleys, the "hill country" in the centre of the State, from New Hampshire to Connecticut, they did not believe that it would be attractive to settlers. Their evil prognostications were speedily disproved. By the year 1790, the polls of the county exceeded those of Suffolk, Essex, or Middlesex. Only one county had a greater number. Hampshire County, which then included Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden counties, numbered 13,912; while Worcester County had 13,762. The valuation of Worcester County exceeded that of all Hampshire, was greater than that of Middlesex, nearly equalled that of Essex, and was more than three-quarters of that of Suffolk.

The act of incorporation was in the following words:—

"An act for erecting, granting, and making a county in the inland part of this province, to be called the County of Worcester, and for establishing Courts of Justice within the same.

"Be it enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the towns and places hereafter named and expressed, that is to say, Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland, and Lunenburg, all in the county of Middlesex; Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton, including Hassanamisco, Uxbridge, and the land lately granted to several petitioners of Medfield, all in the county of Suffolk; Brookfield, in the county of Hampshire, and the south town laid out to the Narraganset soldiers; and all other lands lying within the said townships, with the inhabitants thereon, shall, from and after the tenth day of July, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, be and remain one entire and distinct county, by the name of Worcester, of which Worcester to be the county or shire town. And the said county to have, use, and enjoy all such powers, privileges, and immunities as by law other counties within the province have and do enjoy.

"And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be held and kept within the said county of Worcester, yearly and in every year, at the times and place in this act hereafter expressed, a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, to sit at Worcester, on the second Tuesdays of May and August, and the first Tuesdays of November and February, yearly and in every year, until this Court shall otherwise order: Also, that there shall be held and kept at Worcester, within the said county of Worcester, yearly and in every year, until this Court shall otherwise order, a Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, to sit on the Wednesday immediately preceding the time by law appointed for the holding the said Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, at Springfield, within and for the county of Hampshire: And the Justices of the said Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, respectively, who are, or shall be, thereunto lawfully commissioned and appointed, shall have, hold, use, exercise, and enjoy, all and singular, the powers which are by law given and granted unto them, within any other counties of the province, where a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Inferior Court of Common

Pleas, and Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery are already established.

“Provided, That all writs, suits, complaints, processes, appeals, reviews, recognizances, or any other matters or things which now are, or any time before the said tenth of July, shall be depending before the Judges of Probate within part of the said county of Worcester, shall be heard, tried, proceeded upon, and determined in the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Hampshire, respectively, where the same are or shall be returnable or depending, and have, or shall have, day or days.

“Provided, also, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to disannul, defeat, or make void any deeds or conveyances of lands, lying in the said county of Worcester, where the same are or shall be, before the said tenth of July, recorded in the Register's office of the respective counties where such lands do now lie; but that all such deeds or conveyances so recorded shall be held good and valid as they would have been had not this act been made.

“And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, at their first meeting in the said county of Worcester, shall have full power and authority to appoint some meet person, within the said county of Worcester, to be Register of deeds and conveyances within the same, who shall be sworn to the faithful discharge of his trust in the said office, and shall continue to hold and exercise the same, according to the directions of the law, until some person be elected by the freeholders of the said county of Worcester, who are hereby empowered to choose such person, on the first Thursday of September next ensuing, by the methods in the law already prescribed, to take upon him that trust. And until such Register shall be so appointed by the said justices, and sworn, all deeds and conveyances of lands lying within any part of the county of Worcester, which shall be recorded in the Register's office of the respective counties where such lands do now lie, shall be held and deemed good and valid, to all intents and purposes, as to the recording thereof.

“And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the methods, directions, and proceedings by law provided as well for the electing and choosing a Register of deeds and conveyances as a county Treasurer, which officers shall be appointed in the same manner as is by law already provided, on the first Thursday of September next, and also for the bringing forward and trying any actions, causes, pleas, or suits, both civil and criminal, in the several counties of this province, and Courts of Judicature within the same, and choosing of Jurors to serve at the Courts of Justice, shall attend and be attended, observed and put in practice within the said county of Worcester, and by the Courts of Justices within the same: Any law, usage, or custom to the contrary, notwithstanding.

“Provided always, That the inhabitants of the several towns and places hereinbefore enumerated and set off a distinct county, shall pay their proportion to any county rates or taxes already made and granted, in the same manner as they would have done had not this act been made.”

By the above, it appears that the new county comprised thirteen organized towns, besides grants and unsettled territory. The first eight towns were Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland and Lunenburg. These were taken from Middlesex County. The next

five; viz., Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton and Uxbridge, were taken from Suffolk County, and Brookfield was taken from Hampshire. Massanamisco was reserved for the Indians when the town of Sutton was granted. This became Grafton in 1735. The "land lately granted to several petitioners of Medfield," was settled by Medfield people, and hence was styled New Medfield until the town of Sturbridge was incorporated in 1738. The "south town laid out to the Narraganset soldiers," became Westminster when the town was incorporated in 1759. Woodstock was then considered as belonging to Massachusetts, but the inhabitants chose to be under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. There was a long controversy about the matter, which is related in the old books, but is not now of general interest. It is enough to say that from the year 1713, Woodstock, together with Enfield and Suffield, paid taxes to Massachusetts, and were in our General Court until the year 1748, when they revolted and were received into the colony of Connecticut. Massachusetts held to her claim, though the towns paid no taxes, and ceased to send delegates to our General Court, down to the Revolution. Since that event, by consent of all parties, Woodstock has ceased to be a component part of Worcester County. From the time when the line was settled between Massachusetts and Connecticut, the boundaries of the county have been substantially as follows: On the north by New Hampshire; on the east by Middlesex and Norfolk counties; on the south by Rhode Island and Connecticut, and on the west by Franklin, Hampshire and Hampden counties. There have been slight alterations on the eastern and western boundaries to suit the convenience of the people in forming new towns.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF THE TOWNS.

UNDER this head the genesis and growth of the county will be given in the order of settlement and incorporation.

Lancaster antedates all the other towns in the county by several years. The settlement began in 1643; the town was set off by acts passed in 1653 and 1654. The area of the town was ten miles by an average of seven in width, or seventy square miles, though the grant allowed more. In 1713, a tract ten miles long by four wide was annexed, making one hundred and ten square miles. The towns of Harvard, Bolton, Berlin, Leominster, Sterling and Clinton were almost wholly taken from Lancaster, which also gave a large section to the towns of Boylston and West Boylston.

Mendon came next, though when first occupied by settlers is unknown. The act of incorporation was passed in 1667, May 15. The original grant was

eight miles square, but the boundaries as given in 1667 were irregular, and included more territory, as the whole of Uxbridge and a large part of Northbridge, Upton, Milford and all of Blackstone have been severed from its ample domain. Bellingham, in Norfolk County, was taken, in part, from Mendon.

Brookfield was granted to petitioners in Ipswich, by the General Court in 1660. The grant was six miles square. The inhabitants were incorporated in 1673, but a committee of three gentlemen, not residents, was appointed by the court to "direct, regulate and ratify all affairs relative to settling and building up the town." This arrangement continued till 1718, at which time the court enlarged the town to the size of eight miles square. From this town have been formed North and West Brookfield, and a part of other towns.

Oxford was granted to Gov. Joseph Dudley and others in 1682, and, having been surveyed, the court authorized the plantation, next year, May 16. The grant was eight miles square, but the survey, as usual in those times, was very liberal, being about twelve miles long from east to west, and nine miles wide. The sixty-four square miles granted, were enlarged to not far from one hundred square miles.

Worcester was granted to Daniel Gookin and others in 1668, October 24, as a township of land somewhat more than eight miles square. Certain men were incorporated in 1684, but did not begin the settlement until the next year. The first town-meeting was held thirty-eight years later, on the last Wednesday of September, 1722.

Sutton was purchased of John Wampus, sachem, and his company of Indians, by several white men at an unknown date. The purchase was confirmed in 1704, and the township was formed in 1715, June 21, by the General Court. Grafton, Upton, Northbridge and Millbury have drawn largely from its original area.

Leicester was originated by a grant, February 10, 1713, to Col. Joshua Lamb and others. It was incorporated about 1721, and the first town-meeting was held on the sixth day of March in that year. The grant was eight miles square. Spencer was wholly taken from this town, and also parts of Paxton and Auburn.

Rutland was purchased, in 1686, December 22, of Joseph Trask, alias Pua-gastion, and other Indians, by Henry Willard, Joseph Rowlandson and others of Lancaster. The purchase was twelve miles square. The title was confirmed by the General Court, in 1713, February 23, when the name of Rutland was substituted for Naquag.

Westborough was the western section of Marlborough, and was cut off, by act of the General Court, in 1717, November 18. It had been partially settled many years before.

Uxbridge was separated from Mendon by the General Court, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1727. It was about twelve miles long until the northern part was cut off, in 1772, and incorporated as Northbridge.

Southborough was settled while a part of Marlborough, but was not incorporated till the year 1727, on the sixteenth of July.

Shrewsbury was granted to petitioners residing in Marlborough, and a few others, in 1717, and was about fifteen miles long, north and south, and nearly an average of four miles wide. The town was incorporated December 19, 1727. The north part of the township was formed into the town of Boylston.

Lunenburg, the thirteenth town, in the order of date (Woodstock being omitted), was probably entered upon by white settlers as early as the year 1700. The General Court, November 14, 1719, made a grant of the territory to a number of gentlemen, but the town was not incorporated till August 1, 1728, when it was named in honor of George II., Duke of Lunenburg, who came to the British throne in 1727.

This completes the list of the towns which were incorporated before the establishment of Worcester County. Their dates are all according to the old style, or eleven days earlier than the present date:

Dudley was the first town incorporated after the county was erected. A careless reader would date its origin as earlier than that of the county. For example, Whitney dates the town as follows: "February 2, 1731," and the county: "April 1, 1731," or two months later than the origin of the town. But he follows old style, when the year began in March. Therefore, April 1, 1731, preceded February 2, 1731. In new style we should read April 12, 1731, and February 13, 1732. The grant was originally to Paul and William Dudley, and comprised the present towns of Douglas, Webster, Dudley, Southbridge and Sturbridge.

Harvard was taken from Lancaster, by act of the General Court, June 29, 1732, when it contained about fifty families. Part of its area was taken from Stow and Groton.

Grafton, called by the Indians *Hassanamisco*, was incorporated April 18, 1735. It was originally four miles square, but it was enlarged, in the course of time, by the addition of a strip half a mile wide, on the north, taken from Shrewsbury, and about as much from Sutton, on the south.

Upton was not an original grant, but was made up from tracts taken from Mendon, Sutton and Hopkinton. The legislature granted an act of incorporation, June 14, 1735.

Hardwick was purchased of two noted Indians, in 1686, by Joshua Lamb and others of Roxbury. It went by the name of Lambstown for many years. The heirs of the purchasers, in answer to a petition, obtained a grant in 1732. Six years later, January 10, 1738, the town was incorporated with the present name, in honor of a distinguished English nobleman.

Bolton (including much of Berlin, and some of other towns) was taken from Lancaster, and incorporated June 24, 1738.

Sturbridge, incorporated June 24, 1738, was granted originally to "several petitioners of Medfield." It included most of the present town of Southbridge.

Holden, taken wholly from Worcester, and probably settled, in part, in the early part of the last century, was incorporated January 9, 1740. Paxton and West Boylston have taken from the original area of this town.

Leominster, as territory, was added to Lancaster, by the General Court, in 1713, in confirmation of a purchase from Indians, and was taken from the same mother town, by the General Court, June 23, 1740, when it was incorporated under its present name.

Warren was incorporated as Western on the sixteenth of January, 1741. It was taken from Brookfield, Brimfield, and the "easterly part of what was Kingsfield." It took its present name, March 13, 1834.

Douglas, named from an eccentric Scotchman, doctor and author, living in Boston, was an original grant, and was called New Sherburne, from the early home of the first settlers. The year of its incorporation was 1746.

New Braintree, containing six thousand acres of land, was granted to certain inhabitants of Braintree for public services of some kind. It was called Braintree Farms. This grant, enlarged by tracts from Brookfield and Hardwick, was erected into a town, January 31, 1751.

Spencer, included in the original grant of Leicester, was incorporated April 3, 1753, new style. It had been settled much earlier, and was made a precinct of the mother town in 1744.

Petersham is a child of Lancaster, though it never was included in the territory of that town. The relationship was in children rather than acres. It was an original grant to John Bennett, Jeremiah Perley and others, "as a compensation for services performed by them in Indian wars" under command of Capt. John White, one of the heroes of Lancaster, who died in 1725. The date of the first settlement is not known, but a meeting-house was built in 1738. The act of incorporation was dated April 20, 1754.

Charlton was taken from the westerly side of Oxford, and was erected into a town November 2, 1754. Being owned by non-resident proprietors, its settlement was retarded many years, but there were enough people to establish a church in 1761. Part of this town was added to Sturbridge.

Westminster has already been mentioned as "the south town laid out to the Narragansett soldiers." The grant was in 1732. The grantees lived in the towns north and west of Boston. The first settler moved into the place in 1737, but the town was not set up as a municipality until April 26, 1770. The town has been enlarged and diminished several times, but still has respectable dimensions. It is wedge-shaped, with a sharp point but irregular sides.

Princeton was the "east wing of Rutland," and has been enlarged by a section of Hubbardston and part of a tract called No-town. It was incorporated April 24, 1771.

Templeton, named from a member of the Temple family, was an original grant to men who were engaged in King Philip's war, or their heirs. It was called Narragansett No. 6, and was intended to be six miles square, but, as was

common with the surveyors of that age, was laid out much larger. The proprietors met as early as 1733, in Concord, but the settlement was delayed by Indian troubles about twenty years. The act of incorporation was passed March 6, 1762. Phillipston was included in the original grant.

Athol was granted about the time of the grant of Templeton, though the exact date is lost. It was known as Pequig or Payquaige. Sixty proprietors met in Concord as early as 1734, but there was not settlement enough to warrant town privileges before 1762, when, on the sixth of March, the General Court passed an act of incorporation.

Oakham was taken from Rutland, and was called Rutland West Wing. It was made a precinct in 1759, and erected into a town June 11, 1762.

Fitchburg was a part of Lunenburg until it was made a separate town, February 3, 1764.

Winchendon was granted in 1735 to the heirs of certain men of Ipswich who were in the Canada expedition in 1690. Its name was Ipswich Canada until the act of incorporation, June 14, 1764.

Royalston, first styled Royalshire, was originally granted in 1752, and created a town February, 1765.

Ashburnham was granted to Dorchester men who went in the Canada expedition, or their heirs. It became a town February 22, 1765.

Paxton, taken from Leicester and Rutland, was incorporated February 12, 1765.

Northborough, at first a part of Marlborough and then of Westborough, was set off as a distinct town on the twenty-fourth of January, 1766.

Hubbardston, named from the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, was a part of Rutland, and was incorporated on the thirteenth day of June, 1767.

Northbridge was the north part of Uxbridge, whence its name. It became a town July 14, 1772.

Barre was a section of Rutland, and was, in 1749, made a district. It became a town, by authority of the General Court, June 14, 1774, and took the name of a distinguished member of parliament, and a friend to the Colonies.

Auburn, originally called Ward, after Gen. Ward, was taken from surrounding towns, and made a town April 10, 1778.

Millford, the north parish or precinct of Mendon, in 1741 was known by the name of Mill River. Its incorporation took place April 11, 1780.

Sterling was the south-west quarter of Lancaster, and was known as Chocksett. It was a parish from 1743 till 1781, April 25, when it became a separate town.

Berlin, formed from Bolton, but a grandchild of Lancaster, became the second parish of Bolton in the year 1778. It was incorporated as a district of Bolton in 1784, and as a town, February 6, 1812.

Gardner was composed of corners of the four surrounding towns, and by act, dated June 27, 1785, became a town.

Boylston, named from a distinguished family, was a part of Shrewsbury, and was made a parish in 1742. Its birth as a town was on the first of March, 1786.

Phillipston, taken chiefly from Templeton, was set off as a parish in 1774. Its incorporation as a town was on the twentieth of October, 1786. Its original name was Gerry, but this was changed in 1814.

Dana was taken from Petersham, Hardwick and Greenwich, and established as a town, February 18, 1801.

West Boylston, has, in part, belonged to Lancaster, Shrewsbury, Holden, Sterling and Boylston. It became a distinct town January 30, 1808.

North Brookfield was the north parish of Brookfield for a long series of years. In 1812, February 28, it became a town.

Millbury long existed as the north parish of Sutton, but was incorporated as a town, June 11, 1813.

Southbridge was taken from Charlton, Dudley and Sturbridge, mainly. Its incorporation was on the fifteenth of February, 1816.

Webster, from Dudley and Oxford, was set off as a town, by authority, in 1832, March 6, and by the choice of the people, took the name of the great statesman.

Blackstone was the south part of Mendon until March 5, 1845, when it was incorporated as a town.

West Brookfield, one of the oldest settlements in the county, — older than the county itself, having originally belonged to old Hampshire County, — was made a town, by separation from Brookfield, March 3, 1848.

Clinton, the youngest and most flourishing daughter of Lancaster, was incorporated March 14, 1850.

CENSUS DURING THE CENTURY — 1776–1875.

TOWNS AND CITIES.	1776.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.	1875.
Ashburnham, . . .	551	951	994	1,036	1,230	1,402	1,652	1,875	2,211	2,108	2,153	2,172	2,141
Athol,	—	848	993	1,041	1,211	1,325	1,591	2,034	2,395	2,604	2,814	3,517	4,134
Auburn,	—	473	532	540	608	690	649	879	885	914	939	1,178	1,233
Barre,	1,329	1,613	1,937	1,971	2,077	2,503	2,751	2,976	2,787	2,973	2,856	2,572	2,460
Berlin,	—	512	590	591	625	692	763	866	976	1,106	1,061	1,016	987
Blackstone,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,391	5,346	5,453	4,857	5,421	4,640
Bolton,	1,201	861	945	1,037	1,229	1,253	1,186	1,263	1,255	1,318	1,502	1,014	987
Boylston,	—	839	1,058	800	902	820	797	918	835	929	792	800	895
Brookfield,	2,649	3,100	3,284	3,170	2,292	2,342	2,472	1,674	2,007	2,276	2,101	2,527	2,260
Charlton,	1,310	1,965	2,120	2,180	2,134	2,173	2,117	2,015	2,059	2,047	1,925	1,878	1,852
Clinton,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,113	3,636	3,859	4,021	5,429	6,781
Dana,	—	—	—	625	664	623	691	812	824	876	789	758	760
Douglas,	800	1,079	1,083	1,142	1,375	1,742	1,617	1,878	2,320	2,442	2,155	2,182	2,202
Dudley,	875	1,114	1,144	1,226	1,615	2,155	1,352	1,443	1,523	1,736	2,076	2,398	2,653
Fitchburg,	643	1,151	1,399	1,566	1,736	2,169	2,604	5,120	6,412	7,805	8,118	11,260	12,289
Gardner,	—	531	667	815	911	1,023	1,260	1,533	2,183	2,614	2,553	3,333	3,730
Grafton,	861	872	985	946	1,154	1,889	2,943	3,904	4,409	4,317	3,961	4,594	4,442
Hardwick,	1,393	1,725	1,727	1,657	1,836	1,885	1,789	1,631	1,523	1,521	1,967	2,219	1,902
Harvard,	1,315	1,387	1,310	1,431	1,597	1,600	1,571	1,639	1,533	1,507	1,355	1,341	1,304
Holden,	749	1,077	1,142	1,072	1,402	1,719	1,874	1,937	2,114	1,915	1,846	2,062	2,180
Hubbardston,	488	933	1,113	1,127	1,367	1,674	1,784	1,825	1,744	1,621	1,546	1,654	1,110
Lancaster,	2,746	4,460	4,584	4,694	4,862	4,014	2,019	1,688	1,728	1,932	1,752	1,851	1,957
Leicester,	1,005	1,076	1,103	1,181	1,152	1,782	1,707	2,269	2,589	2,748	2,827	2,768	2,770

Census during the Century — (Continued.)

TOWNS AND CITIES.	1776.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.	1875.
Leominster, . . .	978	1,189	1,486	1,581	1,790	1,861	2,069	3,121	3,200	3,522	3,313	3,894	5,201
Lancaster, . . .	1,265	1,277	1,243	1,371	1,209	1,317	1,272	1,249	1,224	1,212	1,167	1,121	1,153
Mendon, . . .	2,322	1,555	1,628	1,819	2,251	3,152	3,524	1,300	1,382	1,351	1,207	1,175	1,176
Millford, . . .	—	839	907	973	1,160	1,360	1,773	4,819	7,489	9,132	9,108	9,890	9,818
Millbury, . . .	—	—	—	—	926	1,611	2,171	3,081	3,286	3,296	3,780	4,297	4,529
New Braintree, . . .	798	930	875	912	888	825	752	852	775	805	752	640	606
Northborough, . . .	562	619	698	791	1,018	902	1,218	1,535	1,602	1,565	1,623	1,504	1,398
Northbridge, . . .	481	569	514	713	905	1,053	1,419	2,230	2,104	2,633	2,642	3,774	4,930
North Brookfield, . . .	—	—	—	—	1,095	1,241	1,485	1,939	2,349	2,760	2,514	3,343	3,749
Oakham, . . .	598	772	801	818	986	1,010	1,038	1,137	1,469	950	915	870	873
Oxford, . . .	1,112	1,000	1,237	1,277	1,562	2,034	1,742	2,380	2,898	3,034	2,713	2,669	2,938
Paxton, . . .	—	538	582	619	613	697	670	820	792	725	626	646	600
Petersham, . . .	1,235	1,560	1,794	1,490	1,623	1,896	1,775	1,527	1,553	1,465	1,428	1,335	1,203
Phillipston, . . .	—	740	802	839	916	932	919	869	799	764	725	693	606
Princeton, . . .	701	1,016	1,021	1,062	1,261	1,346	1,347	1,318	1,317	1,201	1,239	1,279	1,063
Royalston, . . .	617	1,130	1,243	1,415	1,424	1,493	1,657	1,516	1,469	1,486	1,441	1,354	1,260
Rutland, . . .	1,006	1,072	1,202	1,231	1,262	1,276	1,260	1,213	1,102	1,076	1,011	1,024	1,030
Shrewsbury, . . .	1,475	963	1,048	1,210	1,458	1,386	1,481	1,596	1,636	1,538	1,570	1,610	1,524
Southborough, . . .	753	837	871	926	1,030	1,080	1,145	1,347	1,602	1,854	1,750	2,135	1,986
Southbridge, . . .	—	—	—	—	1,066	1,444	2,031	2,824	3,429	3,575	4,131	5,208	5,451
Spencer, . . .	1,042	1,322	1,432	1,453	1,518	1,618	1,624	2,244	2,527	2,777	3,021	3,552	5,451
Sterling, . . .	—	1,428	1,614	1,472	1,710	1,794	1,647	1,805	1,838	1,881	1,668	1,670	1,569
Sturbridge, . . .	1,374	1,704	1,816	1,927	1,633	1,688	2,005	2,119	2,188	2,282	1,993	2,101	2,213
Sutton, . . .	2,614	2,612	2,513	2,660	2,056	2,186	2,370	2,503	2,718	2,676	2,363	2,699	3,051
Templeton, . . .	1,016	959	1,068	1,205	1,331	1,552	1,776	2,173	2,618	2,816	2,390	2,802	2,764
Upton, . . .	702	833	854	905	1,088	1,167	1,466	2,023	2,035	1,986	2,018	1,989	2,125
Uxbridge, . . .	1,110	1,308	1,404	1,494	1,551	2,086	2,004	2,457	3,068	3,133	2,838	3,058	3,029
Warren, . . .	827	889	979	1,014	1,112	1,189	1,290	1,777	1,793	2,107	2,180	2,625	3,260
Webster, . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,403	2,371	2,727	2,912	3,608	4,763	5,064
Westborough, . . .	900	934	922	1,048	1,326	1,438	1,658	2,371	3,014	2,913	3,141	3,601	5,141
West Boylston, . . .	—	—	—	632	886	1,055	1,187	1,749	2,310	2,509	2,294	2,862	2,902
West Brookfield, . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,344	1,364	1,548	1,519	1,842	1,903
Westminster, . . .	1,115	1,176	1,369	1,419	1,634	1,695	1,645	1,914	1,979	1,840	1,639	1,770	1,712
Winchendon, . . .	519	916	1,092	1,173	1,263	1,463	1,754	2,445	2,747	2,624	2,891	3,398	3,762
Worcester, . . .	1,925	2,095	2,411	2,577	2,062	4,173	7,497	17,049	22,286	24,960	30,055	41,105	49,317

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE act constituting the county of Worcester was passed April 2, 1731, and went into effect on the tenth of the following July. Worcester was made the shire town, because of its central location. There were several other towns which exceeded it in population and taxable property, as Sutton, Mendon, Brookfield, and Lancaster. The location of the seat of justice was the occasion of diversity of opinion, and caused much discussion. As the country was then settled, Lancaster was the centre of a large district which needed a convenient place for holding the courts, and for the transaction of county business. If Lancaster had been selected, the towns of Ashby, Townsend, Shirley, Pepperell, Groton, and, perhaps, two or three more would have been taken from Middlesex. As the whole western part of the county north of the Brook-

fields was then unsettled, Lancaster would have been convenient to a majority of the population. But for the purpose of accommodating the people in the southern towns, as well as the northern, it was proposed to make both Lancaster and Worcester half-shire towns. According to Lincoln ("History of Worcester") and other authorities, this would have been the result if a prominent citizen of Lancaster, then placed on the bench, had not opposed and remonstrated. Judge Joseph Wilder, the elder, was a worthy and upright man, but by this action was the occasion, if not the cause, of making Worcester a thriving city at the expense of his native town.

The motive which principally governed his action was not without force. It is said that he feared the demoralizing influence of a shire town on the morals and character of the people. And if we bear in mind that in those days every session of a court was an occasion for the gathering of a large concourse of people at the shire town, for the purpose of recreation, sport, horse-racing, gambling, and dram-drinking, the judge seems to have had some reason for his course. At present, the session of a court is scarcely noticed, except by those specially interested, as the parties, and those concerned in conducting the courts. Remarkable cases only draw the attendance or even the attention of the general public. But at the time when the county was formed, the state of things was entirely different. The people had few holidays. No historical events, like the Fourth of July or the more sacred festival of Christmas, were observed. There was not such constant going to and fro as at present, with our increased facilities of travel. The holding of the court was therefore made the occasion of a general gathering of all the loose, as well as some of the respectable elements of society in the shire town. The streets were so thronged at some hours of the day by teams, and there were such trials of speed, that women and children kept at a safe distance. Betting was common. Wrestling, ball-playing, and other athletic sports were the order of the day. The taverns were well patronized, and liquors flowed freely. All these scenes were familiar to Judge Wilder; but he could not foresee that this was a passing state of society, and that the time was coming when the sessions of the court, while distributing justice and securing the safety of property and life, would create scarcely a ripple on the current of society. The courts might come and go, while the farmer, the mechanic, and the trader were all busy in their varied and productive industries; and the morals of the seat of justice might compare favorable with those of the remotest and least populous town of the county. Such has been the result, and the city of Worcester is the grand consequence of a fortunate turn in its history.

When the county was formed, it came under the general judicial arrangement of the Province. The General Court, or Provincial Government, was the supreme authority in all cases which did not infringe on the imperial jurisdiction of the mother country.

There were justices of the peace in the several towns, and their office was

important and respectable. The preservation of the peace depended mainly on their efficiency. The jurisdiction was extensive, though not reaching to cases of great magnitude. The status and duties of these officers were not affected by the formation of the county, but they were brought into new relations.

The Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the county was composed of all the justices in the county, presided over by one or more of the four judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. At the first session the court was constituted as follows: Hon. John Chandler, Esq., of Woodstock, Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and the following justices of the peace; viz., Daniel Taft, John Chandler, Jr., Benjamin Willard, Samuel Wright, Josiah Willard, Joseph Dwight, Samuel Dudley, Henry Lee, and Nahum Ward, Esqrs.

This court, as a Court of Sessions, laid out highways, licensed houses of entertainment, admitted freemen, was charged to see that the towns were supplied with an able ministry, well supported, had a similar duty in regard to schools, when towns were negligent, and had probate jurisdiction. All this in addition to its regular judicial duties. All the criminal cases in the county, except those involving life, limb, and banishment, came under its purview.

The first session of this court was in the capacity of a Court of Probate, and was held in the meeting-house, July 13, 1731. The General Court had originally attended to all probate business, but in time necessity led that body to delegate the business to inferior courts.

The Inferior Court of Common Pleas was a county court, and was composed of four judges. The names of the judges at the origin of the county were these: John Chandler of Woodstock, chief justice, Joseph Wilder of Lancaster, William Ward of Southborough, and William Jennison of Worcester. Three of the judges constituted a quorum. They heard appeals from the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and they were appealed from to the Superior Court of Judicature, which was a provincial court, holding annual sessions in each county. The time for holding this court in Worcester County was October; though the first session, in 1731, began on the twenty-second of September.

The Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of the General Sessions of the Peace, held four sessions yearly; viz., in the months of May, August, November, and February. As the year began in March, the first session of the year was in May. These two courts are often spoken of as one body, and seem, at times, to have had simultaneous sessions. At their organization they were united in the formal services, and joined together in public worship, which was conducted by the Rev. John Prentice of Lancaster, the pastor of Judge Wilder. The text was from the charge of King Jehoshaphat to his judges, as recorded in 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7: "And said to the judges,

Take heed what ye do : for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you ; take heed and do it ; for *there is* no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts." It was a grand and solemn service, tending to give reputation and weight to the tribunal in the eyes of the community.

These two courts, however, were distinct in their jurisdiction as well as in their *personnel*, except that the presiding judge of the Court of General Sessions was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. These courts had power to summon grand and petit jurors, and to choose clerks and other necessary officers. Their records were kept in separate volumes.

Having made this general statement in regard to the courts, we will now take up the two county courts, and give their organization and functions more in detail.

THE INTERIOR COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

The act of the General Court creating the Court of Common Pleas has been referred to already. The Commission to the justices of this court will be read with interest, as it conveys needed information in regard to the powers of the tribunal, and has a pleasant air of antiquity.

"George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., to our trusty and well-beloved John Chandler, Joseph Wilder, William Ward and William Jennison, Esquires : Whereas, in and by an act made and passed by the great and general court or assembly of our province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, at their sessions begun and held the thirty-first day of May, *anno* 1699, entitled an act for establishing Inferior Courts of Common Pleas in the several counties of this province, it is enacted that there shall be held and kept in each respective county within the said province, yearly and every year, at the times and places in the said act mentioned and expressed, an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, by four substantial persons to be appointed and commissioned as justices of the said court in each county (any three of whom to be a quorum for the hold of the said court), who shall have cognizance of all civil actions arising and happening within such county, triable at the common law, of what nature, kind or quality soever, and are hereby empowered to give judgment therein, and award execution thereupon. We, therefore, reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, prudence and ability, have assigned, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do assign, constitute, and appoint you, the said John Chandler, Joseph Wilder, William Ward, and William Jennison, to be our justices of our said Inferior Court of Common Pleas, in our County of Worcester, within our province aforesaid, and do authorize and empower you, and every one of you respectively, to have, use and exercise, all and single, the powers, authorities, and jurisdictions to a justice of our said — belonging, or in any wise appertaining ; and you, or any three of you, to hear and determine all such causes and matters as are by law cognizable in our said Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and to give judgment thereon, and award execution thereupon, and to do that which to justice doth appertain according to law. In testimony whereof, we have caused the public seal

of our province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., our captain-general and governor-in-chief of our said province, at Boston, the thirteenth day of June, 1731, in the fifth year of our reign.

By order of the governor,

J. BELCHER.

With the advice and consent of the council, July 1, 1731.

J. WILLARD, *Sec'y.*"

On the twelfth of August ensuing, John Chandler, Jr., was chosen clerk of the court. Benjamin Flagg was appointed "cryor," and Joseph Dwight and Nahum Ward were admitted and sworn as attorneys. The first session of this court was held two days before, on the tenth of August.

This court existed till the year 1811, when the old system of Inferior County Courts of Common Pleas was succeeded by the present arrangement. The names of the first judges are given above.

In 1740, the chief justice, John Chandler, died, and the court was constituted as follows: Joseph Wilder, chief justice; William Ward, William Jennison, and Joseph Dwight. The latter was of Brookfield.

The vacancy caused by the decease of Judge Jennison in 1741, was filled by the appointment of Samuel Willard of Lancaster. He was a grandson of the famous Major Simon Willard, and was himself a man of great capacity in civil and military life. The titles on his gravestone are: The Honorable Colonel Samuel Willard, Esq.

Judge Ward was succeeded, in 1745, by Nahum Ward of Shrewsbury, the father of Major-General and Judge Artemas Ward.

In 1750, Capt. Edward Hartwell of Lunenburg (formerly noted as one of the many brave and capable military officers of Lancaster) succeeded Judge Dwight. By the death of Col. Willard, in 1752, a vacancy was caused, which was filled by the appointment of Major Jonas Rice of Worcester.

John Chandler, Jr., clerk of the court from the beginning, and son of the first chief judge, was appointed in 1754. The next year, in consequence of the decease of Judge Rice, Thomas Steel of Leicester, was raised to the bench.

Chief Justice Joseph Wilder, senior, died in the year 1757, when the court was reconstituted in the following order: John Chandler, chief justice; Edward Hartwell, Thomas Steel, and Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick.

Five years later, 1762, Judge Chandler died, when Judge Ruggles was jumped from the foot to the head of the list, as chief justice, with the following colleagues, viz.: Thomas Steel of Leicester, Joseph Wilder, Jr., of Lancaster, and Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury. Judges Ruggles and Ward had become distinguished in military service in the French and Indian war. The former was ever after known as Brigadier Ruggles, and the latter became the first Major-General in the colonial army at the outbreak of the Revolution.

These four judges remained in office until June 5, 1774, except Judge Wilder, who died in 1773, at which time the approaching revolt against the mother country caused a cessation of the court under the authority of the king. On the seventeenth of October, 1775, by authority of the executive

council of the legislature of the province, the court was set up again, and justice was administered without the authority of his majesty. As one of the judges — Wilder — was dead, and two others — Ruggles and Steel — adhered to the king, it was necessary to find new men. General Ward was named chief justice in place of Brigadier Ruggles, and had the following associates, viz.: Jedediah Foster of Brookfield, Moses Gill of Princeton, and Samuel Baker of Berlin. In a recent work it is implied, if not stated explicitly, that the younger Judge Wilder of Lancaster was a tory. But as the judge died two years before the Concord fight, and as there is no record or tradition in Lancaster, that any bearing the name of Wilder was wanting in the cause of his country when the day of trial came, the above allegation must be a mistake.

In 1776, Judge Foster was promoted to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature, when, September 19, Joseph Dorr of Auburn was appointed to the position of judge in the county court. Judge Gill became Lieut. Governor in 1794, when Dwight Foster, son of Judge Jedediah, was appointed judge; but he declined the office, and Michael Gill became a member of the court.

Samuel Baker, appointed in 1775, died in the year 1795, after twenty years of service, when Elijah Brigham of Westborough was appointed.

Gen. Artemas Ward resigned the office of chief justice in 1792, a year before his decease, when the Hon. John Sprague was not only raised to the bench, but placed at the head as chief justice. This was due to his eminence as a lawyer, and his high reputation as a man of affairs.

By his decease in the year 1800 a vacancy was made, which was filled by the promotion of Judge Foster to the chief justiceship in 1801. Judge Dorr, after an honorable service of twenty-five years, was succeeded by Benjamin Heywood of Worcester. This arrangement lasted till the year 1811. In 1803, criminal jurisdiction was transferred to this court from the Court of Sessions.

THE COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS OF THE PEACE.

The constitution of this court has already been given; but the general reader will like to learn, from the Commission to the Justices, what matters came under the jurisdiction of this important tribunal. For the tribunal was important and honorable, though occasionally the judges treated the justices with very little respect. An anecdote or two will illustrate the point. Before Judge Ruggles came to this county, while conducting a case at Plymouth, an aged woman came into court as a party or witness, and not finding a seat, looked to Mr. Ruggles. Seeing her dilemma, with characteristic insolence, he pointed to the bench, and told her to find a seat there among the justices. Seeing her about to take a seat, the presiding judge inquired what she was there for. She timidly referred to Esquire Ruggles. Being called up for explanation, and seeing his mistake, yet not willing to make a proper apology, he replied: "I — I — really thought the place was made for old women."

While practising before the Court of Sessions in this county, one day the



AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S BUILDING, WORCESTER, MASS.

dog of one of the justices took his place in a chair assigned to their honors. Ruggles, seeing this, cried out, "Go home, dog, and take your oath of office!"

Passing from this digression, the extracts below are taken from the commission directed to the fore-named judges and the following justices of the peace, viz., Daniel Taft, John Chandler, Jr., Benjamin Willard, Samuel Wright, Josiah Willard, Joseph Dwight, Samuel Dudley, Henry Lee, and Nahum Ward. They were empowered and directed "to keep the peace in Worcester County"; "to keep and cause to be kept the laws and ordinances made for the good of the peace, and for the conservation of the same, and for the quiet, rule, and government of our people."

They were "to chastise and punish all persons offending against the form of these laws and ordinances." In the words of the instrument, "You are to cause to come before you all those that shall break the peace, etc., or shall threaten any of our people in their persons, or in *burning* their houses." They were to require such persons "to give security, or go to prison." They were to "hold courts at certain stated times and places (whereof any of the judges always to be one); to make inquisition of all thefts, trespasses, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, and all and singular other misdeeds and offences." Such was their authority. Their first session was on the 10th of August, when Mr. Prentice preached before them. On the 12th, they chose John Chandler, Jr., clerk, and were fully organized for business.

In this court, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas must be present. All might be, and sometimes were. But, by this arrangement, it was possible for both courts to sit at the same time. Three judges could hold the Court of Common Pleas, and one judge, with the justices, constituted the Court of Sessions. In matters of great importance, all the judges might be present.

Inflictions by this court were by fines, imprisonment, the whipping-post, the stocks, and the pillory.

This court had charge of the financial affairs of the county, thus acting in the place of modern county commissioners.

Perhaps a better idea of this court can be learned from a few specimens of their action than in any other way.

Among the first necessities of a county, which is essentially an arrangement for judicial purposes, is the providing of a court-house, with all suitable appointments for holding courts and keeping records, and jails, houses of correction, or other prisons for the detention, amendment, and punishment of the violators of the law. In those days, also, there was need of extra room for poor as well as fraudulent debtors. As our fathers did not choose to be at the expense of supporting ordinary and petty criminals in idleness, in costly and palatial jails, they gave them a short and sharp turn at the whipping-post, or in the pillory, and then sent them on their way, hoping that they would mend their manners.

The whipping-post and its adjuncts were set up on the hill that rises back of the court-house. It may as well be noted here that the court-houses have always occupied the same locality on Court Hill.

The Court of Sessions, in September, 1731, counted the votes, given by the freemen of the county, for register of deeds, when it was found that John Chandler, Jr., had been chosen by a large majority. At the same time, Benjamin Houghton was found to be the choice of the county as county treasurer by a like majority.

The court took order for the building of a prison and prison-house, or house for the jailer. The building was to be thirty-six feet long and seventeen feet wide, with fourteen-foot posts. Under the same was to be a dungeon. One end of the house was to be "finished off after the usual manner of dwelling-houses." In the meantime, the house of William Jennison was to be used as a prison, and a "cage was to be built." In February, 1731-2, the plan of the prison was altered somewhat, making its length forty-one feet, and its breadth eighteen feet. The prison part was to be eighteen feet square. At the November term, it was decided that the prison should be used as a house of correction.

At the August term, in 1732, the court appointed a committee to inquire the cost of a suitable court-house, and to see what individuals in Boston and other places would give in aid of the object. At the November term, it was decided that the court-house should not exceed thirty-six feet in length and twenty-six feet in width. The posts were to be thirteen feet.

The county tax for usual charges, and for building a court-house, was laid according to the following table. Lancaster paid nearly twice as much as any other town, and almost three times as much as Worcester. In a few years, by the formation of Harvard, Bolton, and Leominster, the population and valuation were reduced, but still exceeded those of any other town.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Worcester, . . .	22	15	4	Rutland, . . .	7	16	0
Lancaster, . . .	62	16	8	Westborough, . . .	18	2	0
Mendon, . . .	36	0	0	Shrewsbury, . . .	14	14	0
Woodstock, . . .	32	0	0	Oxford, . . .	14	4	0
Brookfield, . . .	27	1	4	Sutton, . . .	24	10	0
Southborough, . . .	17	6	0	Uxbridge, . . .	12	0	8
Leicester, . . .	13	19	4	Lunenburg, . . .	7	16	0

The following extracts from the records give a glimpse at the multifarious business of the court, and also incidentally lay open to us the state of society and the condition of things in the county.

At the very first session, the Rev. David Parsons of Leicester, entered a complaint against the town of Leicester for failing to "render him support, according to agreement." This complaint was renewed from time to time, the

selectmen asking for delay. The town, acting as a parish, was beholden to Mr. Parsons, and this court was charged with the enforcement of such claims.

John Hazeltine, of Sutton, was complained of by the Indian widow of George Misco for selling strong drink to Indians. He was found guilty, and fined ten shillings, with costs, — seven pounds, nine shillings, and twopence.

Presentments were made by the grand jury against the towns of Worcester, Brookfield, Uxbridge, Southborough, and Lunenburg, for "not being provided with stocks as the law requires."

Brookfield, Leicester, Southborough, and Lunenburg were presented for "not being provided with weights and measures according to law."

The towns of Uxbridge and Southborough were presented for "not being provided with a writing and reading schoolmaster."

Several persons were presented for not attending meeting on the Lord's day. They entered a plea of "not guilty," and were acquitted, but, according to a singular custom of those times, had to pay costs.

In some cases, the "Baptists, or Anabaptists," so called, were complained of for neglecting public worship. They prayed for the favor granted them by the laws of the province, and were generally, if not always, acquitted.

The town of Worcester was presented for "not being provided with stocks." It was found, on inquiry, that the town "had a good and lawful form of stocks." It is conjectured that the selectmen, hearing of the presentment, forthwith complied with the law before the court acted. The court decided to discharge the town from paying a fine, but, as usual, saddled it with costs, — £11 8s. 3d. It was important to avoid the "appearance of evil" in times when a mere complaint involved costs, however innocent might be the defendant.

In August, 1732, Southborough was presented for failing to "provide a writing and reading master." Brookfield and Lunenburg were reported delinquent in regard to weights and measures.

In our degenerate days, governors and their attendants may travel in any direction without attracting attention, but, a century and a half ago, they went in state, and were received with ceremony, and sometimes with pomp and pageantry. In 1735, Gov. Belcher made a progress through the colony as far as the Connecticut Valley. He arrived at Worcester on the 25th of August, when the justices of the General Sessions waited on him, and the executive officers in a body. These are the names of the judges and justices present on the august occasion: John Chandler, Joseph Wilder, William Ward, William Jennison, John Chandler, Jr., Josiah Wilder, Nahum Ward, Henry Lee, Samuel Willard, John Keyes.

A case occasionally came before the Court of Sessions which revealed a form of *quasi* slavery, as when a man was compelled to give his time in payment of debt.

The case of Edward Smith, a minor and bound apprentice to Ebenezer Polley, both of Lancaster, comes under this head. He was accused of stealing

from his master, in the night time. He confessed his guilt, but as Polley had reclaimed all the stolen property except the value of £3 3s., he insisted only on restitution to that amount. Smith was sentenced to pay the King £3, or he whipped ten stripes, and pay costs and fees, £5 5s. 6d. Moreover he was to pay his master £9 9s., or triple the loss. Being unable to pay, but "humbly desiring of his master to pay the same," it was ordered that he should serve his master two years after coming of age, or his heirs or assigns. Polley was, besides his board, to find him in needful clothes.

One case is recorded where a man was sold, in this sense, that his time was secured to his creditor; but this seems to have been the old method of securing that, which is now obtained by the trustee process, in which a man's wages are pledged.

About the same time Elisha Paine of Canterbury, Conn., being in Worcester jail for publishing or uttering mock sermons, etc., and mimicking preaching and other parts of divine service, demanded of the court why he should not be "discharged and come forth" from confinement. No one appearing against him, he was discharged. Probably it was thought he had been in jail long enough to serve as a warning to himself and others of like manners.

A few other cases will be mentioned without any regard to classification, but merely to give an idea of the times.

At the May session, 1748, Ezra Rolfe of Lancaster, husbandman, having in his possession the flesh of a deer, killed contrary to law, came into court and confessed himself guilty. He was fined fifty shillings, half to the King, and half to the informer, which was paid, with costs, and he was discharged.

Thomas Prentice of Lunenburg, was licensed an innholder.

The court inspected the votes returned from the several towns; and it appeared that Major Daniel Heywood was chosen county treasurer by a unanimous vote.

The court ordered that the floor of the court-house, "where the clerk and lawyers sett be raised about twelve inches."

Two men were fined fifty shillings each for having killed wild deer of the value of ten shillings, at a time prohibited by law. They paid the fine, with costs, and were discharged.

A woman living in Woodstock was complained of for not attending meeting on the Lord's day. She, in defence, alleged that she was a Baptist or Anabaptist, and that there was snow on the ground which impeded travel. The complaint was dismissed, but she was obliged to pay costs.

At that time all persons were expected to attend meeting, and to aid in support of the Congregational worship, unless they voluntarily joined some other society, as a Baptist church, for example. In that case, their money went according to their preference. The law was objectionable as making an invidious distinction, but was based on the principle that every one was benefited by religious institutions, and should pay for them, in proportion, as well as for

schools, or the means of secular education. "Anabaptists," a name applied to the Baptists by their opponents, was considered by them as a term of reproach. It has long since gone into disuse, as a name for a numerous and most respectable denomination.

One of the crimes most frequently brought before the court was fornication, but in the great majority of cases the parties were married before their arraignment. They always paid the fine, and were discharged. In other cases, where marriage had not taken place, the guilty were subjected to severer penalties. It is noticeable that the crime of adultery was of very rare occurrence.

Such was the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, unchanged in its constitution and functions until 1803, when criminal matters were transferred to the Court of Common Pleas. In 1807 the number of magistrates composing this court was reduced to six; the name "General" was dropped, and it was styled the "Court of Sessions." Pliny Merriek of Brookfield held the place of chief justice till 1809, with associate justices as follows: Moses White of Rutland, John Whiting of Lancaster, Jonathan Davis of Oxford, John Spurr of Charlton, Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Salisbury, Oliver Fiske, Jeremiah Robinson and John W. Lincoln, of Worcester; the chief was a lawyer, and the associates were men of high standing in their several towns. The reputation of some of them has come down to the present day.

The court was abolished, and all its remaining powers were transferred to the Court of Common Pleas in 1809, but owing to the general feeling of dissatisfaction at this act of the legislature, the Sessions Court was set up again, two years later, with four justices, viz.: Jonathan Davis of Oxford, Timothy Whiting of Lancaster, Joseph Adams of Uxbridge, and Edmund Cushing of Lunenburg.

This arrangement lasted two years, from which time the court was in continual fluctuation until 1828. For example, in 1815, the jurisdiction was transferred to the Common Pleas Court, with two additional justices who took the name of "Sessions' Justices of the Court of Common Pleas," with powers limited to matters belonging strictly to the Sessions. In 1819 the "Court of Sessions," as a distinct body, was revived, with three justices. These were Scott Hastings of Mendon, as chief, and Benjamin Kimball of Harvard, and Aaron Tufts of Dudley, as associate justices. The troubled existence of this court ended in 1828.

COUNTY COMMISSIONERS.

The "Board of County Commissioners" was constituted to take the place of the Court of Sessions in relation to matters not judicial in their nature. All the prudential and financial business of the county was intrusted to them. They did not sit to hear and try causes; to compel towns to support an "able ministry," or a "competent writing and reading master," or sell the time of a roguish apprentice, or compel an Anabaptist woman to attend meeting in a time

of snow, or fine men for killing deer at unseasonable times. Some of these things ceased to be crimes, in the eye of the law; others were left in the hands of the regular courts, presided over by learned judges.

The business of the county commissioners, though limited in scope, compared with the old Court of Sessions, has risen in importance and responsibility with the rapid increase of the county in numbers and wealth. The commissioners are charged with the duty of laying out county roads and have certain duties in connection with the location and crossings of railroads. All court-houses, jails, and houses of correction are built by them, and kept in order for the holding of courts, and the detention and discipline of prisoners. These and cognate duties require them to be in frequent session, and to visit, in succession, all parts of the county.

The first board was composed of these four men: Jared Weed of Petersham, Aaron Tufts of Dudley, Edmund Cushing of Lunenburg, and William Eaton of Worcester. James Draper of Spencer took the place of Cushing in 1832. The law was altered in 1836, constituting the board with three commissioners, and two special commissioners. Under this arrangement the following gentlemen filled the office until 1842, viz.: John W. Lincoln of Worcester, Ebenezer D. Ammidown of Southbridge, and William Crawford of Oakham, commissioners. The special commissioners act only in cases when particularly called upon.

Col. Lincoln was succeeded as chairman of the board in 1842 by Gen. Crawford. The members since that date have been David Davenport of Mendon, Charles Thurber of Worcester, Jerome Gardner of Harvard, Joseph Bruce of Grafton, Otis Adams of Grafton, Bonum Nye of North Brookfield, Asaph Wood of Gardner, Zadok A. Taft of Uxbridge, James Allen of Oakham, Amory Holman of Bolton, Velorous Taft of Upton, J. Warren Bigelow of Rutland, William O. Brown of Fitchburg, Henry G. Taft of Uxbridge, and Henry E. Rice of Barre. The successive chairmen have been Adams, Nye, Wood, V. Taft, and Brown, who is chairman of the present board.

CIRCUIT COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

The County Courts of Common Pleas were superseded by the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in the year 1811, when the State was divided into three circuits, of which Worcester and the western counties constituted one circuit. Each circuit had three judges. The judges belonging to Worcester County were Edward Bangs of Worcester, and Solomon Strong of Leominster. All the judges held courts throughout the circuit.

In 1820 the circuits were abolished, and four, (afterwards increased to seven), judges were appointed, without reference to county lines. This arrangement terminated in 1859. The judges of this court, residing within the county, were Solomon Strong of Leominster, Charles Allen, Pliny Merrick, Emory Washburn, and Edward Mellen of Worcester.

SUPERIOR COURT.

The Superior Court was established in 1859, taking the place of the Court of Common Pleas in the judicial system of the Commonwealth. Its jurisdiction, original and appellate, is general, in both civil and criminal matters. Capital cases are the only criminal cases not triable in this court; and that is the only class of criminal cases which are tried in the Supreme Judicial Court. In civil matters its jurisdiction is exclusive or concurrent with that of the lower courts, or with that of the Supreme Court. Until after the adoption of the present Constitution in 1820, the Supreme Judicial Court was the only court of general jurisdiction in this Commonwealth. In 1821 the circuit courts of Court of Common Pleas were abolished, and the Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth was established.

Until 1839 the Supreme Judicial Court had appellate jurisdiction over causes, both civil and criminal, tried in the Court of Common Pleas. But by act of 1839, chapter 161, it was provided that "no appeal shall hereafter be allowed to the Supreme Judicial Court from any conviction in the Court of Common Pleas;" and by act of 1840, chapter 87, the right of appeal from any judgment of the Court of Common Pleas upon the verdict of a jury in civil matters was taken away. After the last-named date a great majority of all jury trials occurred in the Court of Common Pleas, so long as that court existed, and now take place in the Superior Court.

The jurisdiction of this court has been enlarged from time to time by the legislature, and now embraces nearly every species of litigation known to our courts, except cases in equity, which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Supreme Judicial Court.

The judges of the Superior Court, from the county, have been Charles Allen, chief justice, who died in 1869; Charles Devens, now attorney-general of the United States; Francis H. Dewey, and P. Emory Aldrich, who are now in office. Judge Allen was offered the position of chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Chief Justice Shaw in 1860, but he declined the honor, preferring to retain the Chief-Justiceship of the Superior Court.

SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE, NOW THE SUPREME COURT.

According to Judge Washburn, whose history has been often referred to in preparing these pages, there had been a Superior Court in the Colony and the Province from early times. It was in existence when this county was formed, and had original and appellate jurisdiction. Of course it had no special relation to Worcester County, but held its sessions here annually, as in the other counties. It was necessary to make our judicial system complete. Its name, previous to the Revolution, was the "Superior Court of Judicature." Its first session in this county was held in the meeting-house, on the twenty-second of September, 1731. The judges, says Wall, in "Reminiscences of Wor-

cester," were : " Benjamin Lynde, chief justice ; Addington Davenport, Paul Dudley, Edmund Irving, and John Cushing." Daniel Gookin, son of Gen. Gookin, the friend and patron of the Christian Indians, was sheriff. There were present " fifteen grand jurors, of whom Major Jonas Rice of Worcester was foreman ; John Hubbard of Worcester being foreman of the petit jury. This court affirmed four judgments of the Common Pleas Court, on complaint, tried one indictment, and on the twenty-second adjourned, without day, after a session of two days." The only judge of this court, belonging to this county, was Jedediah Foster of Brookfield, whose term extended from 1776 to 1779.

In 1780, before the close of the Revolution, but after the colony had cast off all connection with the king and the mother country, this court was and has since been known under the title of

THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.

This tribunal has always enjoyed a high reputation, not only in our own Commonwealth, but throughout the country. Many of its judges have been held in honor among the jurists of Europe. Its history does not belong to the county of Worcester, but in subsequent pages, several cases of great interest to the inhabitants of the county will receive our attention. Since the adoption of the State Constitution, in 1780, the following gentlemen, residents of Worcester at the time, have been justices of the Supreme Court : — Levi Lincoln, the younger, afterwards governor ; Benjamin F. Thomas, afterwards member of Congress from another district ; Pliny Merrick ; Dwight Foster, now living in Boston ; and Charles Devens, a member of President Hayes's cabinet.

COURTS OF PROBATE AND INSOLVENCY.

One of the judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas was generally Judge of Probate. The list of judges, with their term of office, here follows :

John Chandler of Woodstock,	from 1731 to 1740
Joseph Wilder, Sr., of Lancaster,	" 1740 to 1756
John Chandler of Worcester,	" 1756 to 1762
John Chandler, Jr., of Worcester,	" 1762 to 1775
Jedediah Foster of Brookfield,	" 1775 to 1776
Levi Lincoln, Sr., of Worcester,	" 1776 to 1783
Joseph Dorr of Ward, (now Auburn),	" 1783 to 1801
Nathaniel Paine of Worcester,	" 1801 to 1836
Ira M. Barton of Worcester,	" 1836 to 1844
Benjamin F. Thomas of Worcester,	" 1844 to 1848
Thomas Kinnicutt of Worcester,	" 1848 to 1857
Dwight Foster of Worcester,	" 1857 to 1858
Henry Chapin of Worcester,	" 1858 to 1878

Adin Thayer was appointed in the autumn of 1878, on the decease of Judge Chapin.

In 1855 the legislature created a court of insolvency, which began its work July 1, 1856. Hon. A. H. Bullock was the first judge. He was soon succeeded by Hon. William W. Rice, who continued in the office till the middle of 1858, when this court was merged in the Court of Probate and Insolvency.

The registers of probate and insolvency have been these: John Chandler, the second judge; Timothy Paine, Clark Chandler, Rev. Joseph Wheeler, and Theophilus Wheeler, his son, whose united terms extended to sixty years, from 1775 to 1836; Charles G. Prentiss, John J. Piper, and Charles E. Stevens, the present incumbent. Austin L. Rogers was the first register of insolvency, and was succeeded by Mr. Piper; Charles E. Stevens, Esq., was assistant register from 1859, and in 1869 was chosen to the office of register of the consolidated court. He was re-elected in 1878. This court holds its sessions in Worcester twice a month, except in August; in Fitchburg once each month, except in July and August; at Templeton, Barre, and Milford twice each year.

CENTRAL DISTRICT COURT.

The courts whose jurisdiction is confined to the city of Worcester, will find their place in the history of the town or city. Police courts and municipal courts are of local interest. But the Central District Court of the county, which was constituted in 1872, comprises the city of Worcester and the circumjacent towns of Millbury, Sutton, Auburn, Leicester, Paxton, West Boylston, Holden, and Shrewsbury. The Hon. Hartley Williams, who had been judge of the Municipal Court, has been judge of the Central District Court from its organization to the present time. The clerks have been two: Hon. Clark Jillson, and Theodore S. Johnson, Esq. The latter holds the office at the present time.

There are five other district courts in the county. The first South Worcester district includes the towns of Webster, Southbridge, Sturbridge, Charlton, Dudley, and Oxford. The Hon. Clark Jillson is the judge. The sessions of the court are held in Webster and Southbridge.

The second South Worcester Court has jurisdiction over Blackstone, Uxbridge, Douglas, and Northbridge. The court sits at Blackstone and Uxbridge. The judge is Hon. Arthur A. Putnam.

The third South Worcester district embraces the towns of Milford, Mendon, and Upton. The court holds its sessions at Milford. Hon. Charles A. Dewey is the judge.

The first East Worcester District Court is for the accommodation of Westborough, Northborough, Southborough, and Grafton. It sits at Westborough and Grafton. The judge is Hon. Dexter Newton.

The second East Worcester District includes Clinton, Lancaster, Sterling, Harvard, Bolton, and Berlin. Hon. Charles G. Stevens is judge, and Frank E. Howard, Esq., clerk. The court sits at Clinton.

Fitchburg has a Police Court, of which Thornton K. Ware is, and has long been, the justice. The other towns have trial justices.

These district courts hold a position between that of justices of the peace, on the one side, and the superior courts on the other. They are a great convenience, because they provide a tribunal presided over by a lawyer, and, therefore, more competent than an ordinary justice of the peace; they bring the seat of the court nearest to the residence of the parties interested, and they greatly relieve the Superior Court, whose docket is crowded with cases. It is believed that they are generally held in respect by the bar and community. As population increases and cases multiply, the needs of society will be met, as the district court system is capable of indefinite expansion. If necessary, the districts may be lessened in size and increased in number; and the courts may be held daily like police and municipal courts. By extending their jurisdictions for them, relief might be gained for the higher courts.

The judicial system, thus outlined, has gradually reached its present shape, as popular need and legislative wisdom have determined. The object is to protect society, guard the rights of all, and secure justice between man and man. Perhaps but little remains to be done by law to promote these ends.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

The following table contains the names of the various county officers, except judges and registers of probate, which last have been inserted in another place. Treasurers and registers of deeds have always been chosen by the people. Since 1857 the other officers given in this list, except the criers of courts, have been elected in the same manner:—

District Attorneys, since the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780.

John Sprague.	Edward D. Bangs, .	1824	E. B. Stoddard, .	1856	
Daniel Bigelow.	Pliny Merrick, .	1825	P. Emory Aldrich, .	1857	
Nathaniel Paine, .	1779	Ezra Wilkinson, .	1844	Hartley Williams, .	1866
Edward Bangs, .	1801	Benjamin F. Newton, .	1851	William W. Rice, .	1868
William C. White, .	1811	P. Emory Aldrich, .	1853	Hamilton B. Staples, .	1873
Rejoice Newton, .	1819	John H. Matthews, .	1855		

Sheriffs.

Daniel Gookin, .	1731	John Sprague, .	1788	John W. Lincoln, .	1844
Benjamin Flagg, .	1743	Dwight Foster, .	1792	James W. Estabrook, .	1851
John Chandler, .	1751	William Caldwell, .	1793	George W. Richardson, .	1853
Gardner Chandler, .	1762	Thomas W. Ward, .	1805	J. S. C. Knowlton, .	1857
Simeon Dwight, .	1775	Calvin Willard, .	1824	A. B. R. Sprague, .	1871
William Greenleaf, .	1778				

Clerks of Court.

John Chandler, 2d,*	1731	Francis Blake, .	1814	John A. Dana, .	1877
Timothy Paine, .	1752	Abijah Bigelow, .	1817	Assistant clerks from 1847,	
Levi Lincoln, .	1775	Joseph G. Kendall, .	1832	Wm. A. Smith, 17 years;	
Joseph Allen, .	1776	Charles W. Hartshorn, .	1848	John A. Dana, 12 years,	
William Stedman, .	1810	Joseph Mason, .	1852	and William T. Harlow.	

* The first John Chandler (of Woodstock) was chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His son, John, Jr., here marked 2d, lived in Worcester, and was clerk eleven years, when he

Registers of Deeds.

John Chandler, 2d,*	1731	Oliver Fiske, .	1816	Harvey B. Wilder, .	1874
Timothy Paine, .	1761	Artemas Ward, .	1821	Charles A. Chase, .	1876
Nathan Baldwin, .	1775	Alexander H. Wilder, .	1846	Harvey B. Wilder, .	1877
Daniel Clapp, .	1784				

County Treasurers.

John Chandler, 2d, .	1731	Samuel Allen, .	1790	Charles A. Chase, .	1865
John Chandler, 3d. .		Anthony Chase, .	1831	Edward A. Brown, .	1876
Nathan Perry, .	1775				

Criers of the Courts.

Nathan Heywood, .	1750	Silas Brooks, .	1807	Henry K. Newcomb, .	
Samuel Briggs, .	1779	Thomas Chamberlain, .	1838	1855, until .	1867
Ephraim Mower, .	1800				

COUNTY BUILDINGS.

1. *Court-Houses.*

The first move towards furnishing the county with necessary public buildings has been briefly referred to. There being no court-house, the first sessions of the two courts of the Sessions of the Peace and of the Common Pleas were held in the old meeting-house. The first house of worship was near Trumbull Square. The second was built in 1719, and stood on the site of the present Old South Church. It was in this second meeting-house, which stood till 1763, that the courts were held. There being no jail, the Court of Sessions, in 1734, hired a part of the house of Judge Jennison for the confinement of prisoners.

At the August term, 1732, of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, measures were taken for the erection of a court-house. Judge Jennison gave the land, and the building was put up in 1733. This house, the dimensions of which have been given already, stood near the site of the present brick court-house. The location has always been styled "Court Hill." The house was opened for public use, February 8, 1734, when the first judge, John Chandler, made an address appropriate to the occasion.

In 1751, this building was superseded by a new one of somewhat larger measure, being forty feet by thirty-six. This and the former house stood somewhat in front of the east tier of the present public buildings on the row.

became Judge Chandler. His son, John (3d), succeeded his father as judge of probate in 1762. His grandfather had held the same office.

* This John Chandler is often styled Jr., in the records, as is his son John. To avoid mistake, I note this John (son of the judge of Woodstock), first clerk of the courts, county treasurer and register of deeds, as 2d. The third John Chandler, often called Jr., I have marked 3d. Keeping this in mind, the reader will avoid perplexity.

A larger court-house being needed, and the county having increased in ability to erect one more spacious and elegant, measures were taken, in 1801, which resulted in the present north or brick building. The corner-stone was laid Oct. 1, 1801. The building committee were Isaiah Thomas, William Caldwell, then sheriff, and Hon. Salem Towne, State Senator. The structure was forty-eight and one-half feet wide, by fifty and one-half long, with sufficient height for suitable rooms on the first and second floors. It was a well-proportioned and well-built building, with all needed accommodations; and with its dome surmounted by the goddess of justice holding even the scales, made an elegant appearance. The chief justice of the Supreme Court, Robert Treat Paine, at the opening of the court-house, Sept. 27, 1803, made a dedicatory address, in which he remarked that the "grandeur of the building" was a "striking proof of the prosperity of the inhabitants."

Need of room required the building of an addition, notwithstanding the erection of the granite court-house in 1844-5. The house was moved back forty feet, and sixteen feet added to the front, giving a depth of over sixty-six feet. The roof was also raised four feet, and the whole appearance improved. The sessions for the trial of criminal cases are held in this building.

The fourth building for the use of the courts is the granite court-house, which is truly a temple of justice. The county commissioners, — Messrs. William Crawford, David Davenport and Charles Thurber, with the special commissioners, Stephen Davis and Jerome Gardner, — in February, 1842, voted to build on a plan substantially like that of the present noble edifice, which befits a county so large and wealthy as Worcester. The estimates amounted to sixty-five thousand dollars for the building. The entire cost of putting the house into complete order for use as well as ornament, was not far from one hundred thousand dollars. It stands on land formerly occupied by the dwelling of Isaiah Thomas, which was removed to the rear.

The court-house was completed for occupancy in the summer of 1845, and was occupied for the first time by the Supreme Judicial Court in the autumn. The Hon. Lemuel Shaw, then chief justice, delivered the address of dedication, September 30, at the opening of the session. This was then, and is still, one of the most stately and well-arranged court-houses in the State. The material is Quincy granite, and the architecture is said to be a variation from that of the "Tower of the Winds" at Athens.

The building is about fifty-seven feet in width, and one hundred and eight feet deep from front to rear. The whole height, from the ground to the eaves, including base, columns, body and entablature, is forty-one feet, lacking a few inches. The apex of the pediment is eight feet higher, making the whole forty-eight and two-thirds feet. The whole building, except the rear end, is made of hammered stone.

The shafts of the six immense pillars in front are twenty-five feet high, in one piece; they are three and one-half feet in diameter above the scope of the

base, and two feet eleven inches in diameter below the scope of the neck. The length of the columns, including base and capital, is thirty feet.

There was some difficulty in transporting the pillars to the front of the building. They were taken, one at a time, from the central station at Washington Square, by an ox and horse team. As each pillar weighed nineteen tons, it was feared that the wooden bridge on Front Street would break down under them; therefore the teams came through Summer Street to Lincoln Square, where the brook was spanned by an arch of stone. Having reached the square, it was found that the ascent of "Court Hill," on the north side, was too steep; then the load was moved up Main Street to the foot of the south slope of the hill. Arriving here, it was impossible to turn the team and load, on account of the narrowness of the street. It was necessary to go up the street as far as the city hall, where room enough was found to turn. Proceeding thence down the street, the heavy loads were laid safely down at the spots most convenient for their erection.

Fitchburg was made a shire town in 1856. For some time the town (or city) hall was occupied by the courts. But a court-house being necessary, measures were taken by the county commissioners for its erection.

WORCESTER COUNTY JAILS.

The first prisoners sentenced by the Court of Sessions were confined, as we have seen, in a part of Judge Jennison's house, in connection with which a "cage" was built in the rear part. The "liberties of the yard" reached twenty feet on the south side and east end. This house stood near the court-house.

In 1732, at the February session of the Sessions Court, it was ordered that "in lieu of the prison before appointed, the cage, so called, already built, be removed to the chamber of the house of Deacon Daniel Heywood, innholder, and be the jail until the chamber be suitably furnished for a jail, and then the chamber be the gaol for the county, and the cage remain as one of the apartments." The inn of Deacon Heywood was on the site of the Bay State House. Here the prisoners, happily but a few, were kept a year or more, until a regular jail was built, in the year 1733. This was on the west side of Lincoln Street, perhaps fifty rods north-east of the railroad station. The building was forty-one by eighteen feet. The part used as a prison was eighteen feet square, with a stone dungeon underneath. This served the wants of the county for nearly twenty years.

A new jail was built in 1753, thirty-eight feet long by twenty-eight feet wide, and seven feet studs. The south end was "studded with joists, six inches square, set five inches apart, and filled with stone and mortar." The prison was as strong as a profusion of oak plank, spikes and iron gratings could make it. This building was further down the street than the other.

As the county grew in population, and especially as the number of vagrants and malefactors increased, after the Revolution, it was found necessary to have

more room for prisoners, and to make the place of confinement more secure. Accordingly the Court of Sessions, at the December term, 1784, provided for erecting a stone building, sixty-four by thirty-two feet, three stories high. It was located on the south side of Lincoln Square, close to the present track of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad. "This," says Wall, "was completed Sept. 4, 1788, and considered a great affair. The lower story was divided into four arches, crosswise, forming four rooms, for the safe custody of persons convicted of, or committed for, gross crimes. The second story was divided in the same manner, — into four rooms, — but not arched with stone; these were for the keeping of debtors, who had not the liberty of the yard, and for persons committed for small offences. The upper story had an entry or walk from end to end, and was divided into eight convenient rooms for the use of prisoners for debt, who had the liberty of the jail yard. This yard extended so far as to include the jailer's house on the east side, and the meeting-house of the second parish (First Unitarian)." The jailer had a separate house, which was then considered a "handsome, well-furnished building." "The Massachusetts Spy," printed at the time by Isaiah Thomas, speaks in the following strain concerning this jail:

"This is judged to be at least the second stone building of consequence in the Commonwealth, none being thought superior to it, except the stone chapel in Boston; that is built of hewn stone; the stones of this one mostly as they were taken from the quarry. The master-workman, John Parks of Groton, has acquired great credit for the ingenuity and fidelity with which he has executed the work. A great saving must be experienced from the new building, as without some convulsion of nature, it is not probable that it will need any repairs, excepting the roof, for two or three centuries. The capaciousness of the building will make it answer for a workhouse, and save the county the expense of erecting one."

But there are causes more potent than a "convulsion of nature," which cause the demolition of old, and the erection of new buildings. A revolution of taste, a change of style, new ideas of prison discipline, a growing population, with its proportionate increase of idle, disorderly, and criminal persons; one or all of these causes combined, led to the erection of a house of correction, in 1819, only thirty-five years after the building of the massive stone jail. This building was of brick, fifty-three by twenty-seven feet, with the appointments of a workhouse; and was placed where the present spacious jail and house of correction stands on Summer Street. In 1832 the whole interior was rebuilt, after the plan of the now disused State Prison at Charlestown. This was the result of a "convulsion" of sentiment on the part of experimenters in prison discipline. Forty cells, seven feet by three and one-half feet in size, with three rooms for close confinement in the basement, were put in to accommodate increasing numbers. Three years later, arrangements were made to use a part of this building for a jail, when the old, grand structure on Lin-

coln Square, which was not to need repairs, except the roof, in two or three centuries, was taken down, and the stones built into a new house in a distant part of the city.

The jail and house of correction answered the purpose until 1873, when it was altered, remodeled, and enlarged to its present ample dimensions. The cost of the alterations and additions amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars.

When Fitchburg became a half-shire town, a jail and house of correction, as well as a court-house were indispensable. The prison or jail in that place is a model building. It is both a jail and a house of correction.

The jailers and keepers of the house of correction, in Worcester, are on record since 1746. Before that time it is supposed that the sheriff looked after the wants and the safe-keeping of prisoners by deputy, but it is not known who were employed. Between 1748 and 1788, the jailers were Luke Brown, Luke Brown, Jr., and Samuel Brown, son of the latter. The first keeper of the new stone jail was Lemuel Rice. Dea. Nathan Heard came into the office in 1798, and his son, Gen. Nathan Heard, succeeded in 1812. Asahel Bellows had the charge of the prisoners from 1824 to 1835, when the stone jail was taken down, and the occupants were transferred to the house of correction on Summer Street. The latter building is used both as a jail and a house of correction. John F. Clark was keeper of the house of correction from 1819, when it was opened, till 1837, and jailer two years. Asa Matthews succeeded in both capacities, for ten or twelve years, when Rufus Carter was appointed. He held the office twenty-two years. Charles N. Hair followed him, in 1872, and remained till 1875, when Gen. A. B. R. Sprague, sheriff, took the whole superintendence of the institution.

There is a chapel in the jail capable of seating several hundred persons.

PRISONERS FOR DEBT.

In an old record book, preserved in the jail at Worcester, there is a long list of commitments to prison, giving the offence or cause for which the parties were confined. The greater number were for debt, but in the list is to be found almost every kind of misdemeanor by which the peace of society is disturbed.

In the first column are the names of the offenders. Then comes a description of them as to their calling, business or standing; their height and complexion; their residence; the authority by whom they were committed; their offence; and how they were discharged. Among the names are many of the most respectable family names in the county. Some of the occupations were as follows: Husbandman, laborer, physician, yeoman, mariner, school-master, gentleman, trader, taverner, jeweller, blacksmith, joiner, spinster, cordwainer, esquire, carpenter, etc.

Some of the offences for which the parties were sent to prison, were these:

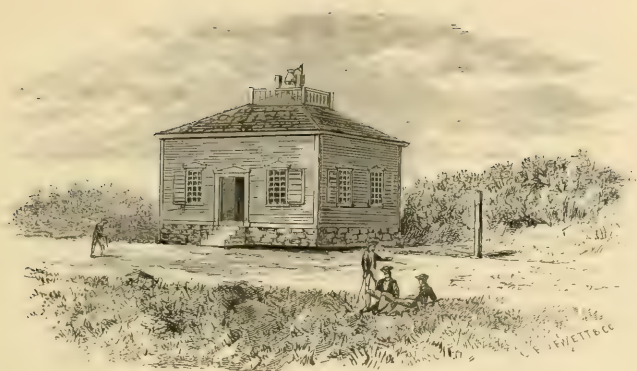
Counterfeiting, and passing bad money, a very common crime; theft; fornication; abusing a man, by foul language probably, though this is not specified; forgery; fighting; adultery, very uncommon; not paying taxes; abusing a wife, one case; stealing a horse; assault and battery; breaking open a jeweler's shop.

About 1785-6, many men were committed for *treason*. This sounds formidable till we understand the matter, when it seems less heinous, though to our fathers the case seemed almost desperate. The treason was in connection with the "Shays' Rebellion." At this late day it will do no harm to mention the names of some of the most conspicuous men involved in that blundering mode of rectifying public evils and wrongs. Col. Luke Drury was one of the alleged traitors. Another was Capt. Jacob Goulding; and Rev. Caleb Curtis and John Dunsmoor, gentlemen, were in the same category. These, with many others, were sent to Boston jail. It was probably thought they would be more securely lodged in Boston than in Worcester. A year or two earlier it would have been difficult even to arrest these men in some towns of the county. Luke Chamberlain was tried and acquitted by the Supreme Court. The others were probably discharged on proper recognizances, when the danger was past, and the authority of the State government properly vindicated.

The reasons for discharge of the prisoners are given in connection with the names. These are some of them: Giving new security; consent of parties; habeas corpus; benefit of the law; swearing, or taking the poor debtor's oath; order from the high sheriff; bail; by the plaintiff; sometimes by death. But a large number escaped by "breaking jail." This mode of discharge occurred so often, that one finds it hard to doubt the complicity of the authorities. Certainly, there was little use in having such jails or jailers, if the object was to hold men in confinement before trial, or after conviction. If a worthless tramp or sneak-thief showed a disposition to escape from jail and take himself out of the county, possibly the officers in charge were not always so vigilant as they might have been.

As said above, a large proportion of the prisoners were committed for debt. Some were fraudulent debtors, who wilfully refused to pay their creditors, and they were justly confined. A law to reach such cases is still in force. But most of the debtor class were "poor debtors"; men willing, but unable to pay acknowledged claims against them.

This ancient method of forcing payment, which was brought from England, has been discarded in recent times, and it now seems to have been a relic of barbarism. The process was to put a debtor in prison, in the hope that he would find some way to make payment. Perhaps he had concealed some property which the creditor could not lay hands on; perhaps his father, his children, or some other relatives or friends would come forward and pay the debt. Possibly, rather than take the "poor debtor's oath," which might involve perjury, or fix a stigma upon his name, the man would find some way of satisfying



FIRST COURT-HOUSE.

Built in Worcester in 1732-3, on the site where the present Court-Houses stand.

his creditor. These motives prompted to the measure of imprisoning men for debt. It is quite possible that malicious men sometimes gratified their spite by imprisoning those who were obnoxious to them. But certainly the worst place to put an honest debtor in was a prison. He was taken from his business and placed where there was little chance for work or useful occupation of any kind. Often, after weeks or months of confinement, the debtor was released, and the creditor had his "labor for his pains." That is, the trouble incurred in the arrest and imprisonment of his poor neighbor brought him nothing but the enmity of the debtor and his family, and perhaps the reproach of the community. It was a poor way to collect debts, and was abandoned by almost universal consent.

But the reader of the old "Records" will find honored names in the list of debtors. One was a general and high-sheriff of the county. Another was a revolutionary patriot, held in respect and esteem in his time, and remembered with honor long after his decease. Was there no way for him who had served his country well, and periled his life in her cause, to be set free? Alas, but one way was found: "Discharged by death" stands against his name. It was easier for posterity to "give him a stone" than for his contemporaries to "give him bread."

A case which occurred at a later day, and is still remembered by many persons somewhat advanced in life, may be related more at length. It was the case of a man extensively known at the time, and not yet forgotten; one who was a magnificent man in his way, and knew how to turn his imprisonment from a cause of shame to a scene of triumph.

Sampson V. S. Wilder was born in Lancaster, but early in life went to Boston, where he began a career full of enterprise and crowned with wonderful success: but which finally met a sad reverse, and left him hopelessly in debt, though without a suspicion of dishonesty. His life is sketched in a modest and interesting manner by his daughter, Mrs. Haynes, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, in a work which will reward the reader.

In the time of Gen. Jackson's ascendancy in our national politics, Mr. Wilder was a business man of large means and extensive plans. His fortunes were involved with the success or ruin of the United States Bank, and with the continuance or repeal of the protective tariff. At the time of the great panic or crash, about 1837, he was a large dealer in cotton, and was exposed to all the fluctuations which then made business extremely hazardous. Being inquired of one day concerning his property, he remarked that he did not know how much he was worth. It might turn out that he had half a million, and it might happen that he was worth nothing. It proved to be the ebb-tide of his fortunes; as happened to thousands of others, his richly-laden bark was stranded. All was lost but integrity and honor.

Among his creditors was a man of large property living in Boston. This man, whose name need not be mentioned, was a dealer in liquors, and in some

way, perhaps by lending money, had a claim of some magnitude against Mr. Wilder. In the settlement of the business, this man refused all accommodation, and insisted on the payment of the debt. He probably thought that in the wreck of a fortune like that of Mr. Wilder, something must have been saved which could be opened to light and extorted, if sufficient pressure were brought to bear on the victim. Therefore he had Mr. Wilder cast into the Worcester jail.

Mr. Wilder was a large, hearty man, delighting in activity, and needing freedom in the open air. Confinement to him was doubly irksome. It began to tell upon his health. The creditor was appealed to by his own friends to consent to a release, but he was inexorable. His theory was that Mr. Wilder or his friends could find means to liquidate the claim whenever they were ready. The question came up: Why would not Mr. Wilder take the poor debtor's oath? He replied that he could not do it as a truthful man, and he would not lie and perjure himself to save his life. Then why not part with all he had, and pay his creditor as far as the funds would go? The answer was, because the things which were valuable to him, would be of little or no use to another, though prized by himself. They were gifts or keep-sakes, and yet they were property in such a sense that he could not swear that he had nothing.

At length the prisoner's health began to fail. He asked for no mercy, begged for no privilege. By misfortune he had become unable to pay his debts. It was a grief to him that any should lose by means of his inability to pay; but he could suffer with dignity, and maintain a proper self-respect. The odium was all on the side of the creditor. Mr. Wilder was known beyond the bounds of the State, and the story of his confinement aroused indignation against the Shylock who was insisting not only on the "pound of flesh," but reducing a stalwart frame to leanness. The pressure was so great that the friends of the creditor finally prevailed on him to go to the jail and grant a release. He came up, and with some parade of his lenity, evidently expected a show of gratitude. But he met with a different reception. Mr. Wilder showed him the folly and cruelty of his conduct, till the man began to feel that he was the culprit. His tears began to flow, and when sufficiently subdued, Mr. Wilder, in his lordly but benignant way, exclaimed, "Get down on your knees and beg pardon of your God and of me, for your hard-hearted conduct, and I will pray for you." The man obeyed, and Mr. Wilder, kneeling beside him, offered a fervent supplication for his repentant oppressor. Rising, he accepted his release, took the man by the hand, and bade him go in peace. The creditor went home a wiser, perhaps a better man.

A word more in regard to county jails, houses of correction, and other topics, will come up in course. A recent change in the law, so far as female prisoners are concerned, has worked a revolution in our prison system. The State has erected a spacious woman's prison in the town of Sherborn, to which the females, condemned for misdemeanor and crimes, have been removed from

all the jails in the Commonwealth. The friends of the new measure, especially the women who have given much attention to the subject of prison discipline, expect favorable results. The plan has been carried into effect in the face of much doubt and some opposition; yet the advocates of the experiment are hopeful. They believe that a prison especially planned for women, and placed under the control of qualified persons of their own sex, will not only free the prisoners from many unfavorable influences, but will open the way for the adoption of many remedial measures for their reformation. It is claimed that the short terms of imprisonment, though serving as punishment, do not give time for the breaking up of old habits, and confirming the reformed in ways of self-denial, and self-respect, and good morals. The expectation is that many will be so improved, while in confinement, that they will return, on the expiration of their sentence, if not before, prepared to be good members of their families, and a blessing rather than a moral nuisance to the community. The good wishes of all friends of humanity wait on the experiment.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERESTING CASES BEFORE COURTS IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

A FEW cases, gathered from the records of the "Court of General Sessions of the Peace," have been referred to on a preceding page. There was no special interest in those cases in a legal point of view, and they were given merely for the purpose of showing the state of morals, and the scope of the court in matters of schooling and supporting public worship. In the present chapter, a cursory view of a few cases will be presented which were of greater import. All had points of interest at the time; and though the parties to them have long been dead, and nearly all of them forgotten, yet the recital will never fail to challenge the attention of unchanging human nature.

Following the order of time, the first case to be noticed is that of *Hopkins vs. Ward*, to which attention was called by the kindness of Hon. George F. Hoar. The trial is reported in an article entitled an "Ante-Revolutionary Case," published in the "Law Reporter" of 1859-60, from which the following statement is condensed:—

CASE OF HOPKINS *vs.* WARD.

Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward were distinguished men in the annals of Rhode Island. Hopkins had a national fame as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Both were governors of Rhode Island and

Providence Plantations. The particulars of the trial are too numerous to be presented in detail. In matters of controversy in relation to the public conduct of Hopkins, which had been censured by Ward, the former issued a pamphlet, in which his course was explained and defended. In the same publication, Ward was severely blamed for failing to serve the public, and for finding fault with those who were faithfully bearing the burden of affairs. This was in the time of the last French and Indian war, — 1755-63.

It appears that Lord Loudon, who was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, with Gen. Abercrombie as second in command, called on Gov. Hopkins of Rhode Island for a number of soldiers, as well as teams for transporting munitions of war. There was delay, and the call was repeated towards the close of an inefficient campaign. The call was then answered by Gov. Hopkins, but too late to be of any service, and Loudon refused to allow any compensation. This was in 1756.

Some time previous, a lot of French prisoners, in custody of the Rhode Island authorities, were allowed to escape, or were set free, by Gov. Hopkins, or through his influence.

Two per cent. was allowed by the Rhode Island Government to the "Committee of War" on all money which passed through their hands. Gov. Hopkins was a member of this committee. One of the sons of the governor was a commissary, and received the usual compensation. Besides, he made an extra charge for conveying an amount of specie from New York. Another son was his assistant. These facts were used by Ward, in conversation, to the prejudice of Hopkins; and he, fearing their effect on the public mind, published the pamphlet referred to above, in his own justification, and in severe censure of his antagonist.

Ward's pamphlet was in reply, and was written with ability and great bitterness. Hopkins, in closing, had said, "It is not the pleasure or the profit that attends the important office that I at present sustain, but my duty to God and my country, that prevents my deserting my post at this time, when difficulties of almost every kind, from abroad and at home, involve an unhappy people." With this passage before him, Ward closed his pamphlet with these words, "I shall conclude with observing that when the governor of a Colony has so little regard to his character as to print absolute falsehoods, and is so fond of his post as to stick at nothing to keep it, the world will judge what sense he has of his duty to God and his country."

At the ensuing election, Mr. Hopkins lost his election, lacking four hundred votes. He was intensely angry, and said that it would not be a crime for him to kill Mr. Ward. This was testified by more than one witness. There was no proof that he threatened to kill, but that he considered the offence and injury so great that killing would be justifiable homicide.

Hopkins began his suit, June 20, 1757, before the Court of Common Pleas of Worcester County. The object was to get away from the bitter prejudices

which prevailed in Rhode Island, which would make it almost impossible to find an impartial jury. By a fiction of law, he alleged that the pamphlet of Ward, which was libellous, had been issued at Newport, in the county of Worcester. He recited his complaint, mentioning the various charges and insinuations made against him, and, in claiming special damages, alleged that his defeat as candidate for the governorship, on the first Wednesday of the preceding May, was caused by the publication. He claimed damages to the amount of £5,000.

The Court of Common Pleas at that time consisted of John Chandler of Worcester, the second judge of that name; Edward Hartwell of Lunenburg, formerly of Lancaster; Thomas Steele of Leicester, and Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick.

The lawyers who managed the case of Hopkins were Edmund Trowbridge, whose fame as a lawyer towers up over the wastes of a century like a mountain over the intervening country, and John Aplin of Rhode Island. Mr. Ward employed Benjamin Pratt, one of the foremost members of the bar in the Province, and afterwards celebrated as the chief justice of New York. His junior was Henry Ward of Rhode Island.

Ward being put on his defence, denied that he was actuated by malice in what he had published, and pleaded the truthfulness of his statements. In his replication, Hopkins denied the truthfulness of Ward's alleged libels, asserted that they were malicious, and put himself on his country. Ward did likewise. The court then adjourned to the second Tuesday in September.

When the trial came on, Ward admitted the publication. The defeat of Hopkins as candidate for the office of governor was proved by a clerk who was concerned in counting, or certifying the count of the votes. There is no proof of malice on record. The defendant then brought evidence to sustain the charges or statements contained in his pamphlet. First, he proved that Hopkins, as member of the Committee of War, had taken his portion of the two per cent. on all public money which passed through the hands of the committee; second, that the French prisoners were released, as Ward had alleged; third, that the son of Hopkins had received larger pay for the transportation of specie than others would have charged; fourthly, that one of his sons was employed as commissary, and another as assistant.

Another matter was broached, the object of which is not apparent; but it is conjectured that the design of the defendant was to raise a prejudice in the minds of the judges and jury against Hopkins as a man who was tainted with disloyalty to the king. One witness testified that he heard Hopkins ask, with warmth, "What have the king and parliament to do with making a law or laws to govern us by, any more than the Mohawks have? And, if the Mohawks should make a law or laws to govern us, we were as much obliged to obey them as any law or laws the king and parliament could make." He had said, further, "that as our forefathers came from Leyden, and were no charge to

England, the States of Holland had as good a right to claim us as England had."

The jury found for the defendant, giving costs of suit. Judgment ruled accordingly. Hopkins then appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, and entered into recognizance to prosecute his appeal with effect. This, however, he failed to do, and hence the following record: "The plaintiff, by his attorney, prayed leave to discontinue his suit, he being unprepared for trial. Granted. It is, therefore, considered by the court that the said Samuel Ward recover against the said Stephen Hopkins costs taxed at £22 13s. 9d. Execution issued, September 13, 1760."

The reader will recall the signature of "Step: Hopkins," in trembling hand, to the immortal Declaration of 1776. He was in public life from 1731 to 1785, more than half a century. It will be noted that none of the charges of Ward alleged any criminal or unpatriotic conduct, and might safely have been left to die without notice. The whole affair was a political squabble, and both parties to the case were afterwards in public life. But the opinions of Gov. Hopkins in relation to the authority of king and parliament in 1756, or twenty years before the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of special notice. Though brought forward to injure him in the view of the court, they are now among his titles to honor and renown.

THE SPOONER CASE.

This case is the most celebrated of any in the judicial annals of Worcester County. It was the occasion of universal horror and indignation at the time of its occurrence, and after a hundred years have passed, the story awakens the same passions as were then prevalent. The plan of murder was deliberate, yet short-sighted; it exhibited much cunning, yet had in it the elements of detection; the prime mover was urged on by a grim determination which bent the agents of her crime to her own unyielding will, yet was she troubled by retarding spasms of conscience; her motive was not only a fierce spirit of revenge against her husband for the greatest wrong a wife can suffer, but an unwifely passion for another and a younger man. Her position in society made her deed more conspicuous; her spirit, sense, and beauty, enhanced the personal interest of the story, and the touching incident of her merited death, involving the life of her unborn child, while awakening a misplaced sympathy for the criminal, gave an additional horror to the tragic event.

Mrs. Bathshea or Bathsheba Spooner was the daughter of the celebrated Hon. Timothy Ruggles, known in the height of his success and prosperity as Brigadier Ruggles. He was the son of the Rev. Timothy Ruggles, the minister of the first parish in Rochester, and was born October 11, 1711. At the age of twenty-one he was graduated at Harvard College. Having studied law, he commenced the practice of his profession in his native town, which he represented in the General Court in 1736, when he was twenty-five years of age.

Having taken up his residence in Sandwich, he married a rich widow, and opened a tavern. Strange as it may seem, he carried on the business of hotel-keeping and had an extensive practice as a lawyer at the same time. He was attentive to his guests, and polite to all comers, and attended to the duties of the bar-room and the stables with equal assiduity, saying that no man should feel above his business. To such a man, success in life was inevitable. He soon took rank with the leading men in his profession, and attended the courts in Bristol and Plymouth, as well as in Barnstable County. He was a fair scholar, knew more law than the majority of legal practitioners, had the command of terse and forcible language, possessed sense, tact, and energy, and had self-confidence and courage for any undertaking which his interest or ambition inspired him to pursue.

Mr. Ruggles settled in Hardwick, in this county, when he had attained the ripe age of forty-four years, and was in the full maturity of his powers. Doubtless he would have maintained his high position at the Worcester bar, even in competition with Mr. Putnam, if the public service had not diverted his exertions into other courses. In 1755, the year after his coming, he entered the army, which was destined to act against the enemy in the last French and Indian war. He was in the expedition to Crown Point, as colonel, and was second in command under Sir William Johnson, in the battle in which Baron Dieskau was defeated. His reputation rose high, and the way was open for further service and success. He was out in the campaign of 1756 and 1757, in the capacity of colonel, and commanded a regiment of Worcester and Hampshire men, under Lord Amherst. In the next year he served under Lord Amherst, in the expedition against Canada, with the title of brigadier-general. His military career now ended, but the service continued, for George II. was highly pleased with him, and granted him the office of "Surveyor-General of the Woods," with a salary of three thousand pounds sterling.

He was appointed a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in 1757, and chief justice in 1762. This position was held by him until the outbreak of the Revolution. When the congress, made up of delegates from the several Colonies, was held in New York, in October, 1765, General Ruggles was one of the members from Massachusetts, and was chosen president of the body. It is a singular fact that though he was chosen president, and might, therefore, be supposed to represent the congress, he was the only member who did not give his sanction to the result. Returning home, the other two delegates, Otis and Partridge, received a vote of thanks from the legislature, while Ruggles was reprimanded by the speaker.

At the opening of the Revolution he took the royal side, and not only lost his popularity, but became odious to the people. There is no doubt that he loved his country, and believed the time would come when it would be independent; but he did not see that the time had already come. His property was confiscated, and his name became a hissing.

Besides his large estate in Hardwick, where he kept thirty horses, and had a deer park of twenty acres, and a pack of hounds for his numerous guests, he owned four farms in other localities. Though living in style, he was temperate in his habits, prudent and sagacious in the management of his affairs, and capable of filling any position to which he might be raised. Such was, in brief, the father of Mrs. Spooner; and the envy which his prosperity and his pride had excited, united with the hatred inspired by his course in joining the enemies of his country, was visited upon the devoted head of his accomplished but guilty and unhappy daughter. The bitterness of party gave a color to all the proceedings at her trial, and caused both the people and the council to believe her false when she prayed for the life of her unborn child.

Mrs. Spooner was the sixth child of General Ruggles, and was born February 13, 1745-6. She was at the time of the fearful tragedy, thirty-three years of age, and was a woman of fine appearance, agreeable manners, and great strength of character. She was married in the year 1766 to Mr. Joshua Spooner. He was considerably older than his young, spirited wife, and was feeble in body as well as in the elements of a vigorous manhood. As she was resolute and passionate, they were an ill-assorted pair. Why she consented to such a union is not known, but it is supposable that the match was considered an eligible one, as he was a respectable country trader, with a handsome property. It is more probable that the marriage was dictated by the feeling of a worldly-minded father, than prompted by the heart of an accomplished girl. By this marriage there were three children, one son and two daughters. The latter were married some years after the death of their mother.

It is reported in the accounts of the crime and trial that the parties lived together unhappily, but no statement that I have seen distributes the blame between the parties. There is a tradition that Bathsheba Ruggles was once crossing the river at Springfield, in a time of flood, when there was danger that the boat would be swamped, and all on board drowned. She, however, made light of the danger, so far as concerned herself, remarking that one born to be hanged would never die by drowning. If this never occurred, yet it is probable that it was characteristic, and so has clung to her memory. The father, with all his talents and public spirit, was a man of low moral principle, and it is believed that he set his children an example of conjugal infidelity. With such a temper and such an evil example, she took the vows of marriage to a man unfitted to please one of her beauty, accomplishments and talents.

It is a tradition in the family that she believed her husband was not only unfaithful to his vows, but had an unprincipled woman in the house. The argument of her counsel not obscurely intimates that this woman — perhaps more than one — was a servant in the kitchen. Such were the parties,

and such were their conditions. Being such, the train was laid for a fearful explosion when accident should apply the spark.

Three other prominent actors in the bloody tragedy may be briefly described. One was named James Buchanan: he was a Scotchman by birth, and had served in the British army, under Gen. Burgoyne. After the defeat of that general at Saratoga, his soldiers were marched into Massachusetts. He had held the rank of sergeant, had a decent education, and a good appearance. About the time of the murder he was traveling or "tramping" over the country, from the coast towards Springfield. He was thirty years old.

William Brooks, his companion in travel, as he had been in war, was an Englishman, aged twenty-seven years; he was a private, under Burgoyne, and at the capture of the army, was brought hither. He appears to have been the least respectable in the band of assassins.

The third person was Ezra Ross, who was still a boy of eighteen, though he had been through some of the roughest experience of manhood. Two years before, at the age of sixteen, he had joined the army, with four brothers, older than himself. On his return from his first campaign, in 1776, broken with the hardships of the field, he passed through Brookfield, on the way to his home, in the parish of Linebrook, County of Essex, and was entertained at the house of Mr. Spooner. Here he remained some time, an invalid, and Mrs. Spooner treated him with the care and tenderness of a mother. Having recovered strength, he went on his way to his father's house, cherishing feelings of gratitude towards his kind and fascinating hostess. In 1778 he was out again in the northern campaign, and returned by the same route, which brought him to Brookfield and Mr. Spooner's house. He was a fine-looking youth. She was beautiful, and with other accomplishments, was an elegant rider. She and young Ross often took horseback rides in company, and it is supposed that at this time her liking for the youth was fermented into a guilty passion. These were the *dramatis personæ*.

Taking up the narrative, it appears that on the first of March, 1778, Joshua Spooner was murdered and thrown into his own well.

An inquest was held, and it was found that Mr. Spooner, on the evening of the first of March, which was Sunday, had been at the village tavern, with Dr. King and wife, and perhaps some other neighbors. Returning home, about nine of the clock, alone, when near his own door, he was feloniously assaulted by one or more ruffians, knocked down by a club, beat and bruised about the head, and then thrown into his own well, with water in it. This was done "by persons to the jury unknown."

On the morning after the murder, Mr. Spooner being missing, there was

great inquiry for him. It was remembered that he had expressed fears for his life, and especially disliked the presence of the British soldiers in the neighborhood, and at his house. He seems to have esteemed young Ross, who was tolerably educated and well-behaved, and to have had no distrust of his wife. But the anxiety of the neighbors to find the missing man led to search, when the body was found in the well.

When the body was brought into the house, it was noticed that none of the family would look at it except a little child. At the urgent entreaty of one of the jury of inquest, the wife went into the room, looked at her husband's remains, and putting her hands on his forehead, said: "Poor little man!"

The circumstances which led to the arrest of the guilty parties were various. As might be supposed, the whole community was appalled by the murder, and there was instant inquisition for the persons and the motive. But the folly of the three men, and of their instigator, Mrs. Spooner, soon fixed the suspicion of the public upon them. Their appearance, their confused talk, their contradictory explanations of their conduct and their whereabouts at the time of the murder, all combined to prove their guilt. Among other things, the two soldiers went towards Worcester, from which they had recently come, and arriving at the house of one Walker, they told such a parcel of lies to explain and excuse their return, as to arouse suspicion. Being arrested, they became more and more involved in the meshes of their own falsehoods, and finally implicated young Ross and Mrs. Spooner. All four were arrested. It came out that Mrs. Spooner had become eager for the death of her husband, and had told her feelings to Ross, though no measures had been taken by her to lead him into the commission of the crime previous to the night of the murder. He was the unconscious instrument in her hands by whom the other agents were brought on to the stage at the nick of time, though he had never been in the council of blood previous to the evening when the deed was done.

She gave orders to a servant to call in any British soldiers who might pass the house. A month previous to the fatal night, as Buchanan and Brooks were passing, they were invited to stop. Here they remained two weeks, and received liberal entertainment, being provided with food and liquor. They were not much in the presence of Mr. Spooner, eating at another table; but he knew of their presence, and was displeased and alarmed. He made some feeble efforts to get rid of them, but he was not the master of his own house, and the servants, male and female, were under the control of his wife.

A true bill was found against the three men and Mrs. Spooner, at Worcester, by the grand jury, on the third Tuesday of April, and the trial was speedy. The court was composed of the following judges: William Cushing, chief justice; Jedediah Foster, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent, David Sewall, and James

Sullivan; Robert Treat Paine was State's attorney, or attorney-general, and Levi Lincoln, senior, was the counsel for the prisoners.

It was charged that Brooks made the assault, knocked down and bruised Mr. Spooner; and that Buchanan and Ross aided and abetted. Mrs. Spooner was charged with the guilt of instigating, procuring, and rewarding the fell deed. The trial began on the 24th of April, in the meeting-house of the Old South parish.

At the trial the circumstantial evidence against the prisoners was strong, if not conclusive. There was no doubt that a murder had been committed. There was nothing to warrant the belief that the case was one of suicide. Neither was there suspicion against any one but the four persons presented to the court by the grand jury. The aversion of Mrs. Spooner to her husband; his unfaithfulness to her; her strange conduct in directing a servant, or servants, to call in passing soldiers; her keeping and entertaining Brooks and Buchanan for no apparent reason, and in spite of her husband's aversion to them, and dislike of their presence; the fact that they were present on the night of the murder, and their strange conduct and contradictory statements afterwards, all combine to fix the guilt of the crime upon all except, possibly, young Ross. And it was clear that he was in bad company. Moreover, these men had more money after the deed than seemed compatible with their condition in life, besides the possession of some articles of the victim's wearing apparel.

Jonathan King, the physician, being called to the stand, testified that he spent the evening of March 1st at Cooley's tavern, with Spooner, about a quarter of a mile from the home of the latter. Spooner left the tavern between eight and nine o'clock, and was well when he went away. He testified further, that the face and temple of Spooner were much bruised, and that blood was found on the well-curb.

Ephraim Cooley, the tavern keeper, testified that Spooner was pleasant and sociable, and left the tavern at the same time with Dr. King and wife. He was well at the time of leaving.

Then came the confession of one of the defendants on trial. Buchanan stated that while Spooner was at the tavern on Sunday evening, the conspirators were in his house keeping watch. They were supplied with victuals, and drank punch and rum. When Spooner was seen coming home, just before nine o'clock, Brooks stood within the small gate leading to the kitchen, and as Spooner came past, he knocked him down with his hand. Spooner tried to speak when down, but Brooks took him by the throat and partly strangled him. Ross and Buchanan came out of the house. Ross took Spooner's watch and gave it to Buchanan. Brooks and Ross took up Spooner and put him into the well, head first. Buchanan pulled off his — Spooner's — shoes. He was, according to his statement, immediately struck with remorse.

They found Mrs. Spooner in the sitting-room, and she seemed "vastly con-

fused." She went up stairs and brought down a box containing money, and having no key, asked Buchanan to break it open, which he did. Brooks and Ross came in, when she gave two notes of four hundred dollars each to Ross to change and give the money to Brooks. But some paper money was found, amounting to two hundred and forty-three dollars, which Brooks received, and returned the notes. She gave Ross four notes of ten pounds each to purchase canlet for a riding-dress. There was a distribution of clothing, including Spooner's waistcoat, breeches and shirt. She gave three eight-dollar bills to Buchanan. Buchanan added: "Had we all been immediately struck dead after the perpetration of so horrible a murder, and sent to hell, God would have been justified, and we justly condemned."

The story of the trial need not be drawn out at length, as the evidence was conclusive, and all admitted their guilt, except the instigator and rewarder of the crime. Mrs. Spooner asserted that she relented before the plan of murder was executed, and did not wish it to be done. But if so, she did nothing to avert the action which she had deliberately arranged to procure.

The State's attorney, Mr. Paine, presented the evidence to the jury in a clear manner, and called for the verdict which justice demanded. The counsel for the prisoners, Mr. Lincoln, managed the case with his usual skill and ability. The trial was fair, and the verdict of "guilty" was in accordance with the law and the evidence. And here, in ordinary cases, when the evidence of guilt is so full and conclusive, the sentence of the court would be followed by the execution of the guilty. But in this case, just here began a scene in the drama which kept the parties in suspense, and the people in a state of high excitement for many weeks.

Brooks and Buchanan were foreigners, without friends, and their case presented no points on which a petition for pardon, or even respite, could be founded, though, in fact, they were reprieved with the rest, that they might have time to make preparation for death and eternity. They were hired assassins, who had basely committed murder for pay.

But the case of Ross was different. Though guilty, he was young; he was not engaged in the plot to take Mr. Spooner's life. Only on the fateful evening was he drawn into the toils of the artful woman who was the moving-spring of all the puppets in the bloody act. Besides, he was a soldier who had done faithful service for his country in two or three campaigns, though only eighteen years old. The situation of his aged and worthy parents appealed with pathetic force to all feeling hearts. The following petition to the authorities sets forth the touching facts in the early life of the guilty youth. It was in these words:

"The memorial and petition of Jabez Ross and Joanna Ross of Ipswich (Lincoln) in the County of Essex, humbly sheweth that your memorialists are the unhappy parents of a most unfortunate son, now under sentence of death for the murder of Mr. Spooner — a murder the most shocking in its kind, and in circumstances not

to be paralleled. That out of the public troubles of the day, your memorialists have been called by providence to suffer a large and uncommon share. That at the commencement of hostilities, of seventeen children, six sons and three daughters alone survived to your aged and distressed petitioners, whose footsteps from that period have been marked with anxiety, and whose sorrows, from the melancholy fate of their youngest son, have received a tinge of the keenest kind.

“At the first instance of bloodshed, five of the six sons entered the public service; four fought at Bunker Hill; three marched to the southward with General Washington, of which number was the unhappy convict who engaged for only —, the other two for three years. A fourth mingled, at the northward, his bones with the dust of the earth.

“On his return from the first year's campaign he was, by the lot of providence, cast upon Mrs. Spooner in a severe fit of sickness, from whom he received every kind office and mark of tenderness that could endear and make grateful a child of sixteen, sick, destitute, in a strange place, at a distance from friends and acquaintance. After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, in his march to reinforce the northern army, gratitude for past favors led him to call on his old benefactress, who then added to the number of her kindnesses, and engaged a visit on his return. With a mind thus prepared and thus irresistibly prepossessed by her addresses and kindnesses on his tender years, he for the first time heard the horrid proposals, tempted by promises flattering to his situation, and seduced both from virtue and prudence, a child as he was, by a lewd, artful woman, he but too readily acceded to her measures, black as they were; but never attempted the execution of the detestable crime, notwithstanding repeated solicitations and as frequent opportunities, until on an accidental meeting he became a party with those ruffians, who, without his privity, had fixed on the time and place for that horrid transaction, of which he now stands justly convicted.

“Your petitioners by no means attempt an extenuation of guilt, or measures inconsistent with the safety of the community and the preservation of individuals. But if it is consistent; if the criminal, who is thoroughly possessed with a sense of what is past, present, or to come, can be spared, and his guilt condemned; if he has been a valuable member of society and fought in her cause, although from the inexperience peculiar to youth, the strength of some momentary impulses and alluring seducements, he gradually erred until he arrived to the violent act of wickedness; if upon recollection he has found repentance, confessed his life a forfeiture to the law, looking up to heaven for that forgiveness which none can find on earth; if an early confession of the whole matter and the suffering of a thousand deaths in the reflections of the mind; if the law, the government, and the grave can be satisfied and mercy displayed; in fine, if youth, if old age, the sorrows, the anguish of a father, the yearnings of a mother, the compassion and wishes of thousands can avail; if any or all of these considerations can arrest the hand of justice, plead effectually for mercy, and induce your honors to extend that pardon towards one of the poor unhappy victims destined to a most awful execution, and thereby give him an opportunity of atoning to the public for the injury he has done it—restore him to his country, to himself, his sympathizing friends,—to his aged, drooping, distressed parents. It will console them under the weightiest afflictions, and turn the wormwood and the gall into something tolerable; and your petitioners, in duty bound, will ever pray.”

The Rev. George Leslie, minister of the church in Linebrook, to which the parents belonged, joined in the petition. But the council was firm, and Ross was left for execution with the rest. He conducted with great propriety after his fate was settled, and was publicly baptized. As said before, the day of his execution was kept as a day of fasting and prayer in his native parish. The stricken parents had the sympathy of neighbors and of the general public, though the law justly doomed their son to suffer the awful penalty decreed to the murderer.

But Mrs. Spooner was the principal figure in this awful crime and dreadful pageant. Rev. Thaddeus Macarty, the venerable pastor of the Old South Church, often visited her, and she conversed freely with him upon her situation. Up to this time she would not admit the justice of her sentence. She said the witnesses had wronged her. She had indeed formed the plan, but never really thought it would be put in execution. Her heart relented when she found the soldiers were in earnest. It is quite credible that her purpose was bent this way and that by successive tides of feeling; and probably the strange men whom she had called into her service, familiar, as they were, with scenes of blood and rapine, took the matter, in a measure, into their own hands. At least, she would fain believe that she was not so guilty as the world supposed her to be. But she was a woman of fortitude, and neither sought, nor would accept, the sympathy of others. The prejudice of the community against her father and his family was well known to her, and therefore her pride forbade the manifestation of any weakness.

But at this time she averred that she was soon to become the mother of another child. A petition was sent to the government that the prisoners might be respited for a month. Mr. Macarty desired this in behalf of them all, that they might have time to prepare for the solemn scene before them. And he probably felt that the influence of their spiritual change would be the more salutary if a little time were given for it to display itself. In a petition he remarked: "As to the unhappy woman, he would beg leave further to represent that she declares that she is several months advanced in her pregnancy, for which reason she humbly desires that her execution might be respited till she shall have brought forth." She added to the petition these words: "The above application is made at my own earnest request." As said above, the reprieve was granted.

The sheriff was then directed to follow the legal method to find if her statements were true. Two men-midwives and twelve matrons were summoned as a jury, and they made an examination. They decided, by a large majority, that the claim of pregnancy was unfounded. Mrs. Spooner immediately sent in the following petition: "May it please your honors, with unfeigned gratitude I acknowledge the favor you lately granted me of a reprieve. I must beg leave, once more, humbly to lie at your feet, and to represent to you that, though the jury of matrons that were appointed to examine into my case have

not brought in in my favor, yet that I am absolutely certain of being in a pregnant state, and above four months advanced in it, and the infant I bear was lawfully begotten. I am earnestly desirous of being spared till I shall be delivered of it. I must humbly desire your honors, notwithstanding my great unworthiness, to take my deplorable case into your compassionate consideration. What I bear, and clearly perceive to be animated, is innocent of the faults of her who bears it, and has, I beg leave to say, a right to the existence which God has begun to give it. Your honors' humane *Christian* principles, I am very certain, must lead you to desire to preserve life, even in this its miniature state, rather than to destroy it. Suffer me, therefore, with all earnestness, to beseech your honors to grant me such a further length of time, at least, as that there may be the fairest and fullest opportunity to have the matter fully ascertained; and as in duty bound, shall, during my short continuance, pray."

The petition was denied: nevertheless, Mr. Macarty, sustained, without doubt, by many who sympathized with him, made a most earnest effort to obtain a reprieve, in the firm belief that the matrons were mistaken. Some of them did change their minds, on further examination, in this agreeing with one or more physicians. The fact that Mrs. Spooner did not plead for mercy, but did plead for the life of her unborn child, moved Mr. Macarty to write to the government a letter in which he said: "The news arrived last evening to Mrs. Spooner that her petition for a reprieve was not granted. People that are acquainted with her circumstances are exceedingly affected with it. I am myself fully satisfied of her being in a pregnant state, and have been so for a considerable time, and it is with deep regret that I think of her being cut off till she shall have brought forth, which will eventually, though not intentionally, destroy innocent life. An experienced midwife belonging here, visited her this week, and examined her, and found her quick with child. Therefore, though I think justice ought to take place on her as well as the rest, I must beg leave earnestly to desire that she might be respited at least for such a time as that the matter may be fully cleared up. And I have no doubt it will be so satisfactorily to every one. I write this, may it please your honors, of my own accord, not at her desire, for I have not seen her since the news arrived. I should be very sorry if your honors should consider me as over-officious in the matter. But principles of humanity, and a desire that righteousness may go forth as brightness, and judgment as the noonday, have powerfully prompted me to make this application on her behalf."

But the appeal was denied: the council was inflexible. Mrs. Spooner received the announcement with great calmness, but insisted on the truth of her statement and requested that a *post-mortem* examination might be made.

The execution of the criminals took place on the second day of July. Worcester then was a small country village; but its main street, and the way to the spot where the criminals were to suffer the just penalty of the law, was

thronged with crowds of men and women from different parts of the county. Great excitement prevailed. The hanging of four persons in the same afternoon, one of whom was a woman, and she in a high position in social life, was an uncommon, if not unprecedented event in the annals of colonial crime. There were at the time several small-pox hospitals in the county, to which the people resorted for the purpose of inoculation, as vaccination had not then come into vogue. As a precaution against the spread of the disease, then far more dreaded than at present, a special request was sent to physicians and nurses to keep away from the scene unless they were "well cleansed." Perhaps this step was taken to awaken the fears of the people generally, and thus induce them to stay at home. However this may have been, the people came, old and young, and Worcester witnessed a scene which has never been equaled in her history, and God grant that it may never be repeated.

All the prisoners acknowledged their guilt. Mrs. Spooner was quiet and composed. She seemed more humble and penitent than before, and professed her faith in the Saviour of the world, and her dependence on him for salvation. She was baptized, in token of her faith, a few moments before she left the cell. According to the custom of those days, a sermon was preached before the prisoners. Mr. Macarty officiated on this occasion, finding his text in Deuteronomy xix. 13.

Mrs. Spooner, on account of great bodily infirmity, was not able to attend the service, which was open to the public.

At the hour of two in the afternoon the procession was formed. One hundred men were on guard. The three male prisoners were on foot, but Mrs. Spooner, being feeble, was allowed to ride in a chaise. Though crowds of people, with feelings wrought up to the highest tension, thronged the way, the march to the place of execution was regular and solemn. To add to the solemnity of the hour and the scene, a terrific thunder-cloud darkened the air and veiled the sun. Then followed an "awful half-hour; the loud shouts of the officers, amidst a crowd of five thousand people, to '*make way, make way*;' the horses prancing upon those in front; the shrieks of the women in the tumult and confusion; the malefactors slowly advancing to the fatal tree, preceded by the dismal coffins; the fierce coruscations of lightning athwart the darkened horizon, quickly followed by peals of thunder, conspired together and produced a dreadful scene of horror. It seemed as if the Author of Nature had added such terrors to the punishment of the criminals as might soften the stoutest hearts of the most obstinate and abandoned."

At length the three men were arranged on the stage, and the death-warrant was read to them. Ross made an audible prayer. The others engaged in private devotions till the moment of execution. Mrs. Spooner, being weak in body, though resolute in will, was permitted to sit in the chaise until the last moment. She bowed gracefully to many of the spectators whom she recognized. When the time came, with a gentle smile, she stepped from the



COUNTY COURT HOUSE, WORCESTER, MASS.

carriage and crept up the ladder on her hands and knees. The faces of all being covered, and all being ready, Mrs. Spooner acknowledged, for the first time, that her punishment was just. Taking the sheriff, Gen. Greenleaf of Lancaster, by the hand, she said: "My dear sir, I am ready. In a little time I expect to be in bliss, and but a few years must elapse when I hope I shall see you and my other friends again." In a moment the drop fell, and four lifeless bodies were suspended in the air. Taking a long look, the awe-struck spectators turned from the solemn scene and returned to their homes, there to recount the occurrences of the day in a thousand households.

The four murderers were dead, and by universal consent they deserved their doom. But the public sentiment in regard to the guilty wife was peculiarly bitter. There does not appear to have been any feeling of respect for Mr. Spooner, nor any tenderness in regard to his memory; no faults or deficiencies of his character and conduct were considered a justification of her inhuman and unwifely crime. She appeared the more wicked in her influence over Ross, whom she, according to popular belief, had seduced, and thus led him to the commission of adultery and murder. And in addition to all these circumstances, the fact that she was a child of Gen. Ruggles, once honored by the people, but now in full sympathy with their enemies, intensified the public prejudice and hatred.

But now came to light the fact which horrified the community, and in a measure turned the tide of feeling in favor of the sinning woman who had died on the scaffold. "The same day, at evening," says the reporter, "her body was opened by surgeons, and a perfect male fetus of five months' growth was taken from her." So she had told the truth. She had asked for a few weeks of life, not for herself, but for her unborn child. The prejudices, or ignorance, or both, of the jury of matrons, had procured a wrong return. The popular clamor had closed the hearts of the council to the plea for delay, and a great wrong had been done. One little life went out in silence and shame, yet its cry has not ceased for a hundred years to utter its warning. In the great court of humanity it has brought its action against the people, and the verdict has been given in their condemnation. Let its warning be heard in all time, forbidding the indulgence of prejudice against even the guilty, and teaching that justice must not be in hot haste for its victim.

In closing this sad chapter of human frailty, sin and crime, it may be said, farther, that a strange interest has always hovered round the grave of Mrs. Spooner. Her remains were not laid in the potter's field, nor yet in the ground dedicated as the resting-place of the dead, side by side with dear kindred, but in the hospitable earth owned by a friend, where a slab of stone marks the spot. Though aside from the travel to and from the city, and far up on the hill-side, it was often visited in former times, and there are still some who are drawn thither by the fascination which intense human passion lends to person and to place.

THE CASE OF QUORK WALKER.

The chief interest of this case is not due to any of the persons connected with it, nor to the heinousness of the crimes committed, but to the importance of the principles involved. There were really three cases, two civil and one criminal, in which Walker — styled Quok, Quack and Qoek, as well as Quork — was concerned, though but one in which he was a party. This case was that of Quork Walker *vs.* Nathaniel Jennison. It was a case of "trespass for an alleged assault and beating of plaintiff by defendant with a hoe-handle." Jennison also struck Walker with clubs and with his fists, according to the allegation.

The case came before the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, June term, 1781. Jennison, admitting the facts, claimed that Walker was a slave, "his own proper slave." This was his justification. He had a right to chastise his slave, his property, his chattel. The replication was that Walker was a free man. The decision of the court was in favor of Walker, and judgment was obtained against Jennison to the amount of £60 and costs. From this decision Jennison appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, but when the time came he failed to prosecute his appeal. Judgment was, therefore, confirmed in favor of Walker.

The other civil suit was that of Nathaniel Jennison *vs.* John Caldwell and Seth Caldwell. This was brought at the same term of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, composed of the following judges: Moses Gill, Samuel Baker and Joseph Dow. These men were not lawyers, but sensible men. Gill was afterwards lieutenant-governor, and one, if not both of the others, was a senator. In this case Jennison sued the Caldwells for "enticing away his slave, Quork Walker, and rescuing him out of his (Jennison's) hands." Also, for "depriving him (Jennison) of the services of his servant." The court rendered judgment in favor of the plaintiff. Jennison claimed £1,000 damages; he received a verdict in his favor to the amount of £25.

The case was appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, which was composed of the following men, who occupy a respectable place in the annals of the State: N. P. Sargent, David Sewall and James Sullivan. The chief-justice, Hon. William Cushing, was not present. Though Walker was not a party to the suit, all its interest to us, at this period, turned on the question whether or not he was a slave.

The counsel for Jennison were John Sprague of Lancaster, and Mr. Stearns of Worcester. The latter was a man of great promise, but died before reaching distinction. The former was one of the ablest lawyers and clearest thinkers in the county or the Commonwealth. The counsel for the appellants, the Caldwells, were the elder Levi Lincoln, and Caleb Strong, afterwards governor, and one of our ablest statesmen.

The case was contested on the ground of law and of right. There is no full report of the trial, and we have no outline of the argument of Judge Sprague; but the brief of Mr. Lincoln has been preserved, and may be found in the

publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. From this it appears that Mr. Lincoln placed his case on the high ground of principle and God-given right. He told the judges and the jury, "before the final tribunal the case will be tried by *your Judge*." He proceeded: "It will be tried by the laws of reason and revelation."

He raised the questions: "Is it not a law of nature that all men are equal and free? Is not the law of nature the law of God? Is not the law of God, then, against slavery?" Advancing, he said that: "If there is no law of man establishing slavery, then there is no difficulty; if there is such a law, then the great difficulty is to determine which law you ought to obey. And if," said the learned and eloquent advocate, "you have the same ideas as I have of present and future things, you will obey the former — that is, the law of God. The worst that can happen to you for disobeying the law of man is the destruction of the body — for disobeying the law of God, the destruction of your souls."

The legal right to freedom in this State he based, first, on an article of the "Body of Liberties," established in 1643 by the first generation of law-makers in the Colony. These are the words: "There never shall be any bond-slavery, villainage, or captivitie, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us," that is, from abroad. In other words, slaves might be made of captives taken in just wars, according to the usages of the times. The practice of exchanging prisoners is modern. Again, a man might sell himself into slavery. And thirdly, the people might buy slaves of outsiders. This would bring them under the protection of our laws, and secure the freedom of their children.

Again, Mr. Lincoln presented the argument of Jonathan Sewall, attorney-general, in the case of *James vs. Lechmere*, in 1769, in which he stated the law to be that "all persons born or residing in the province, are as free as the king's subjects in Great Britain." This relates to persons born here, whether their parents were free or in slavery.

Lastly, he claimed that by the adoption of the Constitution of 1780, every slave in Massachusetts was declared to be free. The first article in the Declaration of Rights, adopted by the people in 1780, is in these words: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their rights and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

Judgment was rendered for the appellants; and on the ground that Walker was not a slave, and could not be, under the laws of this State, any more than under the law of nature, which was the law of God. It has been said of this decision that "it struck off the chains of every slave in this Commonwealth." Still, these cases not having been tried before the full court, they could not be

considered as having definitely settled the question of the non-existence of slavery in this State; and the opinion of the judges before whom these trials took place seem not to have been universally assented to in all parts of the Commonwealth. Accordingly, we find that Jennison, "on June 18, 1782, presented a petition to the House of Representatives," setting forth that he was deprived of ten negro servants by a judgment of the Supreme Judicial Court on the following clause of the Constitution: "That all men are born free and equal," and praying that, if said judgment is approved of, he may be freed from his obligations to support said negroes.

And on February 8, 1783, the House of Representatives appointed a committee "to bring in a bill upon the following principles: 1st. That there never were legal slaves in this Government; 2d. Indemnifying all masters who had held slaves in fact; 3d. To make such provisions for the support of negroes and mulattoes as the committee may find most convenient." A bill was brought in, and passed through its several stages in the House, and read a first time in the Senate, and then appears no farther in the records of the Legislature.

But, in the meantime, an indictment against said Nathaniel Jennison, in September, 1781, in Worcester County, for assaulting, beating and imprisoning Quork Walker, was tried at the April term of the Supreme Judicial Court for that county in 1783. This term was held by the full court, consisting of William Cushing, chief justice, and Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, David Sewall and Increase Sumner, justices.

The chief justice, in his charge to the jury, said, "As to the doctrine of slavery and the right of Christians to hold Africans in perpetual bondage, and sell and treat them as we do our horses and cattle, that (it is true) has been heretofore countenanced by the Province laws formerly, but nowhere is expressly enacted or established. It has been a usage, — a usage which took its origin from the practice of some of the European nations, and the regulations of the British Government respecting the then Colonies, for the benefit of trade and wealth. But whatever sentiments have formerly prevailed in this particular, or slid in upon us by the example of others, a different idea has taken place with the people of America, more favorable to the natural rights of mankind, and to the natural, innate desire of liberty with which heaven has inspired all the human race. And upon this ground our Constitution of Government, by which the people of this Commonwealth have solemnly bound themselves, sets out with declaring that all men are born free and equal. . . . This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and Constitution; and there can be no such thing as perpetual servitude of a rational creature, unless his liberty is forfeited by some criminal conduct, or given up by personal consent or contract."

The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the defendant was sentenced to pay a fine of forty shillings and costs of prosecution. And by that verdict and judgment was the law of freedom established in this Commonwealth, and no

farther legislation was deemed necessary to abolish slavery in this State if it *ever* had a legal existence here. (See Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, for 1873-5, pp. 293-8.)

All readers familiar with the progress of the great contest which recently came to its issue, in our country, in the overthrow of slavery, will notice how Gov. Lincoln in his argument anticipated the reasoning of the champions of freedom in favor of human rights. By them, as well as by him, the law of God has been held to be paramount over all conflicting human enactments.

THE CASE OF STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

This man was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable characters ever reared in New England. He was born in a good family, and received early religious training. His standing as a scholar was respectable, and his talents were superior. He seems to have had no malevolence; had no liking for scenes of cruelty and bloodshed; was kind-hearted, and naturally affectionate to family and friends; but was bound by no ties and restrained by no obstacles from the course to which his cupidity, lust, or love of mischief prompted him.

Passing by the story of his life, which, as told by himself, is a shameless record of villainy, we come to the misdemeanors which secured his arraignment before the Supreme Court, at its session in Worcester, in 1791.

It appears that he was keeping school in Charlton in 1790, and that as a teacher he was capable and successful. But his conduct towards some of his female pupils brought him into trouble. He admitted some of the charges laid against him, while denying others, and claiming that in some cases he was not alone guilty, but the subject of temptation. These claims, or insinuations, however, did not secure a mitigation of penalty; possibly they caused it to be more severe.

After the case was heard, if the culprit's own story is true, the three judges, Dana, Paine and Cushing, though agreed between themselves, each charged the jury. The indictment alleged misconduct toward three young women, whom the prisoner had sought to lead astray. The temper of the court was indeed severe: the sentence was, to receive thirty-nine stripes for each case — one hundred and seventeen — on the bare back; to stand two hours in the pillory; to stand one hour on the gallows with a rope round his neck; and to lie three months in prison.

Soon after, he received seventy-eight stripes, and went back to prison to rest and await the other thirty-nine. But he declares that not long afterward, one dark night, his cell door was forced open; that he was led out and taken in quiet and silence through a great crowd of men, and there bid to depart, which he at once did. Whether he broke jail, or wrought some daring trick, as he often did, no one now can tell; but he surely escaped. No one has ever appeared to deny his story. A small party might have freed him, (though not a thousand, as he says there were), for jail-breaking was common, and everybody

would be glad to have him out of the way, even by some slight irregularity, in the hope that he would never show himself again in the county. The occurrence attracted little notice; and even the authorities may have acquiesced in the "good riddance" of an artful villain, whose presence, after the expiration of his sentence, would be a moral pest.

THE CASE OF OTTO SUTOR.

The same want of moral sense characterized this man as the one described in the former section. He seemed to have no more regard for life, when life-taking would serve his purpose, than a hawk or a wild-cat, and in this regard he was unlike Burroughs. He was also destitute of the finished plausibility which his predecessor in crime never failed to exhibit on occasion; but in wickedness, pure and simple, without conscience to restrain, the two were alike.

Otto Sutor was born in Hamburg, and had respectable connections. A brother was a lawyer. He was a good scholar, for one so young. In 1845 he came to this country, at the age of nineteen. Mr. Matthew F. Woods, formerly a trader in Lancaster, and a manufacturer of palm-leaf hats, found him in the streets of New York, was interested in him, brought him home, and gave him employment in his shop. The young man was handy, quick to learn, and become useful in the business. He was industrious, and earned good wages.

A near neighbor was Mr. Caleb T. Symmes, cashier of the Lancaster Bank. Mrs. Symmes, an accomplished lady of literary tastes and pursuits, was a student, as was also her husband, of the German language. Otto, as he was called, was welcomed to the house, and as an intelligent youth and stranger, was treated with kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Symmes. As he could talk in English only imperfectly, and Mrs. Symmes could converse freely in French, he found it pleasant to call. He was an agreeable fellow, and made himself useful in the practice of pronouncing the German tongue. Being a good singer he was invited to join the choir of the Orthodox Church. His conduct was exemplary, and he became an object of general interest. This was in the years 1845-6. After several months he went to reside in Pepperell, where he found employment, and where, it is said, he became engaged to a young woman.

Passing over intervening time, we come to the evening of September 10, 1846. At that time two stages came to Lancaster in the evening: one from Shirley Village, about eight o'clock, and the other from Worcester, about an hour later. This fact is mentioned as having some bearing on the plan or design of Otto. Mr. Symmes was alone part of the evening, and when Mrs. Symmes came in between eight and nine, she found Otto had come. He stated that he came from Shirley in the stage, which was not true, as afterwards appeared; nor did he come in the Worcester stage, as he arrived before that. The evening was passed pleasantly as usual before he went to rest, and

there was some pleasantry about pronunciation, and about writing the German characters, as is common between natives and foreigners.

In the course of the evening a man came in to leave a hundred dollars belonging to the bank, with the cashier. The German saw Mr. Symmes take the money and place it in his pocket-book. There was not a suspicion that he would be tempted by the sight to commit a horrid crime.

In due time all retired for the night. The bed-room of the family was below; that of the guest up stairs. Some time afterward, probably not long before one o'clock in the morning, Mr. Symmes was aroused; and, with eyes partly opened, saw that a lamp was shining out from under the bed, and a man was standing by his side, at the head of the bed. He said, "What do you want?" The reply, in Otto's voice, was, "I want that money!" as he drew a razor. Mr. Symmes sprung up in the bed, but the razor in the villain's hand was quickly drawn across the lower part of the throat. The wound was long and deep, but did not sever the windpipe. The blood flowed profusely. By this time Mrs. Symmes was awakened, and both moved along to the foot of the bed, when Otto struck her neck with the razor, just missing the jugular vein. Then ensued a fearful struggle; they striving to save their lives, and he to kill them, that there might be no living witness of his crime. In the struggle the fingers of one of them was cut by the razor, and Otto's fingers were in some manner caught in Mr. Symmes's mouth, and bitten so severely as to draw blood. The ruffian thrust his fingers into the wound on Mr. Symmes's throat and tried to tear it open. It was a fearful fight for life against one intent on murder. By degrees all had worked out of the sleeping-room into the sitting-room, and from that into the front entry. The razor had been wrested in some way, or had dropped from the hand of Otto, and all were left to their natural weapons. At length finding that he could not prevail, and alarmed at the movement of Mrs. Symmes towards a window for the purpose of calling aid, he came to a parley, and offered to leave if they would promise secrecy. As she was about to raise a window, he said, "Why, you will expose us all!" When asked why he made the attempt on their lives, and if they had ever injured him, he replied: "No, you are the best friends I had in America." He said further that he had started for home and was going to sail in a few days for Hamburg; that he wanted money. This raises the query, when taken in connection with the fact that he came not in the stage, but as it were secretly, and in the night, and with a razor in his pocket, whether he did not come with a purpose, and whether the sight of the money merely fixed the time and mode for the execution of his plan. But of this he never gave an explanation.

As he was about leaving he inquired if he might have his hat. Mr. Symmes said "Yes," and got it for him. He then asked for his shoes, as he had come down in his stocking-feet. This request was denied, as they were desirous of

his leaving without delay. Going out of the house he said: "If I can ever do anything for you, let me know," and so departed.

It was now about two o'clock. Some time later they heard a team go by, and a window was lifted, and the voice of Mrs. Symmes arrested the travelers. They were two men who had taken an early start for Worcester, she asked them to call Dr. Calvin Carter, who lived across the road, because Mr. Symmes was in a very bad condition. One of them called the doctor, and coming back, inquired if Mr. Symmes was very sick. She said he would be all right if the doctor would come, and closed the window. Dr. Carter came immediately and found a horrid scene. His friends were gashed with wounds; their clothing was drenched with blood. There was a pool of blood on the Canton matting, so that they tracked blood as they stepped upon it. He attended to their immediate needs, but was filled with wonder in regard to the cause. Their reticence increased the wonder. The events of the night soon became known, and the astonishment spread through the village and neighborhood. Their refusal to tell raised the question whether they had attempted suicide? or, had they quarrelled? Who had been in the house that night? No answer was given to the question. The brother of Mr. Symmes was accustomed to come from Charlestown with his own team, and generally arrived in the evening. Did he come last night? "No." It so happened that he came up that very day, and earlier than usual. He had seen Otto with a drover, whom he was helping to drive cattle towards Boston. As they approached, Otto climbed over the fence, but it was supposed that he was not seeking concealment, as there were apples in the lot. The shoes at the side of the unmade bed caused further inquiries. The bank offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the discovery of the assassin. The facts were arrived at by degrees, and the late Hon. John G. Thurston started for Boston, where he arrived that evening. Putting himself in communication with a noted constable, the train was laid for the capture of the fugitive. This was effected the next morning. The constable receiving word where Otto was stopping, went in and began to ask a few questions as to his name, and so forth, and when he was in Lancaster. As he showed his handcuffs, Otto knew he was suspected, and inquired, "Is Mr. Symmes dead?" He made no concealment and no effort to escape. He was taken to Worcester, and was tried for "assault with intent to kill." The Hon. Pliny Merrick was the judge, and Ezra Wilkinson, Esq., district-attorney. The late Judge B. F. Thomas was the prisoner's counsel, and did what was possible to mitigate the penalty of his client, whose condemnation was secured by his plea of "guilty." The sentence was eighteen years' imprisonment in the prison at Charlestown; fifteen years for the assault upon Mr. Symmes, and three years additional for the assault upon Mrs. Symmes. This closes the tragedy, but there may be a natural curiosity to learn the sequel to so strange a story. Otto Sutor behaved well in prison, and learned the trade of a cabinet-maker. He was a prominent member of the prison choir, and

assisted thus in the chapel services. When an older prisoner who led the choir was discharged, Otto became chorister; and when the old villain was returned, for some new offence, he offered to retire, and let the senior again take lead in the service of song. There must have been an air of sanctity to such devotions! But Sutor was retained at the head of the singers. At the expiration of half the term of imprisonment, efforts were made to procure his discharge. The late Hon. Emory Washburn was then governor, 1854, and became much interested in behalf of the prisoner; and he finally pardoned him on condition that he should leave the country and never return. He was taken on shipboard; and when the vessel, then in the stream, was about to sail, the irons were taken off by the officer.

Otto returned to Hamburg, and favorable reports came back as to his conduct.

CHAPTER VIII.

COUNTY ROADS AND OTHER WAYS OF TRAVEL.

ROADS are always an index of the state of civilization. They show how far a community has advanced, and they facilitate its progress in all ways of improvement. Savages have no roads, in the proper sense of the word; they have trails or paths, generally well laid, to suit their convenience. It was so with the aborigines whom our fathers found in the wilds of Worcester County when they came hither in 1643. There were tracks from one Indian town or settlement to another. Longer paths extended from the sea to the Connecticut Valley. Besides, the natives had numerous cross-paths through the woods for hunting, and to the best places for fishing. But there was no road on which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn in all the county.

When Sagamore Sholan of Weshakim (now Washacum), invited Mr. King of Watertown, to open a trading-house, or as then styled, a "trucking-house," in the valley of the Nashua, there was already an Indian path from the ponds in Sterling, by the way of George Hill in Lancaster, and through Sudbury to Watertown. Probably a road had been opened up as far as Sudbury, so that teams might pass from that frontier town to Boston. When King opened his store for the accommodation of the friendly sachem and his tribe, it is probable that the transportation of goods one way, and of pelts the other, was on horse-back, though it might have been done, in part, on the backs of sturdy Indians. When John Prescott bought out King, the next year, and opened the trucking-house in South Lancaster, as now called, his mode of travelling was on horse-back, part of the way at least. Some of the pioneers probably came on foot, driving their cows and other animals that could be moved in that manner. The

women and children rode, sometimes on led horses, and sometimes on pillions behind the husband or in front of the father.

Almost the first thing done by these first settlers of Worcester County, was to make rude ways for getting about. The first year, in which three houses were erected, they probably had no time for road-building; but this great want was soon supplied. The people could move about in the forest, and draw timber for their log-huts or houses with oxen, and could even pick out a crooked way to Prescott's mill, before taking much pains to make a highway. But there was a necessity for open communication with the lower towns. Accordingly, a county road was provided for by order of the General Court, in 1653, when only nine or ten families were in the place. This was the year when the town began its corporate existence. The court directed that "Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways betwixt town and town, according to the direction of the court, for the countries use, and then make them as needs shall be." This was the principal route to Boston for many years; and though the great road has been often altered since, the travel by teams goes by the same general direction to the present day.

Three years later a county road was opened to Concord. In May or June, 1656, George Wheeler and John Smalley of Concord, with John Roper and Ralph Houghton of Lancaster, reported in these words: "We, whose hands are hereunto put, being chosen by Concord and Lancaster, to lay out the county highway betwixt the said towns, within the bounds of Lancaster, have acted and concluded that the country highway shall go as followeth." It extended from about the centre of South Lancaster, across the Centre and the main river, and so on through what is now Bolton, towards Concord. By these ways the settlers could now communicate with the towns below, and reach the sea-board. But the roads were exceedingly rough, safe only to the strongest vehicles, and requiring strong teams to move much of a load.

Meantime, what were the settlers doing by way of opening roads from house to house? They took the precaution to live near together. The lots contained twenty acres, and were situated on three roads. Some were twenty rods wide by one hundred and sixty in length; others were forty rods in width by eighty rods in length. By this arrangement the houses on one side of the roads were about twenty rods apart, and about forty rods apart on the other side. There were no intervals between building lots, except at the passage of the river, where the intervals were too low for safe habitation. Having made this division, it was easy to fix the roads by each man's door. Then came the harder work of making the roads; but at first, it is probable that nothing more was done than to cut down trees that stood in the way, fill mud-holes and level a few steep pitches. Stones were scarce in the track then laid out. The chief difficulty was in bridging the North River; but they could easily pass that, except in flood, at the place where "the herds did cross." Such was the beginning in Lancaster. Probably the same was true in regard to Mendon, when

that town was settled a few years later. It was incorporated in 1667, fourteen years later than Lancaster, but was, no doubt, settled several years before it became a town. Belonging to Suffolk County, it had a double need for a county road to Boston. Trading and business relating to the county, and the registration of deeds, etc., required constant going to and fro between the mart of trade and the shire-town, on the one side, and the new settlement on the other. The instinct of safety would cause them to set up their houses in close neighborhood, because if there were no fear of the natives, wild beasts abounded in the unlimited forests.

Brookfield, the next town settled in the order of time, was under a like necessity for county roads. The nearest settlement on the east in a direct line to Boston, was Marlborough; the nearest town on the west was Springfield. Roads were opened both ways, and thus was started the great road from the river to the harbor, which was a stage route for a hundred and fifty years, perhaps, and has always been one of the principal thoroughfares of the Commonwealth. The people have generally built in close neighborhood, with the meeting-house near the centre, and thus enjoyed neighborly offices of kindness, as well as protection.

Then began a second stage of road-making. The sons of the first settlers, and new-comers into the settlements, took up land in different parts of the townships. In a proprietary town, there were several divisions of land. In one of the old towns there were seven successive allotments. These were sometimes given to children as their portion, or they were sold to new settlers.

In each case there was need of a road, however rough, to the meeting-house, the mill and the store. This was the origin of many old paths, long since disused, of which only the faintest tradition and the slightest trace remain. An experienced road-finder will discover here and there a spot not broken by the plough, where once people traveled, with all their hopes and fears, their antipathies and affections. As each made the most direct way to the centre, their roads were independent till they reached some point of convergence, when the common road became a matter of general interest. The old records bear traces of bridle-paths and cart-ways which have long since gone into disuse; but what wear and tear of cart and oxen; what straining of human muscle, in making and using those ancient highways and by-ways! And what a draft on mortal patience at the same time. These roads from detached houses had to be made by the owners of the land. All they could obtain of the town was leave to work out their own taxes; and not always was that favor granted. It became necessary, therefore, if the support of the town was to be had, that the roads should be altered to go from house to house, and approach the centre by a way that would accommodate a whole neighborhood, or a section of the town. If a man's barn was so situated that the common road could not be bent out of its course to pass his house, it became his interest to move his old house to the

main highway, or build a new one. This was the experience of many farmers ; and this being done, the second era of road-building was closed.

In the meantime there was the same need, though perhaps in less degree, for improved facilities of travel between town and town. As a matter of course, the roads would go, as nearly as convenient, in a direct line from centre to centre, without regard to other towns. The people of Harvard, Bolton, Leominster and other towns formed from the large domain of Lancaster, wanted to visit this ancient centre for various purposes. The settlers in the outlying towns formed from Brookfield, Worcester and Mendon, felt the need of roads to the old centres of trade and assembly. In a less degree each town wanted a road to all its border towns. As villages grew up, other roads were demanded, which called for a vast expenditure of labor, and of money also, for that time. The roads, however, were still rude, crooked, hilly, and, in swampy land, made in corduroy style by laying small trees across the track. Though science was not applied to improving the means of travel, to any appreciable extent, for nearly a century and a half after the first settlement in the county, yet, by the constant fixing of the old roads, they became better by slow degrees. Sometimes gravel, as well as loam and sand was carted into the roadway ; and at times a very bad hill was avoided. But, generally speaking, all the ways were hard roads to travel. This state of things continued till some years after the close of the Revolutionary War. That was not a favorable time for any public improvements.

But during the century preceding much had been done to open county roads. The constant travel to the shire-town by parties, witnesses, jurymen, lawyers, constables and men having business with the various offices of the county, created a demand for direct roads from the extremities to the centre of the district. We have seen that the first county road was laid out from Lancaster to Sudbury, and the second from Lancaster to Concord. Lancaster then belonged to Middlesex County. Mendon, at the extreme south-eastern corner of the county belonged to Suffolk. Its roads pointed to Boston ; shire-town, capital, and principal sea-port. But as soon as Worcester County was formed, Mendon wanted a county road to Worcester. The first road of the kind opened under the authority of the county, was from that place to the shire-town. On the eighth of August, 1752, Daniel Taft, of Mendon, petitioned the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, which then had in charge many of the duties now devolved upon the county commissioners, to order a road between the towns mentioned above. Taft claimed that there was no public highway or county road between Worcester and Mendon, "whereby persons who have daily business to transact in the shire-town are greatly damaged." He asked for a committee to view the land between the two towns, and report. The committee was appointed, and they made a report in favor of the petition, on the twentieth of September. The court ordered the clerk to "make out a warrant directed to the sheriff or his deputy, to summon a jury of good and lawful men qualified

according to law"; and being sworn, they were "to lay out the way above referred to, according to the best of their skill and judgment." William Jennison seems to have been the most prominent man engaged in the business of laying out the roads. This road was changed in its course, from time to time, but the main stream of travel has never varied far from the line.

The next year, 1733, on the fourteenth of August, Judge John Chandler, senior of that name in county annals, then residing in Woodstock, moved for a road from some point on the road between Mendon and Worcester to the southern bound of Dudley, on the present line of Connecticut. Woodstock was then in Massachusetts. This road led from the shire-town to the house of the chief judge. The point where it left the Mendon road was probably near the opening of Southbridge Street. A committee as before was appointed, and William Jennison was chairman. A favorable report was returned to the Court of Sessions, and the road was ordered to be built.

The next move was for a county road from Sutton to Worcester. This also was granted; and it is supposed that it came through parts of Millbury and Auburn. It is not necessary to follow this history minutely. It will be enough to state in brief, that a county road was early opened from Lancaster by way of Washacum lakes, and from Harvard through the old Common in Lancaster, and on by Boylston Centre to Worcester. The road across the county, from east to west, through Worcester to Brookfield, was improved. A much-traveled road went from the shire-town, in a southerly direction, and extended to Hartford. Another great road, extending from Boston to Hartford, cut across the southern section of the county, and was a thoroughfare for several generations. As soon as the towns in the north and north-west part of the county were well settled, county roads were opened to the centre, sometimes at great cost. One reached from Fitchburg, through Leominster and Sterling to Worcester; another from Winchendon through Gardner, and another still from the same town through Templeton to Worcester. Athol, Barre and Petersham were connected with the capital of the county in the same way. By the opening of the present century nearly all the towns in the county were on lines of the county road. Other county roads extended across the county towards Boston. And here it may be remarked that the leading spirits of Boston and of Worcester have always known the value of roads in building up a centre. From early times the aim of the influential and enlightened men of our shire-town has been to make every county road and town road, every highway and bridle-way, every cart-path and cow-track, if possible, point directly to Lincoln Square or the Common. And they have had their reward in the growth of the most flourishing inland city of New England.

We come now to another step in the process of locomotion. About the beginning of this century there seemed to have been a passion for making straight roads. No matter what might be in the way, the road must not turn to the right hand nor the left. They went over high hills because the builders

had learned that a straight line was the shortest distance between two points. They seemed to forget that a vertical curve might make as long a sweep as a horizontal one. Such roads are to be found in various parts of the county by one in search of them. Parts are still in use, while other parts are grown over by woods, and though yet rounded up in the centre, are ignorant of the tread of feet and the rolling of wheels. Such a road ran, or rather, rose and fell between Winchendon Centre and Gardner. Another extended from Templeton to Hubbardston, and was in sight of only a house or two in a distance of six miles. The old road from Lancaster to Worcester went over the steep hills north of the village of West Boylston. The roads from Worcester to the west and south-west ascended the lofty hills of Charlton and Leicester. An old stage road came down from Petersham over a branch or spur of Wachusett Mountain, through Sterling, Lancaster, Bolton, and onward to Boston. Those were the great days of stage-coaches, and the "long pulls" up hill, with the rush down the other side, made a journey exciting and memorable.

This was also the day of turnpikes, when private companies made a great improvement in the ways of travel between certain points, where it was supposed the transit of passengers and loaded teams would bring in sufficient tolls to keep the road in order and pay a dividend. But their day was brief. The people disliked the toll gate, and preferred to pay for highways by taxation. This shifted the expense from the general public to the property owners, or taxpayers. The one good result of turnpikes was a better idea of what a road should be, thus leading to the actual building of the modern roads. As a business or speculation the turnpikes were generally a failure.

Up to this time there were steep grades on the most improved highways. It was thought that a high point was reached when the county commissioners determined that a rise of eight degrees should be the maximum. Previous to that time it was necessary, when heavy teams came to high and difficult hills, to hire extra horses or oxen of farmers living near; or for the teamsters to join teams till the summit was reached. In general, it may be said that the county roads have been in the process of improvement during the last seventy or eighty years. The commissioners have been among the most energetic men of the county. Col. Lincoln and Gen. Crawford were men of large capacity, and they had worthy associates. Before the decease of the latter chairman of the board, it was stated by one very familiar with the subject, that within two generations the county roads had undergone so great improvement that the same number of horses or oxen could draw twice as much tonnage from the extremities to the centre of the county, in the same time, as they could at the beginning of the period.

But the limit of improvement had not then been reached; and perhaps there has been no period of twenty-five years since the county was settled, in which more was done to facilitate travel than in the last quarter of a century. Bonum Nye became chairman of the board of county commissioners in 1855;

Asaph Wood succeeded him in 1857, and in 1858 Velorous Taft was placed on the board. Four years later he was made chairman, in which position he remained till 1877, thus serving as commissioner about eighteen, and as chairman, fifteen years. During his term the roads were made straighter, where practicable, the road-beds were improved by the use of good material, and the grade was made more uniform. The rule now is that the maximum ascent shall not exceed four degrees. Under the present efficient board — Messrs. William O. Brown, Henry C. Taft and Henry E. Rice, — steady improvement may be expected, especially in the selection and laying of material for the bed of the roads. In former times it was the custom to plough up the wash of the roads as found in the ditches, and shovel or scrape it into the centre. Where this was not convenient, sand or loam, whichever was nearest by, was carted on, and spread with some approach to uniformity. But the first smart shower would carry off much of the material, and before the season was over, the road would be no better than in the spring. This is too much the way still in the making of town ways, but the example of the county commissioners is working, slowly, a change throughout the county. And in this way the value of property in the county has been augmented many millions within a generation. Whatever the expense of supporting the board may have been, the gain, in money value, has been manifold.

BRIDGES.

The improvement in the matter of bridges has gone forward, *pari passu*, with the progress in road-making. At first the brooks were forded at shallow and convenient places. The main streams or rivers were passed in the same way in summer, and on the ice in winter, except in flood-time. Horses and cows were able then, as now, to wade the Quinebaug, the Blackstone, and even the Nashua, at frequent crossing-places. Foot-bridges were made by felling tall trees across the larger streams. In some places, canoes or small flat-bottom boats were used. Ingenuity served the necessity of the early settlers. If nothing better served, the men could wade or swim, and could carry the women and children in their arms, or on their shoulders.

It was not long before the small streams were bridged. Where narrow it was but the work of a few hours to lay a row of stones each side of the stream, to place a few logs crosswise, and to cover these with split logs or planks. Saw-mills were soon erected, and the materials necessary for bridge-making were not hard to find. Larger streams were bridged in the same way, as they are at the present time, except that split logs are no longer used.

Bridging the rivers was a more difficult and expensive undertaking; and different rivers required different treatment. Rock-bottoms, like those of Miller's, and some other streams, furnished a solid foundation for abutments or trestle-work. Rivers bordered by intervalles, like the Nashua, in the greater part of their course, supplied no firm basis for a bridge of any kind. Except in

the upper affluents of the Nashua there were but few spots where a solid bottom could be found on either side. In some cases a ledge would crop out on one side, but be far below the surface on the other side of the river. The trestles, in mid-stream, would have a precarious support. If an excavation was made a few feet in depth, and filled with stones, for the trestles to rest upon, such was the nature of the soil, that a rushing flood would undermine them. In other cases, cakes of ice, or the debris of broken dams and mills would come down on the top of a freshet, and, striking the trestles midway, would break them down, and drop the bridge into the raging torrent.

There was no special improvement in the mode of building bridges in county towns till about the opening of the present century. Arched stone bridges had been known in Europe for centuries; but few, if any, such were to be found in the United States. The larger rivers, like the Merrimac and Connecticut, were bridged with elaborate structures, with stone abutments, and with stone piers, at suitable distances. Bridges of this kind stood for generations. Occasionally, a section would be broken by a flood, leaving the rest standing. But in erecting bridges on the smaller rivers, stone piers were rarely, if ever, employed. Trestle-work was the main reliance. The consequence was that bridges were the most insecure of all kinds of property. The towns in this county, in which large streams abound, were subject to great expense. Especially was the Nashua impatient of the works of man, and almost every season, — in the spring or fall, — its swollen and angry torrent bore away one or more of the numerous bridges which spanned it.

As stone or hard-pan bottoms were not easily found, the method adopted was to lay mud-sills, as they were called, as a basis for the abutments, and the abutments were often made of timber. In ordinary years, these contrivances would stand the strain of the rise of water, but in a great flood would be pretty sure to be swept away. But the chief source of danger was the formation of ice in the winter. This would become two or three feet thick, and, being frozen firmly to the logs, when the freshet came, would rise, and thus raise the wood-work. The water would then rush in behind and under the foundation, and down would go the whole bridge, like a child's cob-house. Even when the abutment was of stone, laid upon mud-sills, the security was not much greater. Without a solid foundation, the whole edifice is frail.

About seventy or eighty years ago, the towns on the Nashua began to put in stone abutments, and not far from the same time, Farnham Plummer, a mechanic of great ingenuity, then living in Lancaster, invented what was called an arched bridge. This was not what is generally considered an arch, but was an elaborate frame-work, the parts of which were mutually supporting. The ends resting on the abutments, the bridge spanned the stream, with no piers to sustain the centre. The strain was equally distributed to all parts of the structure. This bridge came into use, and was a great improvement on those which preceded it. When high enough above the stream, and when the water-way



COUNTY JAIL, WORCESTER, MASS.

was sufficiently wide to give passage to the water at the highest flood, these bridges were reasonably secure, and sometimes stood many years. But it required the sad experience of generations to induce our fathers to make the water-way of sufficient capacity for the highest floods. These came at long intervals. It may happen that a whole generation will come and go without what may be called a "great flood." The oldest men, never having seen the water higher than a certain mark, are confident that a bridge at a certain elevation will be safe. It is built accordingly. In a few years, one of the exceptional floods comes, and the bridge goes down stream in fragments. Then a faint tradition, or an old record turns up, by which it appears that sixty or eighty years before, the water rose to the same height. As a general fact it will be found that bridges are placed too low, and water-ways are too narrow for safety, except where long experience has impressed a lesson of caution. This is true of brooks, streams and rivers. By the time when Plummer's bridges were first set up, this lesson had been experimentally learned, and his work stood better than any that had preceded. They had, however, in former times, a mode of relief, by opening sluices, or building dry bridges, as they were called, on one or the other side of the main bridge. When the water rose over the intervals, the side sluices became vents, by which it was safely carried off, and the large bridge was made secure. The causeways, however, being low, they were often swept over by the flood, and sometimes the main channel was permanently changed.

The latest improvement in bridge-making in the county is in securing an immovable foundation, at any cost, raising on this a stone abutment, and then spanning the stream with an iron bridge. Where firm bottom cannot be reached by excavation, piles are driven with great force, till they will descend no farther. The stone foundation is then laid, and when the work is well done, the structure is secure. It is yet an unsolved question how long iron bridges will endure. From time to time such works give way, and thus an element of uncertainty is ever present. These remarks apply specially to bridges on highways. Railroad bridges are beginning to be made of stone arches, like the new one west of Fitchburg, which seems firm enough to resist any force less than a convulsion of nature. This is a double arch, with a pier in the middle of the stream, by which means the span of the arch is reduced one-half, and the whole structure is made more massive.

THE BLACKSTONE CANAL COMPANY.

In treating of modes of travel and transportation, the canal comes in for its share of notice. Though the Blackstone Canal was not a county affair, yet it extended from the south-east corner to the centre, and was an efficient means of promoting business far beyond its terminus, in Worcester. The first agitation of the subject was in 1794, when, under the lead of Mr. John Brown of Providence, a charter was obtained from the legislature of Rhode Island,

authorizing the enterprise. Mr. Brown was a man of wealth, intelligence, and influence, and he exerted himself to draw business to the chief city of his State. In 1796 a petition, signed by citizens of Worcester County, was presented to the General Court, praying for an act of incorporation authorizing the digging of a canal from the Rhode Island line, through Worcester, to the Connecticut River. While this was pending, a counter proposition was presented in favor of making a canal from Boston to the valley. Gen. Henry Knox surveyed the route. It was thought by some that this was merely a move to defeat the Providence and Worcester project. It had that effect, whatever its intention. The act of incorporation was not granted. It may be stated, however, in passing, that the plan of a canal from Boston to the valley of the Connecticut, and even to the Hudson, was seriously considered in later years, and a careful survey was made by Loammi Baldwin, a celebrated civil engineer. The route was not by Worcester, but by Fitchburg, Winchendon, and the valley of Miller's River. This was finally abandoned, and the route is now occupied by the Boston and Fitchburg Railroad.

In 1822 the project of a canal upon the line of the Blackstone was renewed, and an act of incorporation was obtained from the legislatures of both States in which the work was to be situated. The two companies were consolidated. The part of the work within the bounds of Rhode Island was completed in 1824, and was immediately put to use. In 1826 the first earth was excavated on the work in this county, at a spot near Thomas Street, Worcester. The enterprise, carried on by funds raised by subscription, was pursued with vigor; and on the seventh of October, 1828, the first boat was received into the upper basin, which was not far from Lincoln Square.

The commissioners of the consolidated board were Edward Carrington, Henry R. Jones, and Stephen H. Smith, on the part of Rhode Island, and John Davis, John W. Lincoln, and Sylvanus Holbrook belonging to Massachusetts. Thomas Burgess of Rhode Island was the general director, and seems to have had the entire management of the canal. The cost of the work was about \$750,000, more than half of which sum was raised in Rhode Island. The length of the canal was not far from fifty miles.

Though this means of transport has been long disused, it by no means follows that its inception and completion were unwise, nor that it failed entirely of its purpose. It is the testimony of business men who remember the events of the time when the canal was traversed by many boats deeply laden, that the prosperity of the two termini, Providence and Worcester, was greatly advanced, while the villages between were called into existence, or much enlarged. The population of Worcester took a start in the decade following the opening of the canal, which it has never lost. The town rapidly took the proportions of a city, and it became the centre of a more extensive trade. Mechanical and manufacturing enterprises came into existence, and the way was prepared for Worcester to become the centre of a great network of railroads. Thus causes

sometimes disappear and projects seem to fail, while the impulse and momentum imparted have far-reaching effects. It was thus with the Blackstone Canal Company. The corporation is non-extant; the boats have rotted or been used for kindlings, and almost all traces of the canal itself have disappeared from the face of the earth; yet the whole line of the work, as well as the terminal cities, remains richer and more populous in consequence of its brief existence.

RAILWAYS IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

Boston and Worcester Railroad.—If the canal project had been postponed a few years, it is safe to say that the railway system would have superseded it. Only three years after the canal had been opened its whole length, the Boston and Worcester Railroad was incorporated by the General Court. The charter was dated June 23, 1831. It took four years to complete a single track, the road being ready for travel by the fourth of July, 1835. There was a formal opening of the road two days later, Monday, July 6, when, under the direction of a committee, headed by the late Judge Charles Allen, there was a fitting celebration of the completion of so important an enterprise. The directors and stockholders, numbering more than three hundred, came from Boston and the lower towns in a train of twelve cars. The cars at that time were small and rude, compared with the Pullman palaces which are now in use on all the main lines of travel. It took more than three hours for two locomotives to draw the train from Boston to Worcester. Gen. Nathan Heard was marshal of the day, and under his command the light infantry and a long procession of citizens escorted the guests from the old Foster Street depot to the town (now city) hall. The lower and part of the upper floor of the hall were filled with tables, loaded with a beautiful collation, which was partaken of by the guests, the committee of arrangements, and prominent citizens of the town and vicinity. The Hon. Levi Lincoln presided at the feast, and favored the large company with one of the felicitous speeches for which he was always prepared. Toasts were offered and responses were made by John Davis and Edward Everett, the former of whom was governor in 1834, and the latter in 1836; by Chief Justice Ward, Hon. Alexander H. Everett, Hon. Julius Rockwell, now judge of the Superior Court, Hon. George Bliss of Springfield, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., and other gentlemen of distinction.

Thus was opened one of the first railways in the county in the order of time, and one of the greatest lines of travel. Worcester was already a centre to which teams and stages converged; but this event immediately augmented the business of transportation, from Worcester to the sea-board, beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. Not only did the stages and the great teams of six, eight and nine horses meet the railway at its western terminus, but new business sprung up in the outlying towns, and people were incited to travel by the facility offered. As when some vast upland meadow, saturated with water from living springs, has a new and deeper outlet opened on its

outer rim, and sends down a greater stream, so the railway was a sluice, as it were, which drained the whole region, and sent a great tide of business to the capital. But, unlike the hill-side stream, here was a reflux, and the supply was constantly kept up by the returning tide. Not only so, but the supply was augmented by the encouragement which came from a near market. And this process has been in active operation till this day, increasing population, production and fixed capital.

Western Railroad.—It seemed an almost superhuman undertaking fifty years ago, when the subject was first broached, to make an iron way from Boston to the heart of the Commonwealth. But as soon as it was done, the necessity was felt for its extension. Travelers wished to go west as well as east, and the business men of Boston had a natural longing for a fair share of the business of the Connecticut Valley, which then went to Hartford and New York. Therefore measures were soon taken to connect Worcester and Springfield by a railroad, and the work was prosecuted with such energy that regular trains began running the whole length on the first of October, 1839. Two days later there was a public opening of the road, when an excursion party went from Boston, Worcester, and other towns on the line, to Springfield; the time of passage, including many stops at way-stations, being over six hours. The distance from Boston to Springfield is about one hundred miles, and the passage is now made by the "lightning express" in less than three hours. The Western Railroad was completed in 1841, to Albany, the entire length from Boston to the State line being one hundred and sixty-two miles.

The two corporations—the Boston and Worcester, and the Western—continued separate till a few years since, when they were united, and took the name of the Boston and Albany. By its connections at Albany and Schenectady, and by its tributary and subsidiary roads, it bears a vast volume of travel and trade to and fro between Boston harbor and the far west.

This is one of the wealthiest corporations in the country. It has been managed with great ability, and its stock is above par. The capital stock amounts to \$23,231,660. The State is a stockholder to the amount of several millions, and the legislature annually chooses two directors on the part of the State. The first station in Worcester was in Washington Square, where it met the Boston and Worcester line, the depot of which was on Foster, near Main Street. The union of the roads finally led to the building of the present immense Union Depot, which accommodates all the railways which come into the city.

The president of the Western road, from the beginning to its consolidation with the Boston and Worcester, was Chester W. Chapin of Springfield. At the union of the two corporations he was chosen president, and occupied this most responsible position till his resignation, on being elected to Congress in 1872. His successor, the present incumbent, is Daniel Waldo Lincoln of Worcester.

Norwich and Worcester Railroad.—The need of a ready means of transport to New York by water, led to the building of the Norwich and Worcester line. This was begun before the road to Springfield was completed, and was opened to travel and traffic, from end to end, April 1, 1840. The flourishing cities, one at either terminus, and the many rising villages between, gave promise of success; while the great convenience of a night passage by boat, over the Sound, made the promise sure. Passengers from Boston, New Hampshire, and the central parts of Massachusetts took this route to such an extent that a first-class Sound steamer was required.

The length of the road from Worcester to Norwich is fifty-nine miles, and to Allyn's Point, where it formerly met the steamboats, is about seventy miles. At present the trains run through to New London. The stock of the road amounts to \$3,178,926.

At present the road is leased by the Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad Company at a fixed annual percentage on its stock. Though other lines *via* the Sound have competed with this many years, it does a large business, and cannot fail to be a great route of travel and freight.

Providence and Worcester Railroad.—Next in order came the road between Worcester and Providence, by which the need of the canal ceased, and its property, as a line of business, lost its value. Not, however, till seven years after the opening of the Norwich and Worcester road was the Providence and Worcester road completed. The first train from the latter place to the former was run over the road on the 25th of October, 1847. The opening of the road for business was celebrated by a grand demonstration, in Worcester, on the 4th of November. A large company, including officers, stockholders, business men, and gentlemen of distinction, was received at the station at eleven o'clock A. M., and escorted around the town by a committee of citizens and the officers of other roads connected with Worcester. At the town (now city) hall, a numerous assembly of citizens was ready to welcome the guests. The address of welcome was made by Hon. John Davis. At Brinley Hall, the company sat down to an ample feast; after disposing of which, many addresses were made by gentlemen present from Rhode Island, as well as from Boston, Springfield, and other places in the Commonwealth. Among others who spoke were Rev. Dr. Wayland, Gov. Davis, Gov. Lincoln, Senator Simmons, Nathan Hale, and Judge Washburn. John Barstow, the president of the corporation, was at the right of the president of the day, and responded in behalf of the railroad company. Length of the road, forty-three miles; capital, \$2,575,926.

Fitchburg Railroad.—The Fitchburg Railroad was begun about the time when the preceding road had its origin. It was considered at the time a wild project by many. The distance by rail from Boston to Fitchburg is nearly fifty miles, and, when the road was built, there was not a large town or village on the whole route. The larger towns on the old stage lines would

give no encouragement, and the road was really extended through the open country, except at Waltham and Concord. But the energy of the chief agent in the enterprise, the late Hon. Alvah Crocker, was equal to the emergency. The road was completed about the year 1845-6, and the business soon justified the outlay. The capital stock is \$4,000,000.

Worcester and Nashua Railroad. — One year later, the road to Nashua, N. H., offered to the traveling public a way into southern New Hampshire, and, in connecting with other roads, into the interior of that State. The opening of the road was on the eighteenth day of December, 1848. It is forty-five miles in length, and the capital stock is over \$2,000,000.

The trains have direct connection with those on the Norwich and Worcester road, by which passengers to and from New York by boat are accommodated. Close connection is also made with other roads centering in Worcester. The presidents of the road have been John Davis, Thomas Kinnicutt, Pliny Merriek, Alexander De Witt, Stephen Salisbury, and George T. Rice, all citizens of eminence. Francis H. Kinnicutt has been the president the last fourteen years. Charles S. Turner has been the superintendent during the same period of time, and Timothy W. Hammond has been clerk and treasurer for thirty years.

In the year 1875, the road from Nashua to Rochester, N. H., was built by the corporation of the Worcester and Nashua Company. Thus a direct route was opened from Portland, *via* Worcester, to New York. Though this has not yet been a paying investment, the prospect is favorable for the future. The road is over forty-five miles in length, and the capital stock is \$1,788,625.

Fitchburg and Worcester Railroad. — This railway, extending from Fitchburg to Sterling Junction, where it connects with the Worcester and Nashua, is fourteen miles in length, making the distance from Worcester to Fitchburg about twenty-six miles. The first president was C. W. Wilder, M. D., of Leominster, who was efficient in building the road. The second president was Col. Ivers Phillips, then of Fitchburg. In 1866 this was consolidated with the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg road, which has recently been sold out to the Old Colony road. Before the opening of other and competing roads, there were many passengers over this from the north and west; now the travelers are mostly from three or four towns on the line of the road, except that part of it which is between Pratt's Junction and Fitchburg. One man — Henry H. Penniman, who, in the mind of the public, has been identified with this line of travel almost from the beginning — has been conductor about twenty-eight years.

Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad. — The long and sounding name of this road might well be shortened to the Worcester and Winchendon Railroad, between which places it extends. But the name has an honest origin, though a little over-strained. It was designed to connect Barre with Gardner, and both with Boston, by some route or other. In fact,

Gardner has been connected with Worcester, but the northern terminus is Winchendon, and Barre is left far off from the line. At Winchendon it has good connections, which will some day give it much business. This road was opened to Gardner, Sept. 4, 1871, and to Winchendon a little more than three years later, Jan. 5, 1874. By the opening of the Ware River road from Palmer to Winchendon, the latter place has become a railroad centre. The Cheshire road connects it with all the great north-west, and the Monadnock road, with its extension from Hillsborough to Concord, opens all the central and northern parts of New Hampshire. This latter connection affords great facilities to the large chair manufactories of Gardner, supplying them with the requisite material. Col. Ivers Phillips was the first, and Hon. Ginery Twichell was the second president of this road.

The above is a rapid summary of the enterprise of the people of Worcester County, in all their generations, to provide themselves with avenues for traveling, and for transporting the products of their farms, workshops, and manufactories. But the improvement in roads has not been greater than in vehicles. From the first rude carts and sleds to the wagons, carriages, stages, landaulets, barouches, omnibuses, and palace cars in present use, is as great a change as from the primitive cart-track to the macadamized road and the railway. The first vehicle, after the shoulders of a man or the back of a horse, was a two-wheeled cart. This was made strong, because no other vehicle could endure the wear and tear of the roads. The wheels which had to encounter stumps and stones, and the racking of gullies and mud-holes, must needs be made of solid oak, and the parts well compacted. Four-wheeled carts or wagons were of later origin, and could bear no comparison with vehicles of the same name which are now used by our farmers, to say nothing of those employed by city traders and express offices.

The early wagon for family use was not much removed from the ox-cart in point of ease of motion or elegance of make. It had four wheels, but was as homely as the cart, and differed mainly in being smaller and of less weight. Paint was often wanting, and springs were unknown to the first generations. A few gentlemen in Boston and Salem had coaches, but these were so uncommon as to give a sort of distinction to the owners. In country towns, they were never seen, unless the governor or some man of means and eminence was "making a progress" with his attendants. The first carriages that had any pretension to elegance in this county were owned in Lancaster, as is supposed, as that town led all the others in population and wealth, and it seems, in the early times, to have had a closer connection, socially, with the capital. The old lists show that a few carriages were taxed in that town, while other towns were innocent of what was considered extravagance by many. When the chaise came into use, there were families in Lancaster who availed themselves of the luxury. This they could do more readily than the people of many towns, because of the comparative safety of the roads. But others soon followed the

example; and, not long after the Revolution, decent and even elegant carriages began to be used by some families in all parts of the county. Yet even these were heavy and clumsy, compared with the light, airy, elegant, yet strong vehicles which come from the factories in Amesbury, New Haven, and other places where the business of making them is a speciality. County roads, as well as village and city streets, make the safe and comfortable use of these devices for luxurious motion possible. The money which many rich men put into a carriage and harness would furnish an equal number of poor men with a house and garden. The best wood, the strongest steel, the richest velvet, the hardest and finest varnish, combined with brass and silver and golden trimmings, put together by the most skilled workmanship, all unite to make an exquisite work of art.

And all this is equalled or surpassed in the latest style of palace cars, with dining-rooms, and sleeping-rooms, and apartments adorned with admirable paintings on the panels. What further improvements are to be made in this line, and in the general facilities for travel and transportation, defies conjecture. The achievements of the past, however, suggest that there are possibilities to be worked out in the future. The record of these, so far at least as they come under the supervision of county officers, must be left to the future historian of the locality.

A word may be added in regard to roads which do not meet in the centre of the county, as the location and crossing of these lines of travel are subject, to a certain extent, to the county commissioners, and as they are of not merely local, but of general convenience and interest. The Fitchburg and Boston Railroad was opened through its whole length in the year 1845, and has become one of the great thoroughfares of the county by connection with the Hoosac Tunnel. The Vermont and Massachusetts, and the Cheshire road were built soon after, as continuations, but by distinct corporations. These three roads accommodate all the towns in the northern part of the county.

The road from Framingham to Milford and Bellingham; the road from the same place to Ashland; the road from Framingham to Lowell; and the road from Fitchburg, *via* Clinton and Northborough, to Framingham, meet the wants of the traveling public in the eastern section of the county. The Ware River road, from Winchendon to Palmer, does the same office for the western towns, except Sturbridge. An extension from Blackstone to Southbridge gives a cross road for the convenience of the southern tier of towns. A continuation of this, through Southbridge to Brookfield or Palmer, is in contemplation.

In addition to these are shorter roads, which serve as feeders to the larger lines, and connect secluded, but flourishing villages with the outside world. One extends from North Brookfield to East Brookfield, and proves its right to be by its success. Another reaches from the centre of Spencer to the line of the Boston and Albany road, at the south part of the town. There is a

branch road, also, from Ashburnham Junction to the centre of the town. Possibly there are a few other short lines which have escaped notice.

Besides these, there is the Lancaster Railroad, which extends from South Lancaster to Hudson. This road has been graded, the rails have been laid and the bridges built, though, for some cause not fully known to the public, it has never been opened for travel. The Massachusetts Central Railroad was chartered several years since, and much work was done, but, before completion, the stringency of the times compelled a cessation of labor. Recently, work has been resumed, and the prospect is that, ere long, trains will be running along the line. This road crosses the county from side to side, and opens the way to Boston on the one hand, and to the Connecticut Valley on the other. Capitalists have confidence in its prospective success. By all these ways, many run to and fro; and it is to be hoped that not only business, but knowledge may be increased thereby.

CHAPTER IX.

WORCESTER COUNTY AS A POLITICAL UNIT.

COUNTIES are not merely judicial districts of the Commonwealth, but, as in England, they are political factors of the body politic, and are represented in the government of the State. There is a difference, indeed, inasmuch as counties are there represented in the lower house, and the boroughs in the county may and do have representatives in the same body; while with us the towns send delegates to the house of representatives, and the counties are represented in the upper house or senate. At the time of the adoption of the State Constitution it was arranged that each town should have one or more delegates to the General Court, and each county one or more senators in the upper house. Each town was a political unit, or constituent element of the State. In like manner, each county was a political unit. Its senators, whether one or many, were chosen on a general ticket, and the county spoke with one voice in the upper branch of the legislature. This arrangement gave political importance to a county, and secured the election of senators whose reputation reached beyond the limits of their own town. It secured another result also, quite as important. The same man, when found qualified, was chosen year after year, for a decade or longer, and was in each succeeding year better qualified, by age, experience, and increasing knowledge, to perform the duties of his high office.

It was an honorable distinction to be the representative of a large county in the General Court, and men of ability and character were willing to serve the public for a term of years. The old towns also, before the modern divisions

and subdivisions into small municipalities, were respectable units in the composition of the State, and many men acquired a high standing as their representatives. But this has passed away. The district system has brought about the result, that men from different parts of the district follow each other at short intervals, leaving to but few the opportunity to become experienced in the business of legislation, and to acquire a reputation throughout the Commonwealth.

Especially is this true in regard to the senate. "Great counties," said Dr. Dwight, "have a sense of importance and dignity which is eminently useful. It prompts to honorable and beneficial conduct, and prevents much of that which is little, degrading, and, of course, mischievous. The same things are true, *mutatis mutandis*, of subdivided townships and parishes. Where men are impatient to become judges, sheriffs and county clerks; to be representatives, selectmen, or even parish committees, these unfortunate subdivisions will, however, be pushed so earnestly and so long as in the end to be accomplished." A regard for convenience has had some influence in causing these changes, but the ambition of men of moderate abilities has been busy in producing the result. Men who could never hope to represent a county can continue to rise into notice in a district of limited extent. As senatorial and representative districts are not permanent divisions of the State, but only temporary aggregations of towns, the consequence is that each town clamors for its turn to furnish the senator or representative; and thus very few men, though largely endowed with talents for the office, serve more than two years in succession in the senate, while more than half the house of representatives is annually filled with new men.

When the State Constitution went into operation in October, 1780, Worcester County was entitled to four senators. The names of those chosen, on a general ticket, were Samuel Baker, Joseph Dorr, Israel Nichols, and Jonathan Warner. The same men were re-elected in 1782. A change was made the next year by electing Seth Washburne instead of Joseph Dorr.

The arrangement in 1784 was this: Samuel Baker, Seth Washburne, Israel Nichols, Jonathan Warner. Mr. Baker led the ticket, but the others were changed, at times, in the order of their place. Some of these names continue to recur for a series of years. For example: Mr. Baker held the office as many as ten years, and, with one or two intervals, in annual succession. He also headed the list eight years out of ten. Mr. Nichols was senator six years in succession. The others were elected several times.

In 1785 John Sprague of Lancaster was a member of the senate board, and, doubtless, would have been elected again and again if he had not been called to fill other places. He had abilities and character fitting him for the highest positions, either legislative, judicial or executive. The next year Abel Wilder of Winchendon was elected to the senate, and was continued in the office, by annual election, until 1792, when his lamented death prevented his

promotion to a higher position. He was one of those rare men who do everything committed to them with unerring discretion; and who, without sacrificing their self-respect, retain the confidence and esteem of their fellow-citizens.

In the year 1787 the number of senators allotted to Worcester was increased to five, and the following were elected: Seth Washburne, Abel Wilder, Amos Singletary, John Fessenden, Joseph Stone. It is noticeable that the wild excitement in the time of the "Shays Rebellion" left the majority of the senators in their place, though there was a great change in the representation of the towns, and in some towns a complete revolution in filling the various town offices. Fessenden, Singletary, Warner and Grant appear in the senatorial list several years in succession. Moses Gill heads the column in 1789. The next year the number of senators was four, but in 1793 the number of senators appears to have been five again, with Moses Gill at the head. He was known in our annals as lieutenant-governor, in whose honor the town of Gill received its name. This gentleman lived in Princeton, in which was situated the large estate which came into his possession on the decease of his wife, a daughter of Rev. Dr. Thomas Prince of Boston. "Here," says Dr. Dwight, "he built a house, which, connected with its appurtenances, is more splendid than any other in the interior of the State."

The name of Samuel Baker appears for the last time in 1794, thirteen years after his first election, and the honored names of Timothy Bigelow and Salem Towne take their place in the senatorial roll. Warner's name disappears after the year 1795, and we find the names of Stearns, Bigelow (both Timothy and Daniel), Towne, Brigham, Taft and Hale, till 1807, when Jonas Kendall comes into view.

From 1800 to 1821, when the apportionment was made under the new census, the county had four senators. Some of the most prominent were Francis Blake, Seth Hastings, Solomon Strong, Levi Lincoln, Jr., afterwards governor, Moses Smith, Thomas H. Blood, Daniel Waldo, and Salem Towne, Jr.

The five men who bore the honor in 1822 were Aaron Tufts, Salem Towne, Jr., Benjamin Adams, Nathaniel Jones, and S. P. Gardner. Some of them had been elected before, and had served with Silas Holman, John Spurr, Oliver Crosby, James Phillips, James Humphreys, Samuel Eastman, Lewis Bigelow, and John Shipley. Five was the number until the apportionment under the census of 1830. The following list will show, year by year, how many were re-elected, and what proportion of them were of sufficient eminence to be remembered to the present day.

In 1823 the following were elected: Benjamin Adams, S. P. Gardner, Aaron Tufts, Nathaniel Jones, Nathaniel P. Denny.

Four of these were chosen in 1824, with a change of position as follows: Aaron Tufts, S. P. Gardner, Benjamin Adams, Nathaniel P. Denny, Joseph G. Kendall.

1825. Joseph G. Kendall, B. Taft, Jr., William Eaton, Nathaniel Houghton and William Crawford, Jr.

1826. Jonas Sibley, Joseph G. Kendall, William Crawford, Jr., Nathaniel Houghton, B. Taft, Jr.

In 1827 three new men came into the board, making the following list: Aaron Tufts, Joseph G. Kendall, Joseph Bowman, John W. Lincoln, Joseph Davis. Mr. Lincoln was re-elected several years, and afterwards held other offices of importance. He was one of that class of men who build up the place of their residence. By his means every highway, road, and even cart-path through the woods, was made to point, so far as possible, to Worcester. This public spirit was a benefit to the whole county.

1828. Edward Cushing, Joseph Davis, Joseph Estabrook, John W. Lincoln, Joseph Bowman.

1829. John W. Lincoln, Lovell Walker, David Wilder, Samuel Mixter, William S. Hastings. All were chosen again in 1830.

1831. John W. Lincoln, David Wilder, William S. Hastings, James Draper, Rufus Bullock. All were re-elected in 1832.

In 1833, under the new arrangement, Worcester County was found entitled to six senators, and the following gentlemen were chosen: David Wilder, William S. Hastings, Charles Hudson, Ira M. Barton, Samuel Mixter and Samuel Lee. These were all men of prominence, as was Mr. Bullock, chosen in the preceding years. Judge Barton was judge of probate several years, and stood high at the bar and in public esteem. Mr. Hudson was a distinguished member of Congress, by repeated elections. During the eight years from 1833 to 1840, inclusive, the county was entitled to forty-eight senators. The number of persons elected was twenty-four. Some of these were chosen five or six years, others but one or two. These are the names, some of which are still remembered outside of their immediate neighborhood: David Wilder, William S. Hastings, Charles Hudson, Ira M. Barton, Samuel Mixter, and Samuel Lee, all of the year 1833, and Rejoice Newton, Charles Russell, George A. Tufts, Waldo Flint, Charles Allen, Linus Child, Ethan A. Greenwood, William Hancock, James G. Carter, Thomas Kinnicutt, Artemas Lee, James Allen, Charles Sibley, Samuel Wood, Jedediah Marey, Benjamin Estabrook, Nathaniel Wood, Charles C. P. Hastings. The last six were new men, otherwise the average term of the whole would have been greater. There was a political revolution in 1840, when Judge Marcus Morton was chosen governor. It lasted only a single year, when the Whig party was again in the ascendant. In the above list are the names of some who were specially eminent in the county, state, and national annals. James G. Carter was a leading spirit in the movement which resulted in the elevation of our public school system. Mr. Kinnicutt was a lawyer of some distinction, and judge of probate. Linus Child stood in the front rank of our public men, during a long period. Charles Allen, as lawyer, senator, congressman and judge, was second

to few in the State in distinction, and to none in sagacity, integrity, sound judgment, mental force and moral greatness.

By the census of 1840 the representation of the county in the State senate was again reduced to five. In 1841 the following were elected to the office: James Allen, C. C. P. Hastings, Amory Holman, Samuel Wood, Emory Washburn. The next year Mr. Hastings was replaced by Alexander De Witt. In 1843 another Democratic wave flowed over the State, and this county felt the effects in a new list of senators, Benjamin Estabrook, Solomon Strong, Isaac Davis, John Spurr, Ariel Bragg. But next year the political wheel revolved, and all these senators, except Mr. Strong, were made to give place to Levi Lincoln, Linus Child, Alexander De Witt, and Daniel Hill. The Whigs then had their own way during four or five years, when the Free-Soil party, in coalition with the Democrats, took the offices in the year 1850.

The senators in 1845, and the years following till 1849, were as follows: Levi Lincoln, Linus Child, Daniel Hill, Joseph Stone, John G. Thurston, Stephen Salisbury, Calvin Willard, Jason Goulding, George Denny, Nahum F. Bryant, Alfred D. Foster, Alanson Hamilton, John Brooks, Alexander H. Bullock, Ebenezer D. Ammidown, Paul Whitin, Ebenezer Torrey. These were strong men, and by reason of position, business connections, great abilities, or superior cultivation, were fitted to sit around the senate table. Mr. De Witt represented his district in Congress several years in succession. Mr. Foster was highly esteemed in his official place; Mr. Washburn, as judge, governor, professor in the law school in Cambridge, and author of several treatises, has a permanent fame; and Mr. Bullock, as representative, senator, speaker of the house, and governor, has proved himself worthy of still higher promotion.

In 1850 the coalition above-mentioned secured the election of several, if not all of its candidates, viz.: Alexander De Witt, Pliny Merriek, John Raymond, Amasa Walker, and Edward B. Bigelow. This continued till 1855, when the "Know-Nothing" episode in our political history arose, and like an overflowing flood, buried all other combinations and parties many fathoms deep. The senators from 1851 to 1854, inclusive, were these: Messrs. De Witt, Bigelow, Francis Howe, Giles H. Whitney, Moses Wood, Freeman Walker, Elmer Brigham, John S. C. Knowlton, Albert Alden, Sullivan Fay, Elisha Murdock, Ivers Phillips, Charles Thurber, Anson Bugbee, Isaac Davis, Joseph W. Mansur, Joseph Whitman.

The Know-Nothing party, in 1855, took the lead in the senatorial elections in this county, and brought to the surface five men who had not before been prominent in public life. These are the names: Henry W. Benchley, Albert A. Cook, Edward Denny, Jabez Fisher, and Alvan G. Underwood.

Worcester took an active part in the organization of the Republican party of this State in the year 1855, and although the new party did not succeed in electing its State ticket till at the annual election of 1857, yet it carried this

county by a very large majority in 1856, the first year in which the Republican party assumed a national organization, with John C. Fremont as its candidate for the presidency.* In that year, 1856, our senators were Francis H. Dewey, Jabez Fisher, Artemas Lee, Velorous Taft, and Salem Towne. This was a mixture of old and new blood, but animated by a new spirit. Mr. Taft has since then served the county a long period, as a member of the board of county commissioners, of which he was chairman many years. Mr. Dewey has occupied with honor a seat on the bench of the Superior Court, since 1869. The senators chosen in 1857 were, J. F. Hitchcock, George F. Hoar, William Mixter, Velorous Taft, and Ohio Whitney, Jr., all men of influence and character. Mr. Hoar has been in one or the other house of Congress since 1869.

In 1857 the counties were cut up into senatorial districts; and the towns, separately or in groups, were made into representative districts. The senatorial districts of this county were six, designated as follows: Central, South-east, South-west, West, North-east, East. These were represented by the gentlemen whose names follow in the same order as the districts above-mentioned: John Milton Earle, John G. Metcalf, Oliver C. Felton, Charles Field, Goldsmith F. Bailey, Lucius S. Allen. This arrangement continued till the year 1865, when the State census required a new apportionment, and our number of senators was reduced to five. But during the seven years from 1859 to 1865, inclusive, the central district was represented by Dexter F. Parker, two years, when he went to the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, and gave his life to his country; Ichabod Washburn, one year; Hartley Williams, two years, and E. B. Stoddard, two years.

From the south-east district went John G. Metcalf, one year; Alvin Cook, one year; Winslow Battles, two years; William R. Hill, two years, and Moses B. Southwick, one year. From the south-west district were sent the following: William Upham, Nathaniel Eddy, Sylvester Dresser, Rufus B. Dodge, Asher Joslin, John D. Cogswell, Emerson Johnson, each one year. The west district was represented by Charles Field, one year; Jason Gorham and Freeman Walker, one year; Henry Smith, one year; George Whitney, two years, and Charles Adams, Jr., one year. From the north-east district went these: W. D. Peck, Goldsmith F. Bailey, T. E. Glazier, Alvah Crocker, Israel C. Allen, Solon S. Hastings, and Joel Merriam, each one year. The members from the east district bore these names: Abraham M. Bigelow, John E. Stone, and Thomas Rice, Benjamin Boynton, Charles G. Stevens, Hosea Crane, William Russell, and Milo Hildreth, each for one term. It is an obvious truth that no man, whatever his abilities, could acquire much experience, influence, or distinction, in the service of a single year.

* There was a notable meeting held in Worcester on the 19th of June, 1854, at which was adopted a well-remembered resolution, written, it is said, by Henry Wilson, as follows: "*Resolved*, That in coöperation with the friends of freedom in sister States, we hereby form the Republican Party of Massachusetts." But the efficiency of this meeting was lost in the confusion that ensued that year, and nothing seems to have really come of it.

In the year 1866 the county had six senators, elected in the above order, with these names: Lucius W. Pond, Moses D. Southwick, Ebenezer Davis, Charles Adams, Jr., Alvah Crocker, and George S. Ball. But in this year the law reduced the number of senators, for the following ten years, to five. From this time, also, the districts were numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The first district, which consisted of the city of Worcester, was represented by Lucius W. Pond, two years; Francis H. Dewey, part of a year; George M. Rice, who filled out the term, and was elected again two years; Adin Thayer, two years; George F. Thompson, one year; George F. Very, two years; Edward L. Davis, one year.

The second district, which included the towns in the south-eastern section of the county, sent the following men to the senate: George S. Ball, one year; Jonathan D. Wheeler, one year; Charles A. Wheelock, two years; J. H. Wood, one year; S. M. Griggs, two years; Jeremiah Getchell, two years; Aaron C. Mayhew, one year.

The third district embraced the south-western towns, and was represented by the following gentlemen: Luther Hill, one year; Frederick D. Brown, one year; Lucius J. Knowles, one year; George W. Johnson, one year; A. W. Bartholomew, two years; Henry L. Bancroft, two years; Washington Tufts, one year; Emory L. Bates, one year.

From the fourth district, consisting of the towns in the north-western division of the county, were sent these senators: John G. Mudge, two years; George M. Buttrick, two years; Baxter D. Whitney, two years; N. L. Johnson, two years; Moses L. Ayers, two years.

The fifth or north-eastern district sent John H. Lockey, two years; Francis B. Fay, one year; Henry C. Greeley, two years; George A. Torrey, two years; Amasa Norcross, one year; C. H. B. Snow, one year; Elisha Brimhall, one year. Thus it appears that in some of the districts one year of service is the rule, with occasional exceptions; in others, and the larger part, two years is the rule, with occasional exceptions of one year. But in no case, between 1866 and 1876 did one of these districts send the same man to the senate more than two years. The rule has been, not to keep the best men in the public service, but to give men in the different towns of the district a chance to hold office, and bear the title of honorable during the rest of their lives. Under this system, many able and worthy men are elected; but how much the character of the senate would be elevated, if even the same men should hold office for five or ten years, according to the earlier custom!

By the legislature of 1877, the grouping of towns in the several districts was somewhat changed, owing to a relative change in the population of different sections. As this arrangement will probably continue for seven or eight years, it will be convenient to have the names of the cities and towns composing the five districts inserted in this place.

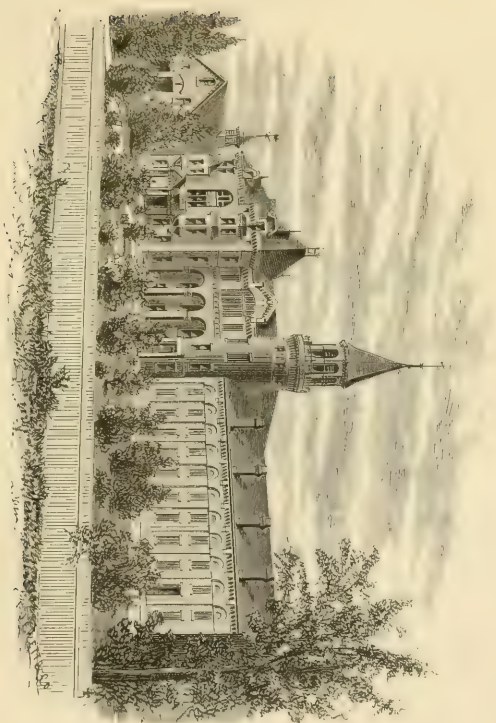
1. The city of Worcester constitutes the first senatorial district.
 2. The second district comprises the towns of Blackstone, Boylston, Douglas, Grafton, Mendon, Milford, Northborough, Northbridge, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Upton, Uxbridge, and Westborough.
 3. The third district includes the towns of Auburn, Brookfield, Charlton, Dudley, Leicester, Millbury, Oxford, Southbridge, Spencer, Sturbridge, Sutton, Warren, Webster, and West Brookfield.
 4. In the fourth district are the towns of Athol, Barre, Dana, Gardner, Hardwick, Holden, Hubbardston, New Braintree, North Brookfield, Oakham, Paxton, Petersham, Phillipston, Royalston, Rutland, Templeton, and Winchendon.
 5. The fifth district embraces the city of Fitchburg, and the towns of Ashburnham, Berlin, Bolton, Clinton, Harvard, Lancaster, Leominster, Lunenburg, Princeton, Sterling, Westminster, and West Boylston.
- Under this arrangement the senators were elected as follows, during the last three years: From the first district, George S. Barton, in 1877 and 1878; Henry C. Rice, in 1879.
- The second district was represented by Aaron C. Mayhew, one year; and William Knowlton in 1878 and 1879.
- The senators from the third district were Ebenezer B. Lynde in 1877 and 1878; and James W. Stockwell in 1879.
- From the fourth district were sent Charles Adams, Jr., in 1877 and 1878; and Alpheus Harding in 1879.
- The fifth district sent Elisha Brimhall, in the year 1877; and Charles H. Merriam in 1878 and 1879.
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CHAPTER X.

THE SPIRIT OF WORCESTER COUNTY IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE real spirit of the people before and during the Revolutionary struggle will be found in the annals of the several towns, and, doubtless, each local historian will do justice to his own place. There was no lack of instances, full of the most intense patriotic feeling, in all directions. But some action was taken that united the people of different sections of the county as one body. For example, the action of juries in refusing to sit, and act with certain judges, represented the spirit of the times, and affected the rights of all the people.

The General Court had a contest with the crown in relation to the payment of the judges of the highest courts in the Colony. In general, the Colony was quite willing that the home government should furnish all the money that was



COUNTY JAIL, FITCHBURG, MASS.

needed to support her authority, or to aid the people in any way, but they resented the plan of the crown to pay the judges. It was expected that the royal governors would be inclined to support royal supremacy, and the General Court had no check but the power to give the governor a liberal or a small salary. In relation to the judges, however, the General Court, and the people felt that the cause of justice required the judges to be independent of the crown. The ground taken was, that the judge who should receive a salary from the crown, and without a grant from the provincial government, should be considered an enemy of his country. Judge Peter Oliver, chief justice, would not yield, whereupon the patriots resolved that he should hold no more courts. When he came to Worcester to open a session, the jury, with David Wilder of Lancaster as their foreman (as some say), gave him to understand that they would not sit under him. He was obliged to desist, and his judicial life was virtually ended. The jury, being from different towns, spoke the voice, and evinced the spirit of the whole county.

The Tories or Loyalists, as it is now the fashion of some writers to style them, had a meeting, called by the selectmen of Worcester, to consider what would be the consequence of resisting the course of justice. Most of the lawyers of the county were in sympathy with the meeting, which was held June 20, 1774, and was addressed by Col. James Putnam, then at the head of the Worcester bar. A protest against the action of the patriots was presented, but the town, by a vote of five to one, refused to receive it. The high sheriff at the time was Gardner Chandler, belonging to the most influential family in the county. By his influence the protest was entered on the records.

The town was in a flame. A meeting was warned to meet on the twenty-second of August. It was fully attended. The people, though indignant, took two days to deliberate. Thinking and resolving went on rapidly during those two days, because momentous results were in the balance. The town voted that the clerk should be required to expunge, erase, blot out, and forever obliterate the obnoxious record. The action of the Senate of the United States in merely drawing a black line around the recorded censure of Gen. Jackson, was mere child's play in comparison. The clerk of the town of Worcester was not only to expunge the hated protest with his pen, but by dipping his finger in the ink, and rubbing it all over the recorded protest. Besides he was compelled to make acknowledgment of wrong-doing before the town. The signers of the protest were required to make a public recantation.

The method was characteristic of the times, and made an ineffaceable impression on the minds of all who were inclined to the side of royal authority. The patriots invited their brethren in other towns to come together, and aid in curbing the Tory spirit. On the day of the town meeting held for carrying out their plans, companies marched into Worcester from other parts of the county, to the number of two or three thousand. Timothy Paine, who was thought to be a not very ardent patriot, had been appointed a mandamus

counsellor, the method then in vogue to bribe doubtful men into loyalty. One object was to compel him to resign, and to give a writing to that effect.

Under the influence of this great popular uprising, most of the signers of the protest recanted. The troops, as the hastily gathered men, with arms in their hands, were called, formed in two lines on Main Street, and extended from the court-house to the Old South Church. The protesters were required to march through the open ranks, from end to end of the line. At intervals the march was arrested, and their recantation was read in the hearing of the different sections of the crowd. To men of spirit this must have been a more galling ordeal than running the gauntlet, and receiving the chance blows that might light on the back of the swift runner. Moreover, the effect would be more lasting. The mark of the blow would be soon effaced; it might awaken sympathy; but the humiliation of recanting one's political faith, renouncing his loyalty, and being triumphed over by neighbors, some of whom were held in small esteem, remained as a perpetual sense of wrong and degradation. Doubtless, if the king had succeeded in the Revolutionary struggle, the Loyalists would have taken fearful vengeance.

This demonstration answered its design. The spirit of opposition to the popular cause was cowed if not extinguished. Toryism did not show its head again. The leading men of the king's party slipped off to Boston, and left the country. Others kept quiet; and others still, who had not taken the fatal step of joining the royal forces, learned soon the nature and prospects of the quarrel, and became ardent patriots.

The grim humor of our fathers must have been noticed by the students of our early history. This scene in the main street of Worcester, a century since, is an excellent specimen. It was not enough that a crowd of armed men should come out in battle array, and that a committee, sitting in solemn conclave, should call the protesters before them, and require a recantation. That would have been effectual. But that did not suit the humor of the times. Rather there must be a procession, and a spectacle. Every soldier must look every Tory in the face; see him march through the double line; hear him, at suitable distances, read his recantation, and then go on with downcast look to the end; and during all the process, each and every of the double rank must contribute a word of jeer, or joke, or sarcasm, to give poignancy to the pangs of the proud, and at the same time, mingle pleasantry with the more sombre features of the drama.

CHAPTER XI.

SHAYS' REBELLION.

THE rebellion headed by Capt. Daniel Shays was one of the most singular events in our history. A brief view of its cause, its progress, the efforts made by the government to prevent or resist it, and its ignoble end, may be interesting, and certainly will be instructive to all who rashly tamper with a people's interests, and all who recklessly attempt to redress their wrongs.

The war of the Revolution was over, but its wounds were not healed. Thousands had been in the service of their country, yet had never been adequately paid. Many had lost friends, whose death had not been mitigated by any public provision for their widows and children. Many more were wounded, or enfeebled by the hardships of the camp and the march. They were poor. They saw others who had not been in the service, growing rich by speculations, and taking advantage of the embarrassments of debtors, some of whom were cripples. Taxes were high. It was thought that salaries were extravagant. It was felt that the administration of justice was almost equivalent to a denial of it. The fees of clerks and sheriffs; the charges of lawyers; the delays in disposing of cases; in a word, the difficulty of getting a wrong righted, without a ruinous waste of time, money and temper, embittered the minds of multitudes.

Such was the state of things, when, in 1784, the year after the acknowledgment of our independence by George III., and the ratification of peace, a proposition was made by the town of Sutton, to the other towns in the county, that a convention should be called to consider grievances and the means of redress. The towns were not ready in sufficient number, and the convention was not held. But the trouble increased, and the agitation grew more violent by delay. During the year 1785, discussion was rife all over the State. Extremists, on both sides, embittered the public feeling. Some were for resisting all the demands of the agitators; and on the other hand, some were getting ready to seek redress by force. The great mass of the people, as the event proved, meant to have an improvement by peaceful methods, if possible.

But the problem was a difficult one for the government. There were grievances. The State debt was large; the Continental debt was heavy. Some of the former Colonies, now States, had always been slow to pay their proportion, and the power of the Continental Congress was growing weaker every day. The number of the debtor class was increasing. All these things were difficult to deal with; but the case was aggravated by the lawless spirit which was abroad in the community, extending from the sands of Cape Cod and the rocks of Essex, to the Valley, and even to the verge of Berkshire. To resist the

demands for redress was cruel and unwise ; to yield to violent demands might undermine all government.

For, it must not be forgotten, that a new element had entered into the public mind. In the Revolution, the rights of property were respected by the people, while throwing off the authority of the crown ; but now the cry was heard that property must be divided equally among all. The wild vagaries of the Paris Communism of 1870, were rife here, in certain circles, in 1784-6. In addition, it may be truly said that the condition of public morals was low. Intemperance had increased during the war, and as yet no change for the better had appeared. The ancient habit of keeping the Sabbath, and attending worship, had been partially broken up in the case of those who went to the war ; and that number included, first and last, nearly all the able-bodied men in the State. The ancient spirit of law and order was somewhat weakened, and there were lawless men in most of the towns. It is not hard to believe that there were also ambitious spirits, inured to the perils of war, who were watching for a change that might bring them to the front, and raise them to power. The elements were seething. Would there be a new revolution ; or would the yeasty mass only foam, and then settle down into a state of stable equilibrium ?

In the summer and fall of 1786 the matter took such a shape as to hasten the crisis. The people began to hold conventions in several counties, as at Concord, Paxton, Leicester, Bristol, Hatfield. The animus of these delegate conventions may be inferred from the action taken at Hatfield. On the twenty-second of August delegates met there from fifty towns. The following were the grievances which they desired to have redressed : — 1. "The sitting of the General Court at Boston. (They wished the legislature to meet farther west ; perhaps at Worcester.) 2. The want of a circulating system. 3. The abuses in the practice of the law ; the exorbitance of the fee table. 4. The existence of the Courts of Common Pleas in their present mode of administration. 5. The appropriating the revenue arising from the impost and excise to the payment of the interest of the State securities. 6. The unreasonable and unnecessary grants made by the General Court to the attorney-general and others. 7. The servants of the government being too numerous, and having too great salaries. 8. The existence of the Senate." The convention, notwithstanding their alleged grievances, expressed allegiance to the government, though favoring measures that tended to its overthrow. Such expressions were not uncommon. At a convention held in Paxton, after setting forth their sufferings and apprehensions, the delegates declared that they should think themselves "happy if they could, in the least degree, contribute to restore harmony to the Commonwealth, and to support the weight of a tottering empire."

It was a common complaint that the courts were the instruments of extortion, and censure was vented on the Court of General Sessions of the Peace ; and the Court of Common Pleas, especially, which was an inferior or county court, came in for animadversion. The people were excited to disaffec-

tion, so that measures were taken to prevent the sessions of the court. In the latter part of August the court was prevented from holding a term in Northampton.

A week after, when the Court of Common Pleas, and of the General Sessions of the Peace, were to be held at Worcester, more than three hundred men came into the shire town, and posted themselves at the court-house door. They stood there with fixed bayonets, and told the judge that he could not enter. The chief justice remonstrated, but was obliged to retire to a tavern, where he opened the court regularly, and then adjourned till morning. The opposition not abating, the Court of Common Pleas was adjourned without day, and the Sessions of the Peace till the twenty-first of November.

The time came for the Supreme Judicial Court to open a term at Springfield, but the mob determined that no session should be held.

When the time came to which the Court of General Sessions of the Peace was adjourned — November 21 — armed men filled the main street of Worcester. The sheriff was prevented from entering the court-house by a company of three hundred and fifty men, with arms in their hands.

Two days later a delegate convention was held at Worcester, in which forty-one towns of the county were represented. It prepared a petition for a redress of grievances, and also prayed that the General Court would take the sense of all the towns in the Commonwealth in relation to revising the Constitution. If the returns should show that two-thirds of the towns were in favor of the measure, then a constitutional convention was to be called. This proposition miscarried. This convention, like others, though it used loyal language, had the effect to stimulate opposition to the form of government.

In the meantime the violent action of the insurgents had been fomenting trouble in Middlesex, as well as the western counties. Some of the chief agitators lived in and near Concord. They went to the verge of open warfare. But the government acted wisely, maintaining a firm attitude, yet avoiding needless provocation. An act of indemnity passed by the government had put all on a favorable footing up to the twenty-first of November. If opposition had ceased at that time, the legislature would, in all probability, have taken measures to remove all just cause of complaint. But the tide of human passion, when let loose from legitimate bonds, is lawless, and often destructive to those who have raised it. The violent stopping of the session at the time to which it was adjourned, and the convention held in Worcester on the twenty-third of the month, opened the contest anew, and threatened the overthrow of government as well as the stoppage of justice.

The leading agitators at Concord were beginning to yield, and were shaping their action towards peaceful measures, when a committee, sent from Worcester, arrived, and by most violent and profane language, excited anew a spirit of strong hostility to the administration. The authorities were now in a dilemma. They had borne long with the insults, threats and violence of the leaders. They had hoped, by patience, to disarm opposition. The legisla-

ture had taken action that would work relief, if the people would co-operate; but this course was attributed to fear, and the agitators grew more bold and insolent. It was time to put them down. Yet there was a natural reluctance to resort to the military arm. From all appearance the followers of Shays would be able to raise a formidable army. Many of the officers had had experience in the late war, and many of the men were veterans. In some sections of the State they appeared to be in the majority. Moreover, if they should prove to be weak, still it was a hazardous thing to shed blood. The blood shed in civil war is apt to come up in the shape of dragon's teeth.

However, the violence of the insurgents left no alternative. The government found that it must abdicate or fight. It declared war against the rebels, as they had now become, by forming themselves into armed bands, and it called out a force of four thousand and four hundred men. It will not be in place to follow the fortunes of the insurgents or the movements of the regular troops, except so far as Worcester County was concerned. But it so happened that the forces of Shays were mustered in in one town of this county, and put to an ignominious flight in another.

In the beginning of December the rebels were getting themselves into readiness for action, by forming several bodies or camps in different towns. One of the largest of these companies was at Rutland, under the immediate command of Shays himself. They remained there, in barracks, until Sunday, December 3, when they began to march into Worcester. The sheriff, William Greenleaf of Lancaster, wrote to the governor, informing him of the state of things, and the holding of the courts was postponed till the twenty-third of January.

The Shays men stayed in Worcester three days, from the third to the fifth of December. They had their own way, though one hundred and fifty loyal men turned out to sustain the courts. A violent snow-storm almost stopped traveling, but Shays came down from Rutland with about three hundred and fifty men. As many as a thousand gathered from different parts of the county, armed, and apparently ready to fight. Some of them were billeted on the people while they remained. A judge and some other citizens were seized, though not treated with violence. In the meantime the militia were kept on duty, but a collision with the insurgents was avoided.

But now Gen. Lincoln, an officer who had acquired distinction in the Revolution, and who was held in high estimation, was on the war-path, and the rebels started for the west. By the ninth of December all had left, and were gathering at Springfield, with friends from all the western counties. We shall pass over their marches and manœuverings for the next two months, till the belligerent parties appear again in this county. Towards the end of January, the forces, under Capt. Shays, had collected together in Pelham, and on the second of February, learning that the loyal troops were coming on, they started towards night in the direction of Petersham. Early in the evening the weather

was mild, and there was light enough to render marching comfortable. But as the night wore away the snow began to fall and impede the traveling. Drifts began to pile up, and the mercury settled fast. Finding no shelter on the road, the rebels had marched on through the night, and when the morning broke over the high hills of Petersham, they halted, feeling secure from their pursuers. But the severity of the storm instead of delaying the government soldiers was the cause of their all-night march. They exerted themselves to keep from freezing; and so it came to pass that when the insurgents were taking needed rest and preparing their breakfast, the pursuers were upon them. They were caught, two hundred and fifty of them, while the others fled, leaving kettles and breakfast to the conquerors. In a day or two the rebel forces had vanished like a mist, and were seen no more. In the courts, during the year, quite a number were brought up on the charge of treason. Some were discharged; others were sent to the jail in Boston. When the commotion was calmed, and the power of the government was fully acknowledged, these men were set at liberty, and lived and died as quiet and worthy citizens. By degrees their real grievances were redressed, so far as within the power of the government; and what were beyond legislation were either endured, or were overcome by private exertion. The action of Gov. Bowdoin, who was elected because of his fitness to deal with the disease of the times, was firm, but conciliatory and eminently wise. If there were any demagogues among the leading statesmen of that day, he was not one of their number; but while a friend to the people, he would not stoop to flatter them, or pander to their foolish clamor. In consequence he was not a popular man, in the ordinary sense of the word, but he was ever held in profound respect.

Why the Shays rebellion did not become a success is a curious question. The feeling of dissatisfaction was diffused very generally throughout the Commonwealth, except in Boston and some of the seaport towns. Farmers, mechanics, and day-laborers were in sympathy with it to a large extent. Probably a poll of the State would have shown that a majority of the able-bodied men were involved, more or less, in the movement; yet it never had the remotest chance of succeeding. The reasons are obvious. The grievances, though numerous and annoying, did not touch the fundamental principles of government. No man's life or liberty was in jeopardy. Our clergy have been friends of the common people, and champions of freedom and right in every period of our history, but they kept aloof from Shays and his followers. They saw that the evils of the times would work a cure by the course of events, and that to seek a cure by revolution was preposterous. The lawyers were opposed to the rebellion for a similar reason, and because the evils complained of were laid, in great measure, at their door. Fees, and charges, and postponements, and delays of justice, and prosecutions, by all of which the profession made gain in proportion as debtors or creditors were fleeced, had no tendency to induce them to labor for a reform. Merchants, contractors, and

others who had acquired wealth, can always make hard times work for their advantage. In the time of forced sales the man of ready cash finds his opportunity, and reaps his harvest. Then the destruction of the poor man is his poverty, and then the human harpy fattens on his prey. Who then could champion the cause of the suffering people, and lead them to victory? No man of mark, no class of men wielding influence joined their ranks. The leader, Shays, was a brave soldier and a respectable man, with the morals and principles of a Christian, but his name had no magnetism to conjure with, and failure was inevitable. Besides, every cool-headed and sensible man saw that all the evils and grievances which caused so much grumbling could be easily removed by peaceable measures.

But it is worth considering that the ill-feeling and turmoil which afflicted the State might have been avoided or removed if the more favored classes — the governing party of that day — had felt a deeper sympathy with the people, and shown a proper alacrity in relieving them from some of their burdens, and teaching how to bear others with patience.

The act of one man in this strange episode of Massachusetts history, deserves commemoration, and will ever be read to his honor. As he belonged to this county, and the scene was laid here, it would be unpardonable to pass it over in relating our local history. The chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas was Maj.-Gen. Artemas Ward. At the opening of the Revolution he stood in the front rank of American officers. His long service in the French and Indian wars had inured him to military life, and his training, under British generals, had given him peculiar advantages for one who had been confined to a provincial career. It was claimed by his friends that he ought to be placed at the head of the Continental army.

When the rebels came to Worcester to prevent the session of the court over which Gen. Ward presided, he exerted himself like a brave patriot to maintain the authority of the law and the dignity of the court, and at the same time to guide the excited crowd into wiser and more loyal conduct. On one of the occasions, when the armed mob closed the way to the court-house, he went deliberately from the tavern through the crowd of desperate men, whose determination to close the courts was made known by unmistakable signs and words. The people knew him well; some of his old soldiers were among them, and they held him in respect; but he went right on, regardless of frowns and threats. Arriving at the front of the court-house he demanded entrance. A band of armed men stood between him and the door, who levelled their bayonets. They obeyed their officers, who were men of fixed resolve. The general advanced, the soldiers, to all appearance ready to defend their post at all hazards, held their bayonets to his breast. Still he pressed forward till the points pierced through his clothing. Appeals to their patriotism, to their sense of duty, to the memories of the past were unavailing. Having thus asserted the authority of the government, and put the rebels in the wrong, he

withdrew with self-possession and dignity. It must have been a sublime sight, when that intrepid man, unattended, made his way through the excited and maddened throng, and there exposed their errors and the folly of their course; and fearless of personal injury commanded them, in the name of the Commonwealth, to abandon their wild and wicked enterprise. Though he failed in the effort to hold the court, yet he won a substantial victory. The only honors won that day were borne off by the judge. He had been in many scenes of warfare, Indian and civilized, where bullets and tomahawks were flying thick, and always bore himself like a brave man; but never did he exhibit truer courage and greater nobility of soul than when he confronted that mob of maddened insurgents in front of the old court-house in Worcester.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.

THE history of schools and education in the towns and cities will be left to the local authors, as coming within their province. In this division of the work it will be proper to give a comparative view of the state of education in the several municipalities, and also to present a brief sketch of those valuable academies, schools, and institutes or colleges, which accommodate a circle of towns, or receive students from all parts of the Commonwealth, and even from other States. These institutions do not belong to the places in which they happen to be located, and are not dependent on municipal support, or subject to local supervision. It is true also that they are not county schools, with, perhaps, one or two exceptions, but as their patronage is drawn from a wider range, and their benefits have a wider diffusion than town lines, their history is properly included in that of the county.

A hundred years before the incorporation of the county, and several years prior to the settlement of the oldest town now belonging to it, the colonial laws required the towns to have free schools for the education of all the children. At a very early date, towns of a certain grade, as to population, were authorized and required to keep open grammar schools a certain number of weeks every year. In these schools many youth were prepared for college. Long before the act was passed by which Worcester County was formed, in 1731, the public-school system of the Colony was fully established, and the support of it was understood as one of the unavoidable duties of the several towns. To make the matter sure, it was enacted that the "General Court of Sessions of the Peace," in each county, should have jurisdiction in regard to schools so far as to hear complaints from the towns which neglected to provide the means of

education for all the children according to the requirements of the law. Thus we find among the complaints laid before the Court of Sessions, at some of its early terms, those in relation to towns which were derelict in this respect. The court exerted its authority in every case, and the towns thus negligent were required to supply school-houses and furnish teachers for their children, on pain of fine and costs. Our forefathers were determined that an ignorant population should not grow up on this soil. The ministers taught that the Bible was open to all, of divine right, and that all ought to be able to read it in their own tongue. Ability to read the Bible enabled one to read other books; and thus the key to all knowledge was put into the hands of all the people. And the people of this county have, in every generation, prized their system of education very highly, as is shown by the fact that they have freely taxed themselves to pay for buildings, apparatus, and salaries. In more recent times the State has relieved the court, or its successor, the board of county commissioners, of the duty to enforce the law, and has taken it into its own hands; by enacting that the towns which fail to keep open public schools without charge to the pupils, at least six months in each year, shall be deprived of their pro rata of the income from the school fund. A month is four weeks, of five days for each week. And to ensure the education of all the children, it is further provided by law that all manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments which employ children under fourteen years of age, who have not attended school at least twenty weeks in the year preceding, shall be heavily fined. What success has been secured by these enactments will appear on a subsequent page.

That there has been great improvement in public education since the county was incorporated, there can be no doubt in the mind of any well-informed person. Many of the improvements will soon be noted, but there is a disposition on the part of some to undervalue the work done by the schools of earlier times. The scholars were then taught to obey, in the first place, and thus learned to respect authority; and this went far to make good, law-abiding citizens. They were also taught to read, and spell, and write. More attention was paid to penmanship in the schools of that day than in those of the present. The children were not better drilled in reading, perhaps, but more time was given to this exercise; and thus the children and youth became familiar with many of the choicest extracts which the language, at that time, could furnish. Their reading was food for thought. The ideas they received from reading were germinant in their own minds, and thus produced a fertile and fertilizing growth of new ideas.

The science of arithmetic was taught with great thoroughness, to a certain extent. The modern text-books are more full; they are better adapted for business in our day; but the teaching does not make our children such complete masters of their books as was acquired by their predecessors. Indeed, text-books were unknown in some schools. The masters gave examples to their

pupils, in the different Rules, from Notation to Miscellaneous Examples, and it may be, Puzzles; and the scholars made their own arithmetic as they went along. Before the Rebellion, when old chests, closets, and garrets were emptied of their "paper stock," there were many manuscript arithmetics, in all our towns, which had been made in the schools of former generations. The rules were learned by practice before they were put into words. In fact, they were so learned that each scholar, of average brightness, could put his own rules upon paper. When thus embedded in the mind by actual practice, the teacher might, and generally did, give them a formula in better language, perhaps, than the majority would be able to fashion into a sentence or paragraph.

To these branches were added the reading of the Bible, and especially the Psalter or Psalms, and the study of the Catechism, which was a logical and scientific embodiment of the doctrines of the Bible. And whatever may be the diversity of view as to the value of the "Shorter Catechism" as a presentation of revealed truth, there can be no doubt that it is one of the most terse, logical, and admirably-arranged works in the English language. The learning of it trained the memory; the effort to understand it, gave vigor to the mind, precision to habits of thinking, and clearness to expression. As an educating expedient, it has been followed by nothing superior in all the excellent compendiums of mental or moral science used in modern schools.

Geography and Grammar did not gain a place in the schools generally for a hundred years or more after the first settlement of the county. As a part of the common-school curriculum, they are "modern inventions." The first school geographies, though very comprehensive, including many things not germane to the subject, were poor affairs. The Geography of Dr. Morse, though a vast improvement on those which preceded it, has been out of use for two generations. The Grammar of Murray, which has been long discarded, was far in advance of all school grammars at the time of its appearance. There are those who believe that, in some respects, it has not been surpassed by its successors. In Murray's mind grammar was a science of language. All the parts were bound together in a syntax, which was a system of government, so to speak, that should have words arranged to convey information or thought, like the symmetrical framework of an edifice reared for use or ornament, or both combined. His syntax was not a mere string of precedents and sequents, but of agents acting on objects, and governed by fixed laws. And his system of "parsing" was the delight of the keenest girls and boys who attended the schools forty, sixty, and eighty years ago. All the "ologies and ophies" have come in with the advance of knowledge in all branches during the present and the immediately preceding generation. The range of studies has been greatly enlarged, and our children know many things not dreamed of in the philosophy of the boys and girls who lived in the days of Washington and Adams.

The progress in the matter of school-houses is as great as in regard to roads and bridges. Any shelter from the storm would answer, in early times, so long as a better was beyond the means of the pioneers. An old shop, a barn-floor, any room into which benches could be put, was called into use for the school, and the teacher was installed as master. This was not fancy but fact in many towns; probably in all that were formed preceding the Revolution. In the centre, or some populous locality, there would be a framed building, with a chimney, on whose capacious hearth logs eight feet in length would make a roaring fire in a wintry day. The benches were, within the memory of the living, the most wretched seats which innocent mortals were ever doomed to endure. If the older children had the sharp edge of a plank to lean back upon, the younger ones had nothing to keep them up; while their feet dangled in the air. Rarely was found a school-house that ranked above the tolerable; very seldom one that could be called comfortable; a county would be searched over, outside of cities, without finding one that had any pretensions to architecture.

But after all, everything depends on the master or mistress of the school. Without a good teacher, the best books, apparatus, and houses will accomplish nothing at all adequate. Given a good teacher, and children of average intellect, there will be a good school, though kept in a barn or a sail-loft, without blackboards, maps, and a score of other conveniences. How was it then with the old-time schoolmaster? Female teachers were not so plenty in those days when nearly all the girls were wanted for wives by the time they were fairly out of their "teens." All things considered, the masters were well qualified for their places. There were some superior masters. It was honorable for the young men and women belonging to the best families to engage in teaching. Their influence was felt in governing, elevating, and refining their youthful charge. But their range of knowledge was narrow, and the terms of school were comparatively short. A school for small children in summer, and one of three, or sometimes four months in winter for older pupils, completed the school year. Young men and women attended till they were eighteen, perhaps longer, but they did not get beyond what one styled the "three R's; that is, reading, riting, and 'rithmetic," except a few ambitious ones who ventured into geography and grammar. Then it must be remembered that with all the virtues of our earlier time, there was more rusticity, rudeness, and vulgarity. There was less profaneness, but more dirtiness. The boys took off their hats to travelers, but did it in an awkward way. They were more noisy, less amenable to persuasion, and were accustomed to the needed discipline of the rod. It was a pleasant pastime to have a row with the master, and the old way of "barring the master out," which would not be tolerated now in any decent community, was far less barbarous than the occasional fights, when he was carried, "will ye, nill ye," out of the door, or pitched out of the window. The description of the "Schoolmaster" in John Trumbull's poem entitled the

"Progress of Dullness," though probably overdrawn, was doubtless a pretty fair representation :

"Next see our youth at school appear,
 Procured for forty pounds* a year ;
 His ragged regiment round assemble,
 Taught, not to read, but fear and tremble.
 Before him, rods prepare his way,
 Those dreaded antidotes to play.
 Then throned aloft in elbow chair,
 With solemn face and awful air,
 He tries with ease and unconcern,
 To teach what ne'er himself could learn ;
 Gives law and punishment alone,
 Judge, jury, bailiff, all in one ;
 Holds all good learning must depend
 Upon his rod's extremest end,
 Whose great electric virtue's such,
 Each genius brightens at the touch ;
 With threats and blows, incitements pressing,
 Drives on his lads to learn each lesson ;
 Thinks flogging cures all moral ills,
 And breaks their heads to break their wills.
 The year is done ; he takes his leave ;
 The children smile ; the parents grieve ;
 And seek again, their school to keep,
 One just as good and just as cheap."

There has been much foolishly spoken and written about corporal punishment in schools during the present generation. We have cheap philosophers who insist that none but a brute will ever strike a child. One would infer, if he should take these teachers for his guide, that the Author of Nature, who has provided that physical pain shall be the result, and in part the punishment, of wrong-doing, has made the world on a Satanic system. The effect has been bad in one respect, as it has led many of the male and female teachers of our schools to resort to all kinds of expedients to manage rather than govern their schools. Coaxing, flattery, sarcasm, and methods which are best described by the word "humbug," have taken the place of the sterner discipline of former days. Between the two extremes, of severe bodily infliction, and this modern demoralization of the mind, the former was far preferable. It was more summary, took less time, and made more manly characters. But it is just as true that the former severity was excessive. It would not be, and it ought not to be, tolerated in any civilized land. It should be borne in mind, however, that custom made severity seem less severe than now. Men used stronger, more violent, and more provoking language than would now be endured among gentlemen. Poets like Milton, and divines like those engaged in the controversy about Whitefield, used epithets, and hurled accusations which would shock modern taste. There was the same excess in blows as in words. There has been an amelioration effected by the general progress of society. Time was when boys could not be kept in order in the meeting-house without a

tything-man and his long rod, when rogues were subjected to the discipline of the whipping-post and scolds were ducked in the goose-pond. There has been a revolution in this way which will not go backward, and the change is all the better for our children. While the teacher must be clothed with all necessary authority, and must act, while in school, *in loco parentis*, there is little need of inflicting bodily pain. This need is diminished to a minimum in cities and large towns where unruly children can be placed in truant schools, reform schools, or jails, if need be. Expulsion in the country cuts a child off from the public means of education, unless he is sent to some place of restraint or reform away from home, at considerable expense; while expulsion from a city school may be merely a transfer from one school to another.

Turning now from this rapid survey of schools as they were, to the schools of the day, we find very great improvement in many respects. In the first place, the law requires more schooling. It is now imperative that all the public schools shall be open six months. A town which fails to comply with the law, will suffer for it more than enough to balance what might be saved by shortening the schools. Under the stimulus of the law, and the public sentiment which secured its enactment, many towns have their schools kept eight months. Large towns often prolong their schools nine and even ten months, or forty weeks annually. In short, they keep the children in the school-house longer than they ought to be confined, if they had good homes to stay in the remainder of the time.

School-houses, in the most obscure places, are better than they were in respectable towns in the earlier time; and in nearly all the towns of the county there are specimens of school-house architecture which appear well in the vicinity of the better class of dwellings. In addition, there are quite a number of buildings devoted to educational uses that are worthy of admiration. In Worcester, in Fitchburg, in Ashburnham, in Clinton, in Winchendon, in Milford, in Blackstone, in Leicester, in Millbury, in Northbridge, in Grafton, in Webster, and in Spencer, there are school-houses or academies that illustrate the liberality of the people, and their high appreciation of the blessings of education. Many other towns, in proportion to their means, are deserving of similar commendation. Some of these edifices surpass all others in the place, unless in some cases, the sanctuary devoted to the worship of God. Moreover, it has become the custom to furnish the school-houses generally with seats and desks, blackboards and maps, globes and other apparatus which are useful and convenient. Text-books cover the teachers' tables, and reference books fill the shelves or alcoves provided for them. The buildings, instead of being heated and cooled, in turn, by the huge fire in the open-throated chimney, are warmed by stoves, or furnaces or steam, diffusing an equable temperature throughout the building, and during all the hours of the day and night. In one sentence, the change has fully kept pace with the progress of society in all the arts and conveniences of life.

In no one thing has there been a greater change, or one more advantageous, than in school-books. There is room for criticism in relation to this modern product of the press, because the best possible book, in each department of study, has not yet been made. The books for beginners are too simple, being designed, it would seem, either for infants or feeble-minded children. The trifling sentences, telling the little reader, in various transposition, that "The cat has a tail," or "A tail has the cat," or "Has the cat a tail?" is a senseless substitute for the robust sense as well as piety of some of the lines in Webster's old spelling-book: as for example: "No man may put off the law of God." And the reading-books for the higher classes, though containing a greater variety of extracts, taken also from authors less antiquated, and more redolent of modern thought, are not better fitted than the "English Reader," and other collections which were read in former generations, to inform the mind, refine the taste, and improve the heart. But in all the other branches of school-book making, the improvement is marvellous. The writing, printing, and illustrating of books for scholars is not only a business, but an art. Some of the compilers of these books have as clearly a genius for their work as other men have for original discovery. They interpret the great scientists to the youthful mind, and are entitled to be called benefactors of their kind. Committees may complain of the nuisance of book agents, but it is their duty to obtain the best books in every department of study. They might as well complain of any other process of art or nature which comes to them with the promise of improvement. In some branches, as the sciences, and the mixed mathematics, changes will have to be made in the future, as in the past, as discoveries are made. The same is true of geography. The proper attitude of committees, of teachers and towns towards new books, however expensive to the latter, time-consuming to the first, or perplexing to the second party, is that of welcome, because the children must, at all cost, have "the best."

Almost, as a matter of course, there is an equal improvement in teachers. They still come from the best grade of families as of yore, and they have had the benefit of a better training than was possible in the days of their grandfathers. The earnest study of the best minds in the country is devoted to progress in the science of teaching, and training teachers to excel in general, and in specialties. And in this connection a remark may be pardoned if not approved by all, that the hope of our country is, in a large degree, bound up in our schools, inasmuch as the mental discipline which they provide tends wholly to form a generation of sound-minded people. Our politics are fitful, now rousing the public to wild and often fearful excitement, and then quieting down to a dead calm. Much of our literature is unwholesome and demoralizing. There is a strong tendency to the frivolous in amusement. Some sections of the Christian church, which is the "pillar and ground of the truth," and the chief fountain of moral and religious influence, have become accustomed to alternate seasons of excitement and lethargy, instead of the scriptural progress which

is like that of the "shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." No mortal mind can fully estimate the benefit which comes to a nation through good schools for the young. Free from the ignorance and superstition of uncivilized lands, and exempt from the stimulating and exciting forces of civilized society, the schools are places of study, of instruction, of government where the young mind and heart can grow in quiet, and under the guidance of kindness and affection. What a broad and solid basis is here laid for the rearing of an intelligent, strong, and stable nation!

Passing from these general observations showing the progress of education in the county during the hundred and fifty years since its incorporation, some facts will now be presented in relation to the present condition of the schools. By the census of 1875, the population of the county was two hundred and ten thousand two hundred and ninety-five. The valuation of the county was one hundred and thirty-four millions six hundred and five thousand dollars, in round numbers. The number of schools in 1877-8 was nine hundred and thirty-eight. The number of scholars in all the public schools was forty-two thousand eight hundred and eighty. The average length of the schools in months and days, was eight months and three days. The amount spent in building and repairing school-houses, was about twenty-four thousand dollars. The cost of the schools, exclusive of the last item, and also exclusive of income from private funds, and the State school fund, was four hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and forty-five dollars and twenty cents. The average wages of teachers, including high-school teachers, per month, was, for males seventy dollars and eighty cents; for females thirty-three dollars and twenty-five cents. Leaving out the high-school teachers reduces the difference very much. The relative pay is not far from the ratio of twelve to nine or ten. In some towns the female teachers were paid better than the males, though these cases are few.

The following table gives certain facts respecting the cost of schooling in the county in the year 1877-8, and the relative standing of the towns, during that and the preceding year, as to the sum appropriated for each child, between the age of five and fifteen years of age. Besides what is here given, some of the towns have a small income from funds; some devote the dog-tax to the support of the schools; and some towns contribute small sums for board and fuel. Academies and private schools are not included in the table. The population in 1875 is given, and also the valuation, except cents, in 1877.

For 1876-77.	For 1877-78.	NAMES OF TOWNS.	Population in 1875.	Sum appropriated by towns for each child be- tween 5 and 15 years of age.	Amounts raised by taxes for the support of schools.	Number of chil- dren between 5 and 15.	Valuation in 1877.
1	1	Lancaster,	1,957	\$19 74.7	\$5,549 00	281	\$2,023,300 00
7	2	New Braintree,	606	17 46.5	1,676 62	96	471,670 00
3	3	Barre,	2,460	16 11.2	5,100 00	329	1,613,040 00
2	4	Fitchburg,	12,289	15 15.3	31,300 00	2,065	10,668,319 00
10	5	Petersham,	1,203	13 92.3	2,500 00	187	631,745 00
4	6	Worcester,	49,317	13 69.3	124,566 27	9,097	45,676,455 00
7	7	Northborough,	1,398	13 65.5	3,250 00	238	1,200,763 00
19	8	Uxbridge,	3,029	13 09.8	6,800 00	481	1,754,835 00
6	9	Athol,	4,134	13 03.4	7,600 00	559	2,847,645 00
8	10	Upton,	2,125	13 03	4,800 00	330	876,970 00
9	11	Southborough,	1,936	12 78.8	4,530 00	359	1,295,377 00
11	12	Sterling,	1,539	12 06	3,200 00	278	1,021,343 00
29	13	Warren,	3,220	11 14.2	5,000 00	467	1,979,419 00
21	14	Paxton,	600	11 09.6	1,309 30	118	301,533 00
41	15	Grafton,	4,442	10 93.3	8,300 48	783	1,878,100 00
16	16	Shrewsbury,	1,324	10 87	3,000 00	276	1,130,970 00
18	17	Westminster,	1,712	10 86.9	2,750 00	253	845,870 00
25	18	Westborough,	5,141	10 79.3	8,300 00	769	2,489,351 00
22	19	Northbridge,	4,030	10 66.4	7,850 00	738	1,779,905 00
23	20	Templeton,	2,764	10 59.9	4,700 60	450	1,068,322 00
12	21	Brookfield,	2,690	10 59	4,650 00	459	1,244,769 00
20	22	Gardner,	3,531	10 53.3	6,500 00	612	2,063,533 00
38	23	Princeton,	1,063	10 40.3	1,700 00	174	862,383 00
17	24	Leominster,	5,291	10 37.6	8,550 00	821	3,775,931 00
27	25	Boylston,	895	10 35.7	1,500 00	154	525,895 00
26	26	Harvard,	1,304	10 12.6	2,400 00	237	919,059 00
15	27	Rutland,	1,030	9 95	2,000 00	201	488,642 00
32	28	Hubbardston,	1,440	9 92	2,500 00	252	865,549 00
13	29	Leicester,	2,770	9 79.5	5,000 00	514	1,778,551 00
24	30	Clinton,	6,781	9 73.5	14,738 39	1,514	4,195,212 00
37	31	North Brookfield, . . .	3,749	9 50.6	7,030 00	761	1,880,239 00
14	32	Lunenburg,	1,153	9 49.5	1,600 00	252	761,839 00
40	33	Royalston,	1,260	9 44	1,800 00	200	639,432 00
46	34	Ashburnham,	2,141	9 06.4	3,000 00	314	984,104 00
30	35	Oxford,	2,938	9 07.6	4,500 00	498	1,374,947 00
34	36	Phillipston,	666	8 69.3	1,000 00	125	290,037 00
45	37	Milford,	9,818	8 48.2	18,600 00	2,193	4,559,783 00
28	38	Charlton,	1,852	8 35.7	2,732 71	327	997,340 00
31	39	Douglas,	2,202	8 13.8	3,300 00	434	1,004,833 00
35	40	Webster,	5,034	8 10.2	6,300 00	808	1,928,140 00
49	41	Dudley,	2,653	7 99.3	4,500 00	563	896,940 00
42	42	West Brookfield,	1,933	7 93.6	3,000 00	378	795,797 00
47	43	Millbury,	4,529	7 61.7	7,000 00	919	2,209,835 00
54	44	Spencer,	5,151	7 39.5	8,800 00	1,190	2,764,264 00
36	45	Mendon,	1,176	7 37.6	1,500 00	227	610,438 00
48	46	Blackstone,	4,610	7 36	6,900 00	972	2,039,600 00
33	47	Sturbridge,	2,213	7 21.2	3,000 00	416	1,085,971 00
43	48	Southbridge,	5,740	7 00.1	9,780 00	1,397	3,016,980 00
39	49	Dana,	769	6 92.7	700 00	109	281,869 00
52	50	Oakham,	873	6 80.6	900 00	149	353,508 00
53	51	Berlin,	987	6 57.1	1,100 00	183	485,488 00
55	52	Sutton,	3,051	6 56.9	4,000 00	638	1,146,395 00
51	53	Bolton,	987	6 55.7	1,200 00	183	486,377 00
57	54	West Boylston,	2,902	6 12.2	3,300 00	575	1,064,909 00
56	55	Holden,	2,180	6 11.6	2,700 00	482	978,635 00
44	56	Winchendon,	3,762	6 02.9	4,365 00	724	2,005,047 00
58	57	Auburn,	1,233	5 86	1,500 00	256	468,049 00
50	58	Hardwick,	1,992	5 15.2	2,000 00	416	993,930 00

There are other tables in the report of the board of education which change the relative position of the towns. For example, in the tables showing the percentage of valuation appropriated to public schools in the towns of Worcester County, the town of Dudley stands at the head, while in the preceding table it

is numbered forty-one. Lancaster goes from the first place down to forty-two. And so of many others; proving that some of the towns which raise a lesser sum for each child, actually pay a larger percentage of their property for the support of schools. There is another table which must be consulted before determining what towns secure the most schooling for their children. In fact, there are two such tables; one gives the number of months for which the schools in the different towns are kept; and by consulting this it may be found that a town which raises less money in proportion to property than another, gives its children a greater amount of schooling. The other table exhibits the ratio of attendance to the whole number of children between five and fifteen. In this table Princeton leads the column, showing an attendance of more than one hundred per cent. That is, if there are one hundred children in the town between five and fifteen, there will be an actual attendance of more than one hundred. Children below five or above fifteen will attend in sufficient numbers to overbalance the absence of some between those ages. The first five in this list are small towns; viz., Princeton, Royalston, New Braintree, Paxton, and Rutland. The first sixteen keep above ninety per cent. The fifty-eighth town gives something over sixty per cent. Equating all the tables would probably prove that the children throughout the county enjoy nearly equal educational privileges. This would become more evident, perhaps, if the private schools and academies were included in the view. For example, the city of Worcester holds the forty-second place in a list of fifty towns in the matter of average attendance; a poor showing. But there are hundreds of Worcester children in other schools than those supported by the city, not counting those who come from other places to enjoy the advantages which the private schools in that city afford.

In the census report of 1875 there are tables showing the number of children in every town, under fifteen years of age, who are "at work," and do not attend school at all. The number in this county is 1,697. Besides, there are over 1,350 who are at school "at least three months" during the year; that is, about half the time required by law. Though these are distributed through all the towns, yet the majority are gathered into a few places where young help is specially wanted. The State is making strenuous efforts to reduce this number by enforcing the law requiring all children to attend school at least twenty weeks during the year.

There is also a table of "illiteracy," in which the number of persons of all ages who can neither read nor write is presented. The whole number of "illiterates" in Worcester County is 18,567. Of these 2,468 are native born, and 16,099 are foreign born. It is probable that quite a large proportion of native-born illiterates are the children of foreign-born parents. The immigrants have come from countries where the provisions for the education of the poor were scanty, or they were not taught to value them; but their children, born in our mental atmosphere, are found in school to a great extent, and take

respectable rank with the descendants of the first settlers — the Pilgrims and Puritans of the seventeenth century.

This leads to the remark that the common-school system, which is the birth-right of our children, whatever their parentage, or race, or color, is the most efficient agency ever invented by man to make the people of a State homogeneous. When children of every rank in society are brought together in school, and classed there according to attainments, and credited according to conduct, they learn insensibly to respect and sympathize with each other. Ties are woven which do not entirely lose their hold through life. The lowly are uplifted, while those higher in the social scale are not depressed or debased. There is a law and spirit of the school as high as or higher than that of the average family, under which all the pupils come, and it works unceasingly to transform character, to correct bad habits, and to cultivate the amenities of life. The school system is the solution of the problem how to transmute the baser metals into gold, and the product is richer than all the metallic yield of the western mountains.

The effect is seen, not only in getting and reciting lessons, and in the pronunciation and the gait or carriage of the scholars, but in the contour of their heads and the expression of their faces. In three or four years of school intercourse and training they lose their distinctive national marks, and a stranger would pronounce them all "native and to the manner born." The change is marvellous and gratifying. It is one of the rewards of teachers and those who have the superintendence of schools to see the members of a school, made up, it may be, from half a dozen nationalities, move along in perfect harmony till all become and feel that they are playfellows, comrades, classmates and friends; till they recognize not only a common nature, but a common nationality, and feel a proper State pride; till, in a word, they all become "live Yankees," and go out into active life to play their part together in maintaining good institutions and defending their common country. Distant be the day when our children cannot all be educated together in their spring-time, and until they separate for the sake, on the part of some, of professional training. Our society is moulded on the idea of an educated democracy; and cursed be they who break the mould.

Before leaving this part of our subject, a comparative view of the schools in 1848 and 1877 will be given; at least so far as relates to the number of scholars in the county, the amount paid for schooling, and the sums paid for the tuition of each scholar. The number of children between five and fifteen, in the county, in 1877-8, was 38,831. The number in 1849 was 26,128. In 1877-8 the amount raised by taxation for the support of schools was \$406,328.13. The amount raised for the same purpose in this county in 1848 was \$75,682.46. The average sum paid for the schooling of each scholar in the county, of school age, in 1877-8, was \$10.55.4. In 1848 the sum paid for the same purpose was, on the average for the county, \$2.61. The difference is great. As will be seen on comparison, the number of children has increased

only about one-third, while the amount raised has been increased more than fivefold, and the sum paid for each child annually is greater by nearly the same proportion. This statement, taken without modification, would give an impression that the cause of education has advanced more than the facts warrant. In the first place, money will buy less than it would thirty years ago, on the average of articles in daily use. Again, the wages of teachers have been raised somewhat, though the larger employment of female teachers has tended to keep the wages down. But making these allowances, the above comparative statement indicates a rapid stride of progress. There has been a gradual lengthening of the school year from less than six months to more than eight months. This fact, taken with the improvement in the school-houses, apparatus, text-books, and, above all, in teachers, warrants the conclusion that the cause of education has made a most gratifying advance during the last thirty years.

It may interest some readers to note the change from male to female teachers in the period under review. In 1848 the number of male teachers employed in the summer term, in Worcester County, was 8; in the winter term the number was 406. The aggregate for the year was 414. In the year 1877-8 the number of male teachers during the year was only 167. The number of female teachers in 1848, both summer and winter, was 851. In 1877-8 the number for the year was 1,101. Formerly the male teachers were in the majority in the winter, but this ceased to be the fact many years since. Except in academies and technical or professional schools, the work of instruction has passed into the hands of female teachers. Many look with favor on the change; some regard it as an unmixed blessing. There are those, however, who object, not without reason, that schools are not governed as they once were, and that, consequently, children are growing up without the sense of authority which formerly was impressed upon every pupil in school. This may be, and probably is true; but still it is undeniable that the order in our schools is as good as in past time. A careful observer, who remembers the schools of thirty, forty, and fifty years ago, will have no hesitation in saying that there is less mischief, roguery and idleness needing correction in present than in former schools. May it not be, then, that the children have been learning, by degrees, the need and the duty of self-control? And has not the influence of intelligent young ladies, who, relying less on authority, and appealing to reason and the feelings, have brought this generation into order and studiousness, vindicated their right to the almost exclusive occupancy of the teacher's chair, which is to her as her throne?

HIGHER SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES.

The history of education in Worcester County requires a reference to those schools which served a good purpose in former generations, but which have come to an end. The materials for a sketch are imperfect, but something can

be gleaned which may be of interest to the general reader. Perhaps it will be impossible to ascertain when or where the first select school or academy was opened, since there always turns out to have been a first before the first.

But it may be safely said that the youth of both sexes, who derived a better education than the schools could give, in the first, and far into the second century of the Colony, were indebted to the Congregational clergy. The first generation of these men had the best education that the English universities could impart, and they brought letters as well as religion to these shores. By their influence, and by the liberal gifts of one of their number, Harvard College was founded. Sixty years later Yale College was begun by a company of ministers, who gave valuable books, with the expressed design of laying the foundation of an institution of liberal learning. Scattered in their rural parishes all over New England, as it then was, the parish ministers not only had the charge of all the schools, *ex officiis*, but because of their deep interest in the welfare of the young. Besides, they were in the habit of hearing those young people who wished to enlarge their education at home, or prepare for college, recite in the higher English branches and also in the classics. In addition, some of them received pupils into their families from abroad, and thus, in reality, set up small, but very select schools, of a high grade. The extent to which this was done is hardly credible to those who have not looked into the facts. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that every town which had a parish minister had and enjoyed the means of giving all studious youth a good education. Girls were guided in their reading by the suggestions or advice from the parsonage. The minister's wife was accustomed to the reading of good authors and the society of intelligent men; and what was in the parsonage permeated, as a perfume, the intellectual atmosphere of the whole parish.

In these ways hundreds of girls were fitted to enter the select schools for young ladies which were opened in such towns as Boston, Salem, New Haven and Hartford. Young men, in greater number, were prepared for Harvard and Yale, and later for Dartmouth. The preparation was thorough, especially in Latin and Greek. All this grew out of the fact that "every parish had a scholar for its minister." The ministers of Worcester County rendered this service to the youth of their charge, and thus laid them under lasting obligation; while keeping society up to its level, against all the barbarizing tendencies of settlements in the woods. Some of these clerical teachers might be specified, but their number was too great, and the benefit they conferred too general, to call for special mention.

In proceeding to a brief history of the academics of the county, the writer will be indebted to several gentlemen who have written on the subject; especially to the late Hon. Emory Washburn, the late Rev. Charles Hammond, Prof. E. A. Hubbard, and Prof. George A. Walton. One of the earliest of these institutions in the county was

The Leicester Academy.—This academy is located in the pleasant town of Leicester, which is itself a group of rounded hills with intervening valleys that furnish delightful scenery. The idea of founding this school is said to have originated with Col. Ebenezer Crafts of Sturbridge. Col. Jacob Davis of Charlton was readily moved to co-operate, and the opportunity to secure a building in Leicester which was suitable for the purpose, determined the location of the academy in that town. Col. Crafts petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation, in July, 1783, the year in which our independence was acknowledged by King George. The subject went over to the winter session, when, in February, 1784, the act was promised on the condition that an endowment of one thousand pounds, besides the real estate, should be secured. The sum was raised at once, and the bill granting a charter was passed in March. Fifteen trustees were named in the act, and the instrument declared that the school was to be "for the purposes of promoting true piety and virtue, and for the education of youth in the English, Latin, Greek and French languages, together with writing, arithmetic and the art of speaking; also practical geometry, logic, philosophy and geography, and such other liberal arts and sciences as opportunity may hereafter permit, and the trustees hereinafter provided shall direct." The Hon. Moses Gill, afterwards lieutenant governor of the Commonwealth, was the first president of the board of trustees. An English and a classical teacher were appointed, and the academy was opened in June, with three scholars, which number was increased to seventy before the year closed. Though the institution seems to have enlisted the support of leading men in all parts of the county, and the pupils came from many different towns within and beyond its bounds, yet it had to struggle with difficulties and embarrassments, growing out of the impoverished state of the country at the close of a long war. Its buildings served only a temporary purpose, not having been designed for a school of the kind; its apparatus and library were very small, and the income from students was not large.

One of the means often resorted to, a hundred years ago, was the lottery, before the demoralizing effects of that disguised form of gambling were perceived in their true light. A lottery was granted in 1788 by means of which one thousand four hundred and nineteen dollars were raised. By another lottery in 1791 about two thousand dollars were obtained. And in 1793 the legislature granted a township of land in Maine, from the sale of which the sum of nine thousand and two hundred dollars was realized. In time the old buildings were replaced by new and more convenient ones, till a "well-arranged brick edifice" met the wants of the school. "The board of trustees," says the report above referred to, "has numbered some of the most prominent men in the State, governors, senators and distinguished divines. Among its teachers are found those who afterwards became presidents and professors in colleges; and among its students are found the names of members of the Cabinet, of the United States Senate, of judges of the supreme court and governors of states." It is sup-

posed that from six to eight thousand pupils have been connected with the school, of whom about four hundred fitted for college. There have been twenty-four principals of the school, some of whom became professors in colleges or other high institutions of learning, and others have risen to distinction in the pulpit and in public life. On the whole this academy has had an honorable and successful history. What it needs is a large endowment, without which academies, in these days, must give place to high schools. It is reported that this academy is closed at present, but it is hoped that it is only a case of suspended animation.

The Lancaster Academy.—This institution is passed over with slight notice in the report of our centennial year, probably because the writer was not familiar with its origin and history. Its origin is indeed obscure, but something which answered the purpose of an academy was in Lancaster long before the Leicester Academy was founded. Dr. Warren, the famous patriot and martyr of Bunker Hill, was a teacher here some years before the Revolution began. The names of other teachers who preceded him, are mentioned in the recently published "History of Lancaster." There was a "stated grammar-school" before the year 1757. There is ground for the belief that a school in which the languages were taught existed in the first quarter of the last century. Though this school was not strictly an academy, and was not incorporated, yet it answered the purpose of such an institution, because it taught a similar range of studies. Edward Bass, the first Episcopal bishop in Massachusetts, was here in 1746, two years after his graduation at Harvard. Among the teachers were Rev. Joseph Palmer, a classmate of Mr. Bass; Abel Willard, a lawyer of note and a friend of the elder John Adams; the Rev. Moses Hemenway, a clergyman of great ability and high reputation in his day; Dr. Israel Atherton, the first liberally educated physician in the county; and Joseph Willard, afterwards president of Harvard University. Others followed, men and women, who achieved success, and about the opening of this century, William Ellery Channing, whose name is an eulogy, had charge of the school.

The same institution, substantially, took the form of an academy, and was incorporated in 1815; and again in 1825, when a new start was taken, in the hope of wider influence and success. Jared Sparks, George B. Emerson, Solomon P. Miles, and others who filled prominent places in different professions or callings, were among the teachers. One of the most noted was long a resident of the town, Hon. James G. Carter. This academy lingered till the year 1873, when the corporation was dissolved. The time had come when nothing but a large endowment could save the school, and so it ceased to be; but it had done, under different names and administrations, a most useful and honorable work.

The Westminster Academy.—This school was started nearly fifty years since. Its first act of incorporation was passed in 1833. After fourteen years of varied experience, another charter was granted, in 1847. It has been closed several

years, other academies and high schools having cut off its supply of students from other towns. Yet this academy, now almost forgotten except by its living alumni, was once flourishing. In the spring and fall terms, especially, the town seemed to be thronged with youth of both sexes, who studied together, and formed ties and friendships which lasted for life. Hundreds who have lived better lives from their connection with this school, hold it in fond remembrance. The people of the village felt an interest in the school, and opened their houses hospitably for the accommodation of pupils who came from the surrounding towns. It was this spirit in the community which drew many to the academy who would otherwise have gone elsewhere for academical instruction.

The Millbury Academy.—Like several other similar schools, this academy had to succumb to the high-school system, when the town in which it was located came under the scope of the law in relation to high schools. The property was owned in shares; and the building was sold to the town in 1852, when the town was obliged to maintain a high school. Like other institutions of the kind, now dead and nearly forgotten, it did good service in its day. It is a great mistake to suppose these schools were failures because they died a natural death. As well might we speak of the career of a good man or woman as a failure because they have passed away. They must be estimated by the amount and quality of the work they performed while they did live. Judged by this standard, the old academies will ever be esteemed by the student of history as among the potent forces by which society was informed and elevated in former generations. The last principal of the Millbury Academy, Mr. A. P. Stone, has become one of the foremost educators in the Commonwealth.

The Milford Academy.—This was a local institution, and its ownership was in shares of fifty dollars each. Having no basis in a solid endowment, and its place being supplied by town schools of a high grade, it came to an end some years since.

The Winchendon Academy.—About the year 1843 the late Ephraim Murdock, Esq., then an aged citizen of Winchendon, founded the academy by erecting a handsome building for the use of the scholars, which was let, free of cost, to the successive principals who had it in charge. He also built a large boarding-house which was likewise free for the use of the principal and his boarders, or let at a nominal rent. The school was patronized chiefly by families of the town, but quite a number of youth came from neighboring towns. At the time of its opening, the policy of high schools was becoming a fixed part of our scheme of public education, when academies that had not a large endowment were unable to compete with schools supported by taxation. Therefore, after several years of successful work, the generous founder bequeathed the academy building and the handsome square on which it stood, to the town, to be used for educational purposes. After his decease, a high school was established and the academy ceased to be. In it many young people had acquired a good English educa-

tion, and quite a number were prepared for still higher schools, and also for college. Among the principals who rendered essential assistance in training the students in this institution, were Mr. D. C. Chamberlain, Mr. Charles L. Brace, the well-known author and philanthropist, and William W. Godding, M. D., formerly the distinguished superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Taunton, and now occupying the same position in the United States Hospital at Washington.

Other Extinct Schools.—The West Brookfield Female Seminary, which expired about the year 1830, lasted but a few years. "It was an early attempt," says the educational report, "to establish an academy for women." The Ladies' Collegiate Institute was started in Worcester, some years before the Rebellion, but after a short career came to an end, and its property was sold. It had a large and showy building on the summit of Union Hill, on the east side of the city, which was sold for another educational enterprise in 1862. Towards the close of the war, the buildings, vacant of students, were hired by the State and transformed into Dale Hospital, and filled with hundreds of wounded, sick and disabled soldiers who found there a temporary home. The Worcester Manual Labor School was started in the time when the plan, now obsolete, of uniting manual labor with a regular academical curriculum was popular. The whole scheme was a failure, though it seemed to have much to recommend it at the time. "Many of the students in this school obtained work and earned money while at school," as at nearly all New England academies. Beyond this the manual labor department was only a name. As we shall see, this institution was afterward merged in another.

In this connection special mention should be made of the school established by the late Prof. William Russell in Lancaster, and called the New England Normal Institute, which was opened May 11, 1853. The design was to maintain a school of a very high order for the training of teachers. He surrounded himself with an able corps of helpers, some of whom have risen to distinction as educators and authors. It is sufficient to repeat the names of Herman Krüsi, Sanborn Tenney, and Dana P. Colburn. Such men as Lowell Mason, Calvin Cutler, Prof. S. S. Green, and Rev. Francis T. Russell were among those who gave courses of lectures. Accomplished ladies, like Mrs. Caleb T. Symmes and Miss Anna V. Russell, gave instruction in various branches. During the first term there were eighty scholars, and for the academic year one hundred and thirty-nine. The prospect of permanent success seemed good; but a money basis was needful to enable the school to compete with the normal schools supported by the State. In the first place, persons preparing to teach could not afford to pay tuition enough to support a corps of superior teachers; and in the next place, the grade of the institute was higher than necessary to prepare teachers for our common schools. Thus a noble enterprise met an untimely fate. Who can estimate the good that might have been effected if the

institute had received such an endowment as has come to several schools and academies during the last fifteen years? The action of the State in opening normal schools for the education of teachers, and in requiring towns of a certain grade to maintain high schools, has destroyed all the old academies of the third rank, and some of the second. The time is hastening when the remainder must be endowed and raised to the first rank, like those at Andover, Exeter, and Easthampton, or see their rooms emptied of students. But academies of the first rank we must have, and here we have a place where benevolent men and women may bestow their surplus money with the best effect.

The Nichols Academy.—One of the oldest living academies in the county is located in the town of Dudley, and bears the name of Nichols. It was incorporated in the year 1819. It derives support from term bills, and from an appropriation of one thousand dollars by the town of Dudley. When it was incorporated the General Court gave it, in trust for educational purposes, a half township of land in the then province of Maine. The endowment, though not large, enables the institution to prolong its life. There is a Hancock fund, which furnishes aid to meritorious students. A library of several hundred volumes is for the use of the students. The buildings are an academy and a boarding-house, the latter being almost a necessity in a small village. The grounds are ample and beautifully laid out, making the place a pleasant resort.

As in some other schools, there are two courses of study, each extending through three years. One course is English, and the other is classical; yet students are at liberty to select an optional course out of the branches pursued in the academy. Says the often quoted report: "Graduates from the academy are taking enviable positions in the first colleges in the country, and it is intended to make the classical department in the future the distinctive one of the academy." So long as there is a large number of towns in the State too small to support a high school, academies will be a necessity; and one ought to be placed in or near the centre of a cluster of such towns. But they must not be too numerous, and they cannot depend on tuition for support. Endowments must be secured, and there is no better way to make a good use of wealth than to endow a good academy.

The Worcester Academy.—This institution grew out of that originally chartered as the Worcester Manual Labor High School. The manual experiment, as a specialty, did not include facilities for labor in the buildings, and was not, according to notions then prevalent, a manual labor school. By an act of the General Court the name was changed in 1848 to The Trustees of Worcester Academy. The grounds owned by the academy originally were in the south part of Worcester, and contained sixty acres. The school has occupied different sites, being at one time in the old library building of the American Antiquarian Society, at the corner of Summer and Belmont streets. In 1869 the trustees purchased the property of the Ladies' Collegiate Institute,

which had ceased to exist. The new property consisted of four acres of land, on the top of Union Hill, with "extensive buildings for academic and dormitory purposes." Forty thousand dollars was paid for the land and buildings. The academy is free from debt, and owns a property in real estate valued as high as one hundred thousand dollars. It is attended by pupils of both sexes. In 1848 the State granted half a township of land, situated in the State of Maine, and many gifts have been received from the friends of the institution.

The building is of brick, and consists of a central edifice and two wings. The centre is a projection, the wings being a few feet back from the front line, thus adding to the good appearance of the whole structure. Without its numerous towers, the academy buildings, as a whole, would still produce a grand and pleasing effect on the beholder. The interior is well arranged to be convenient and attractive. "All the public rooms, including chapel, recitation-rooms, parlor, library, reading-room, and dining-hall, are in the main building. Access to these is by means of passages and halls which traverse the entire length of the building on three floors, thus obviating the necessity of exposure to the weather for any purpose."

The academy is supplied with library, apparatus, maps, and other facilities for study and general culture, including a reading-room, in which are placed current issues of the press. A literary society, composed of students, has weekly exercises in discussions, declamations, debates, and readings. This society has a room and a library devoted to its own uses, consisting of several hundred volumes. There are several scholarships which afford aid to worthy students.

Three courses of study meet the wants of different classes of pupils. These are the academic, the scientific and the classical courses. The academic course is a modification of the other two. The classical course includes Latin, Greek, French and German, with certain English studies. The academy has had a succession of able teachers:—Silas Bailey, under whom it opened with thirty scholars, and increased to one hundred and thirty-five in 1856, of whom only eighteen belonged to Worcester; Prof. Samuel S. Greene, since a professor in Brown University, Nelson Wheeler, C. C. Burnet, Hon. Eli Thayer, A. P. Marble, the present superintendent of schools in Worcester, Rev. David Weston, D. D., and others. The present principal is Nathan Leavenworth. Some of these have had peculiarly successful administrations.

The Hon. Isaac Davis deserves honorable mention for his generous labors and liberal gifts in support of this academy. During forty years preceding 1874 he was president of the board of trustees, and nearly all that time was a member of the executive committee and treasurer of the corporation. It is said that "through his management there never was a day in the history of the school when its property was less than the day before." The founders, directors, and teachers of this school belong to the Baptist denomination, but

"no denominational tests are imposed, and denominational instruction forms no part of the curriculum." The influence of this institution in promoting liberal culture has been great, and there is a fair prospect that it will be more widely diffused in the future. Possibly it may grow into a college as population increases, as the large denomination which it represents has no college in the Commonwealth, though Brown University is near at hand.

The Oread Institute. — This school was originated by the Hon. Eli Thayer, in 1848, for the purpose of affording young ladies every requisite facility for obtaining a generous "mental culture, in no way inferior to that secured to the other sex by our colleges and universities." The building, which attracts attention by its singular architecture, is one hundred and forty feet in length by forty in depth, and is flanked at each end by round towers, fifty feet in diameter. The material is stone, taken in small pieces from a quarry on the grounds. Standing on a steep hillside, with winding walks, and frequent shade, the effect is striking.

The course of study includes a preparatory and an academical department, the latter occupying four years. In mathematics the students are taken through a thorough course, including the Calculus. Natural science is illustrated by nature and art. Latin and Greek are studied with care; the former, with "reference to securing a mastery of our own language," and the latter for its "entertainment, and for the relation of its terms to the technicalities of science." Art and poetry are carefully attended to, and outside of study hours ornamentals have a due share of attention. Music has a high place in the curriculum. Drawing, painting, elocution, and the art of composition have their proper place. Regular gymnastic exercises are engaged in by every pupil as a means of health as well as of graceful carriage. The study of German, Italian, and Spanish is optional. The French language is part of the course, and in the "advanced classes recitations are conducted in French. The library contains about four thousand volumes. The social, moral and religious culture of the students is a matter of the utmost care. Bible studies by the principal, together with family devotions, Bible-class, and Sabbath services, while entirely free from all sectarian bias, are directed to the moral and religious development of the mind and heart of the students." Such are the advantages of this school, which has existed now about thirty years, and has acquired an honorable standing.

After Mr. Thayer left the position of principal, it was, during several years, under the joint care of Rev. J. Shepardson and Miss Sophia B. Packard. During the last twelve years the government has been wholly with Rev. Harris R. Greene, A. M., who is assisted by a competent corps of teachers. The modern languages are taught by natives. Though the exterior of the building, resembling a feudal castle of the Middle Ages, does not appear very appropriate to the purposes of a young ladies' school, yet the interior, in all its rooms, halls, passages, and appointments, is arranged with special care for

convenience, and according to modern ideas of a cheerful, airy and homelike residence.

Highland Military Academy. — This institution stands by itself, in some respects, among our schools and academies. It has a wide and thorough course of study, but at the same time aims to develop the physical powers, and includes gymnastic and military exercises. The founder, Mr. C. B. Metcalf, is a graduate of Yale College, and was for several years a successful teacher in the public schools of Worcester. In 1856 he established the military academy, and has been the head and superintendent of it to the present time. The principal now, and for several years past, is Joseph A. Shaw, A. M., instructor in ancient and modern languages, and higher English branches. Among the teachers have been the following, some of whom are now connected with the school: Prof. James Bushee, Edward B. Glasgow, George L. Clark, Emerson G. Clark, Edward R. Hopkins, and Isaac N. Metcalf. The academy is a day school for boys. The course of study is twofold, English and classical, and fills out four years, besides a preparatory department for young boys unprepared for the regular course. The grounds are out of the thickly settled part of the city, yet near enough for convenience of stores, post-office and church. They are beautiful and command an attractive prospect. The buildings are well adapted to their uses, and elegant in appearance. They are near each other, and comprehend general assembly rooms, class-rooms, library, armory, philosophical and chemical experiment rooms, hospital, cadet quarters and offices.

The studies are the same as in other high and scientific schools. The common English branches are treated as of the first importance. Surveying, civil engineering and natural science, and the classics preparatory to college, are taught by well-educated gentlemen, who had gained a reputation as principals of first-class schools, before their connection with this institution.

Special care is taken in regard to the health, manners, morals, and general deportment of all the pupils. One who had observed the influence of the school as a patron, speaks in high terms of the "military punctuality, order and precision everywhere manifest," and of the "manly bearing, erect carriage, and gentlemanly deportment developed." He says farther, that "as a corrective of the loose and straggling habits of universal boyhood, indeed, it seems almost impossible to overestimate the value of the military features of this academy."

College of the Holy Cross. — The College of the Holy Cross, situated on one of the fine hill-sides, of which so many add to the natural scenery of Worcester, was founded by the Rt. Rev. Joseph Fenwick, Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, in the year 1843. It was given by him to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. In 1865 it was incorporated by the State, and was "authorized to confer such degrees as are conferred by any college in this Commonwealth, except medical degrees." It is designed and fitted to prepare youth for "the

professional or commercial style of life." The course of instruction extends over seven years, three of which are preparatory. The three first belong to the junior division, and the four last to the senior. The conditions of admission and residence, besides scholarship, are good moral character and compliance with the rules. The students are expected to pursue the regular course, as more advantageous than a large mixture of optional studies. The French language is a part of the course. Other modern languages are optional, but for them a separate charge is made. The college curriculum is very full and liberal, as any one will see by inspection of the catalogue. The text-books in all departments are generally similar to those used in our best schools and colleges. The Catechism is studied as a part of the course. Attention is given to rhetoric and the study of poetry.

There are several courses of lectures in addition to the studies of the course. 1. Rational philosophy, with Latin text-books. 2. Natural philosophy, physiology, and mechanics. 3. Chemistry. The institution has suitable apparatus, and collections in mineralogy, conchology, and numismatics. It is evident from the course of study that the students have the means of becoming well-educated men. The faculty consists of sixteen instructors and professors, with Rev. Edward D. Boone, S. J., as president, treasurer, and prefect of studies. The number of students at present is about one hundred and fifty.

Worcester Free Institute. — The full and legal name of this institution is "The Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science." It was chartered May 10, 1865, and the buildings were erected so that students were received at the opening of the first term, Nov. 10, 1868. The corporation is authorized to hold property to the amount of one million dollars. The founder of the school was Mr. John Boynton, of Templeton, who made an endowment of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars. The late Hon. Ichabod Washburn of Worcester, who had long had in his mind the establishment of a somewhat similar school, gave money for the erection and equipment of the machine-shop, and otherwise enlarged the resources of the institute to a total amount of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The Hon. Stephen Salisbury, president of the board of trustees, has made additional endowments in money and land, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the State has made a donation of fifty thousand dollars. The annual available income is reported as twenty-five thousand dollars. The income from students is intentionally small, as appears from the following statement: "By the terms of the gift of Mr. Boynton, the school is free to all citizens of the county of Worcester; and by the conditions of the State grant, and the gift of the Hon. George F. Hoar, twenty-three students, residents of the State of Massachusetts, but not of the county of Worcester, may receive free tuition. Residents of any other place may be admitted upon payment of a tuition fee of one hundred dollars per annum.

The grounds of the institute cover nearly seven acres, in an elevated and attractive locality. Two main buildings have been erected,—Boynton Hall and the Washburn Machine-shop. Boynton Hall, named in honor of the founder of the institute, is a three-story granite building, one hundred and forty-six feet long by sixty-one feet wide, built by citizens of Worcester at an expense of about sixty-seven thousand dollars, and devoted to recitations, lectures, and the general exercises of the institution. The Washburn Machine-shop is a three-story brick building, one hundred feet long by forty feet wide, with a wing sixty-five by forty feet, for engine, boilers, and blacksmith shop. The first floor is fully equipped for the manufacture of machinists' tools; the second floor for wood-work, and the third for general purposes.

The institute sprang out of a conviction that boys needed a system of training for the duties of active life, which is "broader and brighter than the popular method of learning a trade, and more simple and direct than the so-called liberal education." The managers of the school believe that the "connection of academic culture and the practical application of science is advantageous to both, in a school where these objects are started together, and carried on with harmony and equal prominence." Instruction is given to all students in the most thorough manner, by recitations and lectures, in the English, French, and German languages, in mathematics, theoretical and applied mechanics, the physical sciences, and drawing. In addition to this, "for ten hours a week for ten months, and eight hours a day for the month of July, practice is required of the students according to the respective departments of their choice; viz., the mechanics in the Washburn Machine-shop, the civil engineers in the field and in the drawing-room, the chemists in the laboratory, the designers in the drawing-room."

The institute is supplied beyond most other schools with the "chemical and physical apparatus essential to successful instruction in the physical sciences." Text-books and books of reference are found in the buildings, and the students have access to the free libraries of the city. The degree of bachelor of science is conferred on all full graduates, in course, and the promise is given to all graduates, of recognition of professional success by an honorary degree. There are twelve instructors in connection with the institution; viz., eight professors, one tutor, two assistants, one lecturer. The principal from the beginning has been Prof. C. O. Thompson, A. M.

The reasons why the institute was established in Worcester, when the founder lived in Templeton, and was identified with the interests of the northern part of the county, are creditable to Mr. Boynton's wisdom and public spirit. It was evident, on reflection, that such an institution must be placed in a large town where all kinds of industry were flourishing. In addition, the special friend of the founder was Mr. David Whitcomb, now a resident of Worcester, but formerly a partner of Mr. Boynton. The special friend and the adviser of Mr. Whitcomb, in this matter, was the late Rev. Dr. Seth Sweetser, during

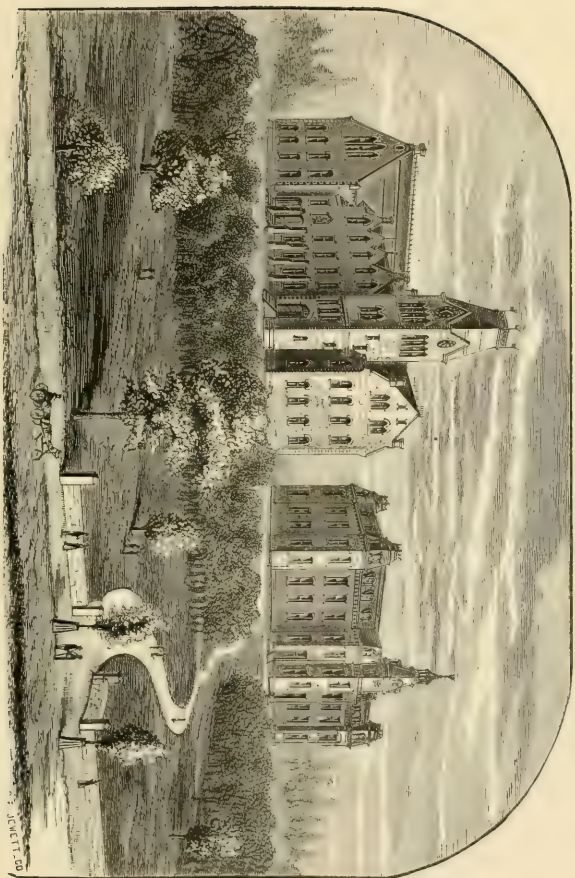
forty years pastor of the Central Church, in Worcester, than whom there was not a more sagacious and large-minded friend of education in the country. Though almost a recluse in his habits, his mind embraced all kinds of knowledge, and all pursuits of men, and his heart reached out in its sympathies for the welfare of all sorts of men.

The Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science being emphatically a county institution, is entitled to large space in the history of the county, but for want of room, its history, design, and condition must be limited to a few pages. Its success thus far is prophetic of an honorable and useful career in the future.

The Normal School.—The State Normal School at Worcester, was intended to furnish facilities to students of both sexes, in this portion of the State, who purpose to make teaching a business for a time at least, if not permanently. It is essentially a county institution, though supported in great part, by the Commonwealth. The General Court, in 1871, authorized and required the State board of education to establish a normal school in the city of Worcester; and at the same time, the trustees of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital were authorized and required to convey to the board of education and its successors, a tract of land of not more than five acres, to be located by the governor and council. The sum of sixty thousand dollars was granted on condition that the city of Worcester should pay to the board fifteen thousand dollars for the purposes named in the resolve. The city promptly complied with this condition, and made an addition of more than one thousand dollars. The legislature granted ten thousand dollars more, with which to purchase furniture and fixtures. The city could well afford to give fifteen thousand dollars, as the school has relieved it from the expense of maintaining a training school for teachers, and by the locality it has the choice of the best graduates who are selected to take charge of schools in the city.

The governor and council selected the site on the second of September, 1871, and on the nineteenth the conveyance was made by the trustees of the hospital to the educational board. The building is located upon Hospital Hill, and in Hospital Grove, as it was formerly styled, and overlooks the whole city. Nearness to the Union Depot renders it convenient to the students who come and go daily in the trains from different sections of the county. The edifice is built of stone, is large and elegant in design, and convenient in every part. It is one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, and eighty-eight feet wide, three stories in height, with a French roof. It was dedicated Sept. 11, 1872, the late Hon. Henry Chapin, chairman of the board of visitors, presiding, when the late Hon. Emory Washburn made an address suitable to the occasion; and on the fifteenth of the same month the school was opened for the reception of pupils.

The design of this school is stated to be "the thorough preparation of teachers for our public schools." None are admitted who do not intend to



WORCESTER COUNTY FREE INSTITUTE, WORCESTER, MASS.

J. C. J. CO.

teach, and none are continued who do not give promise of success. Male students must be seventeen, and female students sixteen years of age at the time of admission. They must come with good character and good health, with the purpose of observing all the rules of the school, and with the declared intention of finishing the course. Tuition is free to those who are to teach in the public schools of Massachusetts. Those who prefer to teach in private schools, and those who come from other States are charged fifteen dollars a term of twenty weeks. The charge upon all the pupils is two dollars a year for incidentals. The course runs through two years of forty weeks; five days, of five hours at least, to each week. Applicants for admission are examined in reading, spelling, writing, geography, arithmetic, grammar and history of the United States. Provision has been made for a four years' course for those who can find time to take it.

The studies of the course, in addition to what is prescribed in the conditions of admission, are composition and rhetoric, logic, drawing, algebra, geometry, navigation, surveying, book-keeping, ancient as well as modern geography, with chronology, statistics and general history, physiology, mental philosophy, music, the constitution and history of Massachusetts and of the United States, natural philosophy, astronomy and natural history. The principles of piety and morality common to all sects of Christians will be inculcated, and a portion of the Scriptures will be daily read in the school. As a specialty, the science and art of teaching, with reference to all the foregoing subjects is taught and exemplified. The above course is subject to variation, at the discretion of the principal, with the consent of the visitors. Latin and French are optional. Gymnastic exercises are engaged in by all for amusement, health and improvement. State aid is furnished for the benefit of scholars in this as in the other normal schools, to the amount of one thousand dollars yearly. From the report on normal schools we learn that "Illustrative apparatus for the teaching of drawing, of physiology and of physical science, has been supplied, and additions to this are continually made. A chemical laboratory, accommodating eighteen working pupils, and supplied with the needful fixtures and appliances, has been fitted up, and necessary supplies have been furnished at the cost of about five hundred dollars." An arrangement has been made by which members of the senior class may be assigned as assistants or apprentices to superior teachers in the public schools of Worcester, and thus have practice in the government and instruction of school children. This brief account may be fitly closed with the following extract from the report made by the principal in the centennial year:—

"Constant attention is paid to the health of the students, a majority of whom report themselves as improved in this respect soon after entering the school. Recognizing the physical integrity and well-being of the pupils as an indispensable pre-requisite to their success, either as scholars or teachers, we postpone the care of their health to no other duty whatever. This often involves a sacrifice of present progress in study; but,

unless we discredit the most emphatic teachings of those best qualified to judge, it is the part of wisdom. Our aim is first, to instruct the students in the care of their health; and, secondly, to make it easy for them to put such instruction into practice. Very full health statistics are recorded, and a pretty strict and searching sanitary régime maintained, in addition to much instruction in physiology and hygiene throughout the course. A room has been neatly and appropriately arranged, in which the pupils who remain during recess take their meals at tables, with settees appropriately arranged, and where the graces of social life are seen and cultivated."

Prof. E. Harlow Russell has been the principal of the school from the beginning. Mr. Charles F. Adams, Miss Rebecca Jones and Miss Florence Foster have been assistants the same length of time. Other teachers have been employed, making a full corps according to the wants of the school.

Cushing Academy. — This academy, situated in Ashburnham, is one of the most recently established of our superior institutions. The history of its inception and establishment, illustrates the way in which a train, or a combination of influences long at work, finally culminate in a grand result. The first minister of Ashburnham, the pastor of the Congregational church, was the Rev. Jonathan Winchester. The second minister was the Rev. Dr. John Cushing, whose pastorate extended over nearly half a century. By the liberality of descendants of these men, the institution is now named "Cushing Academy," and the ample grounds on which it stands, are called "Winchester Square."

The founder of the academy was the late Thomas Parkman Cushing, a Boston merchant. He was the son of Dr. Cushing, and a descendant, on both sides, of clerical ancestors. Living in Boston he became intimate with the Rev. Dr. Wayland, at one time a Baptist clergyman there, and afterwards celebrated as the president of Brown University. Moreover, his wife, Mrs. Cushing, was an enlightened friend of education in its highest sense. Mr. Cushing, after providing for his family, left a legacy for founding an academy in his native place, to be attended by pupils of both sexes over ten years of age. The trustees, selected by himself, named by himself in his will, were Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., LL. D., the Hon. Charles G. Loring, and the Hon. Heman Lincoln. The fund was to accumulate, according to the conditions of the will, and at a proper time, the trustees were to apply to the legislature for an act of incorporation, which should include the names of a permanent board of trustees. The act was passed May 16, in the year 1865; and the board consisted of thirteen gentlemen, five of whom were citizens of Ashburnham. Dr. Wayland was the first president of this board.

The character of Mr. Cushing, and his design in founding the academy, are expressed in a sentence of his will, which is copied in the preamble of the act of incorporation, as follows: "The stability of our laws and the safety of our government, the right direction of our republican institutions, the preservation of virtue and good morals, in short, the well-being and happiness of society depend, in a great degree, upon the diffusion of practical and useful

knowledge among the people." Mr Cushing goes on to say that he was "particularly desirous of using a portion of the estate with which God had blessed him, for the promotion of so important an object as that of improving the education, and thus of strengthening and enlarging the minds of the rising and of future generations."

The trustees under the act soon had a meeting, and organized by the choice of officers; Dr. Wayland being the first president, Rev. J. D. Crosby, secretary, and Hon. Ebenezer Torrey, treasurer. The funds of the academy were well invested, being somewhat over eighty thousand dollars. None of this sum was, by the conditions of the will, to be devoted to building purposes. The trustees voted to make their capital one hundred thousand dollars, and not to build until a building fund should be accumulated sufficient to erect an edifice suitable for the academy. The fund increased so fast that in 1873 a building committee was chosen, and directed to proceed in the work. The foundation was laid that year, and in the following the building was erected. In the spring and summer of 1875, furniture was obtained, and everything set in order for the opening of the academy. The cost of building and furniture was about ninety thousand dollars. Subsequent additions have carried the expense two or three thousand dollars higher. The chairman of the committee was Mr. George C. Winchester, and the superintendent of the work was the late Hon. Ohio Whitney. The academy is one of the most costly as well as one of the best educational buildings in the county. It is over one hundred feet long, with ample breadth, has a high basement, two lofty stories, and a high French roof, which gives a grand hall, extending the whole length and breadth of the building. There are towers at each corner, and a loftier tower in the centre-front, in which a large and finely-sounding bell is placed. The material is brick, with granite basement and trimmings, all put together in the most thorough and workman-like manner. The academy occupies a splendid site, overlooking the village, the valley below, and looking out upon the broad-backed hills which make up much of the scenery in the vicinity.

Appropriations were soon made for the purchase of philosophical and chemical apparatus, a reference library and musical instruments. The course of study is arranged on a liberal scale. The classical department requires four years of study, except to those who enter at an advanced standing. The English course occupies three years. The instruction is thorough, and the government of the school is mild, but firm. The principal, from the beginning, has been Prof. Edwin Pierce, A. M., the vice-principal is Prof. James E. Vose, and the preceptress is Miss Mary P. Jefts, a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary. The two gentlemen have had long and varied experience in teaching and conducting schools. Other teachers have been employed in the various branches, including chemistry, to which special attention is given, and for which superior facilities are secured. The school was opened Sept. 8, 1875, the building having been dedicated with appropriate services on the preceding day, when

the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, then president of the board, delivered an eloquent discourse, and was followed by others. The present president is Abraham Lowe, M. D., of Boston, Mr. Bullock having resigned his place on the board. Since the opening the school has had nearly four years of prosperity, and has sent several graduates to college, besides giving a good academical education to many others. More full particulars of this academy will be found in the historical sketch of Ashburnham, contained in this work.

Bromfield School. — The latest of the secondary schools in the county is the Bromfield School, in Harvard, founded by the will of Mrs. Margaret Bromfield Blanchard, in 1877. A substantial brick building, the interior of which consists of a session hall, lecture room, library, chemistry room, two recitation rooms, and two cloak rooms, was erected on the site of the old mansion of the Bromfield estate. Here is another illustration of inherited influence. The Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, LL. D., was the first preceptor of Phillips Academy at Andover. Then he was chosen professor of Hebrew and other oriental languages in Harvard College. At the death of President Willard, he became acting president of the college *ad interim*. After that he became one of the most active founders of the theological seminary at Andover, and was inducted into the office of professor of sacred literature in that institution. This was in 1808. He was prominent in all matters of high interest to the church till 1820, when he removed to Harvard, being then sixty-eight years of age. The last six years of his life were spent in the business of agriculture. He died in 1826. His second wife was Sarah, daughter of Henry Bromfield of Harvard, by whom he had four children. One of these was Margaret, who became the wife of Rev. I. H. T. Blanchard. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and in 1823 was ordained pastor of the church in Harvard. The school was founded by his wife (then a widow, in 1877), as has been already stated. It is a tradition that Dr. Pearson had a desire that an academical school should be established in Harvard, the home of his wife, and his own residence in his later years. If this is true, the piety of a daughter has realized his patriarchal wishes.

The original design of the founder, Mrs. Blanchard, was to make the institution one where young women might obtain "education in the higher branches of learning;" but young men might be admitted also, under certain restrictions, as the trustees should judge expedient. These latter state that the "endowment fund was large enough to make the institution independent of tuition receipts," and therefore not subject to the "peculiar prejudices of patrons or pupils," while its "organization renders it secure from the menaces of local and temporary disturbances." They state further, that its "control by a body of trustees severally standing high in professional life, ensures its devotion solely to the welfare of the students, its management upon the broadest principles, and its adoption of the most advanced methods."

The course of study fills three years; the year is divided into three terms, in

the aggregate thirty-eight or thirty-nine weeks in the year. The curriculum embraces three departments—the literary, the scientific, and the collegiate. The years are termed the Junior year, the Cursor year, and the Senior year. The conditions of admission and of continuance in the school are high, and such, if adhered to, as will ensure good scholarship. The school was organized Sept. 17, 1878, by Mr. Charles W. Stickney, with an examination of applicants for admission. Thirty-nine were found qualified for admission. The instructors are Charles W. Stickney, A. B., William L. Hooper, A. M., and Mrs. Henrietta N. Stickney, who has charge of the musical department. Henry B. Rogers, Esq., of Boston, is president of the board, and Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., and Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., are members. This sketch is given in connection with the history of the secondary schools in the county, but further particulars will probably find a place in the history of Harvard.

Perhaps some former or existing schools or academies, which deserve honorable mention, have escaped notice in this hasty sketch. If so, they will, without doubt, be duly honored in the history of the towns in which they are, or were, located. But surely this record is enough to show that the good people of Worcester County, in all their generations, have set a high estimate upon the institutions of learning which have been sustained at such cost. The liberal endowments by wealthy friends of a superior mental training, whether academical, scientific, military, literary, or collegiate, raise our hopes for the future of our children and youth. While the common schools are in the path of progress, the means of further advance in the line of a higher intellectual and moral training will be made more easy and accessible. By the enforcement of the provisions of the law in relation to the schooling of all children under the age of fourteen years, and by increasing the interest of all classes of people in the education of their children, results will be attained which even our forefathers, who were far in advance of their age, never dared to expect.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

THERE are many associations of a literary, agricultural, musical, scientific or antiquarian nature, which are not local in the municipal sense, but extend over parts of the county, or the whole of it, and, in some cases, reach out to other States. A brief account of some of these will be looked for in a county history.

The American Antiquarian Society was formed in 1812. The first steps

were taken by Isaiah Thomas, LL. D., Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Dr. William Paine, Hon. Levi Lincoln, Sr., Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D., and Hon. Edward Bangs, all of Worcester. In the absence of authority in Congress to grant such charters, they applied to the General Court for an act of incorporation, which was granted. The preamble states the object of the association very succinctly: "Whereas, the collection and preservation of the antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in Art and Nature, have a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge and the progress of science, to perpetuate the history of moral and political events, and to improve and interest posterity," therefore the movers pray for legislative sanction. The act was approved by Gov. Caleb Strong, on the 24th of October, 1812.

The incorporators were Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine, Edward Bangs, John T. Kirkland, Aaron Bancroft, Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elisha Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, Jr., Samuel M. Burnside, Benjamin Russell, Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Wallcut, Ebenezer T. Andrews, Isaiah Thomas, Jr., William Wells.

The meeting for effecting an organization under the charter was held in Boston, Nov. 19, 1812, when ten members were present. Isaiah Thomas was chosen president; William D. Peck, vice-president; Thaddeus M. Harris, corresponding secretary; and Samuel M. Burnside, recording secretary.

On the 13th of February, 1813, Dr. William Paine was chosen second vice-president, and Levi Lincoln, Jr., treasurer. The councillors were Timothy Bigelow of Medford; Aaron Bancroft and Edward Bangs of Worcester; George Gibbs of Boston; William Bentley of Salem; Redford Webster and Benjamin Russell of Boston.

Mr. Thomas presented his private library, valued at five thousand dollars, to the society. He received a vote of thanks, and was requested to keep it in his possession till a suitable place could be prepared. The library, and the cabinet which had been started, received many additions from Mr. Thomas and others during the next four years.

Valuable manuscripts came into the possession of the society from time to time. Among them was a copy of the records of Boston from 1634 to 1660. The letter-book of Cotton Mather, and the journal of Increase Mather in 1685, were given by Mrs. Crocker of Boston. She was a daughter of Cotton Mather. About nine hundred volumes from the libraries of the Mathers came from the same donor.

Some difficulty in raising money for the purpose of erecting a library building was experienced; but, in 1819, Mr. Thomas offered to put up a suitable edifice at his own expense. The offer was gratefully accepted, and, at his request, a committee was chosen by the society to superintend the work. At

this time, the library contained about six thousand volumes; many of them rare and valuable works. The cabinet also began to be filled with curious and instructive articles.

The society had now become national, and even continental, in its scope and its connections. Honorary members were chosen from distinguished gentlemen belonging to other parts of our country, as well as other nations, and articles of value, suitable to the objects of the society, were sought for, by way of correspondence, from men of antiquarian and literary tastes, wherever they might be reached. Books, pamphlets and relics were received from all sections of the country. Among these are many Indian relics, utensils and weapons.

The society holds regular meetings twice each year. The annual meeting for the choice of officers and other business is held in the month of October, in the Antiquarian Hall, in Worcester. A semi-annual meeting is held in Boston at the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The first library building was on the east side of Summer Street, corner of Belmont, where it now remains, though devoted to other uses. It was large and convenient, compared with such edifices at the time of its erection; but some of its apartments were damp, rendering it unsuitable for the safe keeping of books. Therefore it became, in the course of years, a matter of importance, and even necessity, to erect a new and more commodious house on a better location.

Accordingly, in 1853, a new building of two stories high was erected on land given by Hon. Stephen Salisbury, who also contributed five thousand dollars towards the cost of the building. The library room, with floor, gallery and alcoves, seemed spacious enough at the time of its building, but the rapid growth of the library room soon showed that further space must be provided before a great lapse of time. There was a lot in the rear, affording space for a considerable addition. This the Hon. Stephen Salisbury purchased, and gave a fund of eight thousand dollars, which amounted, when needed, to about thirteen thousand dollars. The addition was made in the year 1877-8. The whole structure now ranks among the largest, most elegant and convenient library buildings in the country. In its contents it is unique, combining literature in every branch of human learning, and relics, antiquities and implements of peaceful and warlike use. Manuscripts, black-letter books, illuminated books, works in many languages, ancient and modern, living and dead, fill the shelves and cases. Portraits and busts, in great number and value, adorn the walls. It is resorted to daily by curious visitors, and its ample stores of materials for history and biography are consulted by students and men of literary tastes. The courtesy of the librarians has made the place a pleasant resort, and their knowledge of the contents of the numerous works makes them greatly helpful to all who seek their guidance.

In 1831, it was voted that the number of American members should be limited to one hundred and forty. In the same year, President Thomas, at his decease, bequeathed the balance of his books, engravings and coins, and also a sum of money to constitute the basis of two permanent funds. One was to be the librarian's fund, and the other a collection and research fund.

Since then, several other funds have been established; and the aggregate is now about seventy thousand dollars. One is a publishing fund, of about nine thousand dollars. A binding fund of five thousand dollars was founded some years ago by President Salisbury.

In 1876, the number of volumes in the library was over sixty thousand; over four thousand of these were volumes of newspapers, from the "Boston News Letter" of April 24, 1724, to the issues of the last year. Some of these are huge volumes, containing history in its crude details, hereafter to be elaborated into historical classics.

The manuscripts have had a large if not proportionate increase. In this regard the library is rich, and will become more so in coming years. The Indian and archaeological specimens, in vast variety, gratify the curiosity of the casual visitor, and awaken the interest of the thoughtful.

The presidents of the society have been Isaiah Thomas, LL. D., the founder, Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, LL. D., the Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D., Hon. John Davis, LL. D., Hon. Stephen Salisbury, LL. D., its great benefactor, who now, at a venerable but active and munificent old age, occupies the position.

The librarians have been William Lincoln, Christopher C. Baldwin, and Samuel F. Haven. Edmund M. Barton, employed several years in the library, is now the efficient assistant librarian. The institution, on the whole, enjoys a prosperous activity, and has become not only an essential factor of the county and State, but a thing not to be spared from the nation.

The Worcester Society of Antiquity. — The first meeting with a view to the formation of this society, was held at the house of Mr. Samuel E. Staples Jan. 24, 1875. At a subsequent meeting, February 13, the society was formed by the adoption of a constitution, the following gentlemen being present and concurring: Samuel E. Staples, John G. Smith, Franklin P. Rice, Richard O'Flynn, Henry D. Barber, Henry F. Stedman, and Daniel Seagrave.

At the first regular meeting held under the constitution, the following officers were elected: President, Samuel E. Staples; Vice-President, Henry D. Barber; Secretary, Daniel Seagrave; Treasurer, Henry F. Stedman; Librarian, John G. Smith.

The society being thus organized, held regular meetings, and had a steady growth, until in the beginning of 1878 there were more than fifty names on the roll of members, besides a respectable list of honorary members. In 1877 the society was incorporated under the general statute relating to corporations.

In this document the object of the society is stated as being "for the purpose of cultivating and encouraging among its members a love and admiration for antiquarian research and archaeological science, and, so far as practicable, to rescue from oblivion any historical matter that might otherwise be lost; also the collection and preservation of antiquarian relics of every description." This object has been faithfully adhered to thus far, and much activity has been exhibited in making collections of ancient books, relics, &c., illustrating the past. One object of the society is to copy and print the inscriptions on the ancient burying-grounds of the county. The old burying-ground on the Common, in the centre of the city of Worcester, is now a pleasant grove, with no sign to mark it as a burial place; yet the remains of the dead are resting there. In 1846, William S. Barton, Esq., now the city treasurer, made a map of this yard, and copied every inscription, with numbers, so that the position of each grave might be found. This was published, and by permission of Mr. Barton, it has been reprinted in the proceedings of the society.

A committee was appointed in 1876 to collect inscriptions from other places of burial. Messrs. Ellery B. Crane, Albert A. Lovell, and Franklin P. Rice, the members of this committee, have completed the work in the old Mechanic Street yard in Worcester, and have over a thousand inscriptions collected in the towns of Lancaster, Mendon, Shrewsbury, and Lunenburg. This work is to be continued in other towns in the county. The inscriptions in the Mechanic Street cemetery have been published in the proceedings of the society.

The officers at present are as follows: President, Hon. Clark Jillson; Vice-Presidents, Ellery B. Crane, Albert Curtis; Secretary, Daniel Seagrave; Treasurer, James A. Smith; Librarian, Albert A. Lovell. There are standing committees under these titles: Executive committee, committee on nominations, committee on biography, and committee on publication.

The Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association. — This association was formed in August, 1852, under the name of the Young Men's Library Association. It was designed specially for the benefit of the young men of the city. But though formed at that date, it has really taken the place of, or has absorbed into itself, several other associations. Membership is now open to residents in any part of the county, and to ladies as well as gentlemen.

It appears from the "Account of the Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association," prepared for the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, by Mr. Nathaniel Paine, that a society styled the Worcester Lyceum of Natural History had been formed in 1825. A small collection of minerals, birds, shells, and other specimens in natural history was made and deposited in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society. In 1830 active exertions to increase the collection ceased. This collection was given to the present lyceum by the surviving members of the first, when the natural history department was organized.

In 1829 the Worcester County Lyceum was started, and an address was delivered by Hon. Emory Washburn, afterwards governor of the Commonwealth.

The subject of common schools, and the making of maps and plans of the towns in the county was discussed. Measures were also taken to form a public library. The result was the incorporation of "The Worcester County Athenaeum" in March, 1830, with the intention of forming a general library for the use of the members. Rev. George Allen was president; F. W. Paine, treasurer, and William Lincoln, secretary. Some, however, wanted a *town* organization of a literary character, and secured the formation of the "Worcester Lyceum."

With these facts in mind we go back to the year 1852, when, in the month of September, the constitution of the Young Men's Library Association was adopted. The committee who reported the document were Francis H. Dewey, Henry Chapin, William Cross and Joseph Mason. The object of the society was stated to be "the improvement of the young men of the city of Worcester by affording them intellectual and social advantages by the maintenance of a library, reading-room, and such courses of lectures and classes as may conduce to this end."

The association was organized in December by the election of the following officers: Francis H. Dewey, president; George W. Bentley, vice-president; George F. Hoar, corresponding secretary; Nathaniel Paine, recording secretary; Henry Woodward, treasurer; and fourteen directors. In January, 1853, the society was incorporated by the legislature, and on the sixteenth of April the above-named officers were re-elected, with the addition of William Cross as second vice-president.

Measures were taken at once to found a library. Between thirteen and fourteen hundred dollars were given in cash, and about nine hundred volumes. The library was opened in June, 1853, and at the close of the year the committee reported a most gratifying result. The charge for the use of books was one dollar per annum; and four hundred and thirty persons had taken out, in about six months, "eight thousand six hundred and twenty books, or an average of six times a year for every book in the library." The number of volumes was then about eighteen hundred. Besides, a reading-room was established, and for the time was well furnished with papers and periodicals. At a later date, in 1865, the association contributed three hundred dollars towards establishing the Free Public Reading-Room.

In 1854 a natural history department was organized, with Rev. E. E. Hale as chairman, a secretary, treasurer, and eight curators. This was but an adjunct at first, but since the library and reading-room have been given up, it has become the main object of the society. At this time the Worcester Lyceum of Natural History, already spoken of, transferred its collection of minerals, birds, shells, and other specimens to the present society; and this collection was the nucleus of the extensive cabinet which now takes high rank compared with similar institutions. The extent to which the cabinet has been increased will be given below.

In 1855 the Rhetorical Society, which was started a few years before, was merged in the association, and its library placed under its control. In due time the Worcester County Lyceum and the Worcester County Athenæum seem to have transferred all of their essential life, as well as their books, to this association, so that by 1856 the number of volumes in the library was nearly four thousand, and a course of popular lectures on scientific and literary subjects had been established.

In 1856 Dr. John Green placed his large private library in the charge of the association; but subsequently, when it was thought that the time had come to found a free public library in Worcester, Dr. Green transferred his volumes to the city, and the association took the same course. Dr. Green's gift formed the foundation of the Public Reference Library, and the gift by the association in 1859, of its four thousand five hundred volumes, laid the foundation of the circulating department of the Free City Library.

The association now turned attention mainly to the subject of natural history, and became almost strictly a scientific institution. It was named in 1866 The Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association, and still bears the name. For books, the members now depend upon the Public Library, the Medical Library, and a small library of reference owned by the association.

As now organized, after all the mutations above noted, the objects of the association are "the diffusion and promotion of useful knowledge among the inhabitants of the city and county of Worcester; first, by courses of popular lectures; second, by encouraging the study of natural history, and by the collection and preservation of specimens in the various departments, together with a library with a view to that end; third, by aiding in the study of other sciences and the fine arts through acquiring such collections, and by such other means as the association may from time to time adopt."

The association has popular courses of lectures each winter, and these being open to the public are a source of revenue as well as a means of diffusing knowledge. Meetings are held monthly through the year, except in July, August, and September, when papers are read and discussions are held on topics germane to the objects of the society. The cabinet, which is large and in fine condition, is open to the public once a week, except in time of summer vacation. The following condensed statement gives some idea of the amount of work done by the members, and of the richness of the results.

The Botanical Department contained, January, 1879, about fifteen hundred specimens, including woods, mosses, sea-weeds, lichens, seeds, and plants. Also ferns, fruits, and woods from foreign countries, as well as from our own wide domain.

There are in the Conchological Department over fifteen hundred species, and about four thousand specimens. In Comparative Anatomy there are one hundred and twelve species; in Ornithology, one hundred and eighty-five

species of birds, besides nests and eggs. About eighteen hundred specimens in Geology and Mineralogy belong to the cabinet. The departments of Mammalia, Articulata, Radiata, and Mollusca contain, in the aggregate, over nineteen hundred species, and above twenty-three hundred specimens. The departments of Herpetology, Ichthyology, Paleontology, and Anthropology are well represented by species and specimens; by fossils and shells, with vegetable impressions; by Indian utensils, weapons, and relics.

The society has become an educating power in the county. Besides its papers, discussions, and lectures, it holds "field days," when the male and female members explore particular sections of the county, and return, after a day of pleasure, laden with spoils.

The following are the present officers of the Association; President, Rev. Thomas E. St. John; vice-presidents, James Bushee, Daniel Seagrave; recording secretary, Herbert D. Braman; corresponding secretary, Thomas A. Dickinson; treasurer, Edward O. Parker. Besides these are a superintendent of the cabinet, a lecture committee, and six curators, having charge of different departments. The only active member and officer at the time of organization, who holds the same relation now, is Mr. Nathaniel Paine.

The Worcester County Musical Association. — The singing school has always been an important factor in the working of New England society. Pres. Nott of Union College, who remembered "old times," used to say that singing schools had much to do in promoting good morals, early marriages, and the large families of the last century. Nor were singing meetings confined to the young people of a parish or neighborhood. A hundred and forty or fifty years ago, it was the custom to have conventions, by whatever name they were called, when singers came together from adjoining towns "to practise the music" which they had in those days. They were seasons of interest, enjoyment and unbounded hospitality. But this was a temporary fashion, and vocal music, like other things, had its fluctuations. In the Revolution, as in the preceding wars, when the young men were off in the army, and the singing on Sunday was left to their elders, there was very little encouragement to have singing schools.

Then came the composers about the close of the century, some of whose tunes are yet heard in our worship, while others only add to the ludicrous performances of the "Old Folks' Concert." Those were pleasant times, whether eighty or a hundred and fifty years ago; for those writers have an entirely false view of ancient New England life, who conceive of it as shrouded in gloom. Its people were the happiest on the face of the earth.

The great revival in sacred music forty or fifty years since, in the inception and progress of which Dr. Lowell Mason bore a prominent part, has secured permanent results. The instruction given in singing to the children and youth in the public schools, has been preparing the way for better music in the house of God. The facilities of modern travel enable the singers and performers scat-

tered over a county to come together in a central place for comparison, and for mutual improvement under trained leaders. It is now almost thirty years since the impulse towards united effort in Worcester County, found expression in a musical convention held in the shire town in 1852. The attendance was not large, however, and the attempt was not a success. Not until 1858 was there sufficient interest awakened to call together a large number of singers, and secure a succession. This meeting, held in September, 1858, was under the lead of Edward Hamilton of Worcester, and B. F. Baker of Boston. The convention then took the name of the Musical Institute. The same gentlemen conducted the exercises in the following year. In 1860 the convention was held under the auspices of the Mozart Society, with Mr. Hamilton and E. H. Frost as directors. In the autumn of the next two years, the conventions were under the management of J. A. Dorman, with B. F. Baker as conductor. Previous to this time the conventions were held under the influence of leaders, conductors or composers who were interested in some particular collection of music which was used by all the singers present. Though improvement in vocal music was the result, yet the primary object seemed to be the introduction of books and collections from which the conductors derived a profit. Their compensation was derived, in great measure, from the sale of books at the time, and their introduction into schools and choirs, afterwards, by those in attendance. But the time had come to be moved by a higher aim, which began to be manifested in 1863. In the fall of that year two conventions were held in Worcester, at the same time. One assembled at the City Hall, under the management of Mr. Dorman, with B. F. Baker and B. D. Allen as conductors. The other convention met in Mechanics' Hall. The management was in the hands of J. D. Moore; the conductor was E. H. Frost. Towards the close of the meeting, on the second of October, the convention in Mechanics' Hall adopted the name of the Worcester County Musical Convention, with a view to permanence, and elected a full board of officers, including president, vice-president, recording and corresponding secretaries, treasurer, librarian, and twenty-six directors taken from different parts of the county. Samuel E. Staples was chosen president; the vice-presidents were William Sumner, B. K. Deland, Moses G. Lyon, A. C. Munroe and J. H. Samson; the recording secretary and treasurer was William S. Denny, and the corresponding secretary and librarian was James D. Moore.

This organization continues to the present time, though the name was changed from Convention to Association at the annual meeting in 1871. There has been a growing interest in the annual meetings for practice; the attendance has been larger, the people of the city have patronized it more liberally by being present at the concerts, and the members have attained to a higher standard of musical performance. The introduction and sale of singing-books have been discarded, and the officers have aimed to assimilate the meetings to the great county musical festivals of England. Their endeavor has met with encour-

aging success. The influence of the Association is felt in all the religious assemblies of the county.

Without following the history of the Association, year by year, it will be interesting hereafter to know the names of the conductors at the various meetings. Some of the following gentlemen have taken the lead on several occasions: E. H. Frost, Edward Hamilton, Solon Wilder, W. O. Perkins, George H. Root, C. P. Morrison, L. H. Southard, L. O. Emerson, Dudley Buck, B. D. Allen. Mr. Zerrahn has been the conductor for several years past, and many prominent artists, native and foreign, have contributed to the usefulness and enjoyment of the annual meetings.

A few citations from the annual publication of the society will show its tone and spirit, and give an idea of the ennobling work to which the members are yearly called. "It has ever been the aim of the managers of our Association to make the festivals especially useful in elevating and improving the taste of its members for music which shall be ennobling in sentiment, and pure and lofty in style. The grand master-pieces of the most renowned composers of ancient and modern times have been produced at our festivals, with the assistance of artists of world-wide reputation." Among the oratorios produced several times in past years, have been the "Creation," "Elijah," "Samson," "Judas Maccabaeus" and "Joshua," "with all the accessories of instrumentation and vocal art." The object and aim of this Association, at all its meetings, is "the improvement of choirs in the performance of church-music; the formation of an elevated musical taste, through the study of music in its highest departments, and a social, genial, harmonious re-union of all lovers of music."

The annual assemblies are devoted to steady, solid work, day and evening. In the course of the week six or eight concerts are given in the afternoon or evening, and these are attended by large audiences. The lighter and more entertaining programmes are made up of selections from the most celebrated composers, and are given in great variety. In 1878 Handel's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," from Milton, was given with great effect. The closing concert was Mendelssohn's great Oratorio of "Elijah," with Carl Zerrahn as conductor, and G. W. Sumner as organist. The great chorus of the Association, the Germania Orchestra, and several distinguished vocalists, united in rendering the sublime performance.

The officers of the Association for the year 1879 are the following: president, Hon. William R. Hill, Sutton; vice-president, William Sumner; secretary, A. C. Munroe; treasurer, J. E. Benchley; librarian, G. W. Elkins; directors, B. D. Allen, I. N. Metcalf, Israel Plummer, C. M. Bent, C. E. Wilder, J. L. Adams, Rev. G. M. Howe, Daniel Downey.

The Worcester Choral Union.—Much of the improvement in music in "Worcester and vicinity" is attributed to this association, which was first organized in 1850, and chartered by the legislature in 1872. Its intention was "to unite the entire choral force of the city and vicinity for the practice and performance

of Oratorio and kindred styles of music." Rehearsals annually begin in October. Carl Zerrahn is the musical director, and E. B. Story, pianist. This is mainly a city society, but as it includes the "vicinity," in a large sense, and has wide influence, a brief notice of it is not out of place in the history of the county. The officers are Charles M. Bent, president; Charles E. Wilder, vice-president; C. A. Lincoln, treasurer; L. M. Lovell, secretary, and George R. Bliss, librarian.

The Worcester County Musical School.—Some years since a school with this title was formed in Worcester for furnishing "thorough instruction in piano, organ, singing, violin, flute, guitar, harmony, elocution," with a corps of nine instructors. Pupils were received at any time during the school year.

In addition to this, proficient in music, residing in the city, are employed in the way of their profession in many towns throughout the county. Some go out to lead choirs; some to hold singing schools; others to preside at the organ on Sundays, and others still to teach private pupils. In all these ways the central city of the county is exerting a permanent influence in diffusing and elevating the musical taste of the people.

Musical Conventions in the north-western section of the county have been held for several years in Gardner, Athol, and perhaps other towns, and have been attended by large numbers of those interested in the promotion of vocal, and especially sacred music.

The Worcester Agricultural Society.—This society was formed in 1818, and the next year it had six hundred members. Levi Lincoln was the first president. The vice-presidents were Daniel Waldo and Thomas W. Ward; treasurer, T. Wheeler, Esq.; corresponding secretary, Levi Lincoln, Jr.; recording secretary, E. D. Bangs, Esq.

The first cattle-show and exhibition of manufactures was held October 7, 1819, and from that time the society has exerted, year after year, a steady and healthy influence upon the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the county. It would be difficult to collect the materials for a full history of the association, and there is no need of it in this connection. The power of the society is in its present efficiency, rather than in its past records. Those who want information in this line, can find it in the annual reports. But as the society is a county institution, it deserves honorable mention.

The present officers are: Charles B. Pratt, mayor of Worcester, president; George H. Estabrook, secretary. The annual exhibition is in the early part of September. Among societies of the kind, this is pre-eminent.

The names and officers of other societies of the kind in the county follow, so far as these societies include several towns, or a large section of the county. Town agricultural societies, farmers' clubs, and societies confined to limited neighborhoods, will properly find a place in the sketches of towns.

There are five of these district agricultural societies in the county. One is

called *The Worcester West Society*, and holds its annual exhibition, one or two days, in Barre. Several towns in that section unite in the display. They generally have an address, a public dinner, and speeches at the table. The present president and secretary are: Thomas P. Root and Henry J. Shattuck of Barre. The annual meeting is generally towards the last of the month.

The Worcester North-West Society has Athol for its centre and place of meeting, and holds its exhibition late in September, or early in October. This society is comparatively young, but is managed with spirit and vigor. The officers are: James P. Lynde and E. T. Lewis of Athol.

The Worcester North Society meets at Fitchburg, which is convenient for many towns in the north-eastern part of the county. There is usually a large attendance at the cattle-show, horse-trot, and exhibition of vegetables. The president is Dr. George Jewett, and the secretary is Thomas C. Sheldon.

The Worcester South-East Society has its head-quarters at Milford, and in many respects almost rivals the county society. Its annual meetings occupy two days in the last week of September. Its president is J. W. Harris of Milford, and the secretary is Joseph H. Wood of the same place.

The South Worcester Society takes in many towns, and generally has a large and creditable display of live stock, horses, agricultural products, manufactures, and cunning work of female fingers. Two days are necessary for its annual show. The president is Samuel N. Gleason of Warren, and the secretary is Amasa C. Morse of Sturbridge.

One who looks over the printed papers which are published by these societies will be surprised at the amount of good reading which they furnish. A great amount of superior talent is called out, every year, in connection with agriculture. The addresses made by selected orators; the reports made by committees to whom particular parts of the exhibition are referred; the papers read at the winter meetings of the societies, are fraught with sense, experience, eloquence and wit. The theoretical and the practical farmer bring the results of their experiments together, and the annual product of fruit goes on increasing, whether the products of the fields and the dairy are large or small. The experience of so many men, trying all conceivable methods to raise more from the same number of acres, must be a guide to all young farmers; and, doubtless, many things have been learned, besides improved machinery, that were unknown to our fathers.

The Worcester Horticultural Society. — This association is not confined in its membership or its scope to the city of Worcester, and may therefore take its place in the list of county institutions. It was formed Sept. 19, 1840, and its first president was John Green, M. D. The vice-presidents were Samuel B. Woodward, M. D., the celebrated superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane, and Hon. Stephen Salisbury. The corresponding secretary was William Lincoln, and the recording secretary Benjamin Heywood. The society

was chartered in 1842. The Hon. Daniel Waldo was one of the patrons of the society, and made it a generous bequest.

The society began early to have horticultural exhibitions, and these have become more complete and satisfactory in the course of years. Much has been done in improving horticulture and floriculture since the society was formed; and the stimulus to this improvement has been given, in large measure, by the annual exhibitions and reports. It is expected, as a matter of course, that the reports of committees and secretaries will afford much information on all matters germane to the object of the association; but it would seem that the wits of the county, forsaking the columns of the press, brought their lively and readable productions to the annual publication of the society. The reports of the secretary alone would make a volume replete with sense, with sarcasm, information and practical wisdom. Such a book would be read with interest now, and generations hence.

The different presidents have been since the first, as follows: Isaac Davis, John M. Earle, Stephen Salisbury, D. W. Lincoln, Alexander H. Bullock, George Jaques, J. Henry Hill, Francis H. Dewey, George W. Richardson, George H. Francis, O. B. Hadwen, and William T. Merrifield. In 1866, Edward W. Lincoln was chosen secretary and librarian, and has held both offices most of the time. The present librarian is John C. Newton. The office of recording secretary has been held by Benjamin Heywood, L. L. Newton, J. C. B. Davis, and, perhaps, others, besides the present incumbent.

The displays of flowers and fruits at the annual exhibitions are wonderful for abundance and beauty. The variety of fruits and vegetables seems to increase yearly, and the plants and cut flowers show that every clime has been levied upon for the rarest, choicest and loveliest productions of the floral kingdom.

CHAPTER XIV.

RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES AND DENOMINATIONS.

THERE are many associations, of one and another kind, in the county, which include members of several towns, and perhaps the whole county, which form no part of public history, as they are private in their nature. Such are lodges of Masons, Odd Fellows, Templars, and the like, which are secret to a certain extent, and only come before the community on special occasions. In like manner clerical, legal and medical clubs, or societies, though not secret, are private. The Congregational Club comes under the same head. The history of them all is apart from the county, and must, therefore, be omitted.

But there are certain associations, by which the churches of the same denom-

ination, belonging to the whole county or a section of the county, are bound together, which properly come within our purview. The following is intended as a full list of this class of brotherhoods.

ASSOCIATIONS OF CHURCHES.

There are five associations of this kind connected with the Orthodox Congregational denomination. These, in their order, begin with the Worcester Central Conference. This includes the churches in the city of Worcester, and the towns of Auburn, Berlin, Boylston, Clinton, Holden, Leicester, Oxford, Paxton, Princeton, Rutland, Shrewsbury, Sterling and West Boylston; in all, twenty-one churches. The Conference is composed of delegates from each church, with their pastor, and all the ministers of the denomination without charge, within the bounds of the churches. Meetings are held semi-annually, in May and October. These Conferences have no ecclesiastical power whatever. They are for the purpose of Christian fellowship and spiritual quickening, and the exercises are adapted to that end. Sermons, essays, addresses, with singing, prayer and the Lord's Supper, occupy the time. Benevolent societies generally have an opportunity to present their claims. What is said above pertains to the other Conferences, and need not be repeated.

The Worcester North Conference holds its autumn meeting, two days, about the third week in October, and a meeting, one day, in June. The churches in the following towns compose the Conference: Ashburnham, Athol, Gardner, Hubbardston, Petersham, Phillipston, Royalston, Templeton, Westminster and Winchendon; in all fourteen churches, besides two in Franklin County. The meetings are held in different places from year to year.

The Worcester South Conference comprises fourteen churches, all of which are within the limits of the county. They are in the following towns: Blackstone, Douglas, Grafton, Millbury, Northbridge, Sutton, Upton, Uxbridge, Webster and Westborough.

The Brookfield Conference contains twenty-one churches, all but four of which are in Worcester County. They are in the following towns: Barre, Brookfield, Charlton, Dana, Dudley, Hardwick, New Braintree, North Brookfield, Oakham, Southbridge, Spencer, Sturbridge, Warren and West Brookfield.

The Middlesex Union Conference includes eighteen churches, seven of which are in Worcester County. These are in the city of Fitchburg, and the towns of Harvard, Lancaster, Leominster and Lunenburg. Like nearly all the Conferences in the region, this holds a spring and a fall meeting. The total amount of money raised by these churches in the five Conferences, for the year 1878, for expenses and charities, including the payment of church debts, was not far from \$240,000.

The churches above mentioned are seventy-one; there are a few others belonging to Conferences in other counties, making about seventy-seven con-

needed with the Congregational denomination, or Orthodox, as they are styled in common speech. One or more are to be found in the cities, and in nearly every town in the county. The two exceptions are Bolton and Mendon. The Hillside Church in the former was absorbed by the neighboring churches when it ceased to be a centre, and its life went into other organizations. It did not die, but was translated.

Baptist Associations.—It may save confusion to remark that the clerical meetings of the Congregationalists in Massachusetts are called Associations, and the meetings of associated churches are called Conferences. Among the Baptists the meetings of associated churches within convenient bounds are named Associations. The annual meeting, which represents the whole Baptist interest in the Commonwealth, is styled the "Massachusetts Baptist Convention"; while a similar body of the Congregationalists is named the "The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts."

There are two Baptist Associations, composed almost wholly of churches within the limits of the county, while a few churches in the county belong to other Associations. In this notice only the churches within the county will be included.

The Wachusett Association embraces the churches in Barre, Bolton, Clinton, Fitchburg, Gardner, Harvard, Holden, Leominster, Sterling, Templeton, West Boylston, Westminster and Winchendon; in all, thirteen churches.

The Worcester Association includes four churches in the city of Worcester, and the churches in Brookfield (East), Grafton, (First and Second), Leicester, Millbury, Northborough, Oxford, Southbridge, Sturbridge, (First, Second, and Manchaug), Spencer, Uxbridge, Webster and Westborough; in all, twenty churches.

The church in Milford and the church in Fayville (Southborough) belong to the Framingham Association. The church in Athol, the church in Petersham and the church in Royalston belong to the Miller's River Association. Putting all together, the Baptist churches in the county number thirty-eight.

Methodist Districts.—The Methodist churches in the State are connected with different Conferences, but the New England Conference, so called, includes the majority. This Conference extends from the seaboard to the Connecticut Valley. It is divided into these four districts, namely, the Boston District, the North Boston District, the Lynn District, and the Springfield District. The latter contains no churches located in this county, but the other three districts embrace quite a number of churches within our bounds.

The Boston District, which is supervised by a presiding elder, has five churches in the city of Worcester, and churches in Charlton, Leicester, Milford, Millbury, New England Village (Grafton), Oxford, Shrewsbury, Southbridge, Spencer, Upton, Uxbridge, Webster, Westborough and Whitinsville (Northbridge). Total, nineteen.

The Springfield District, having also a presiding elder, includes the Methodist churches in South Athol, Warren and West Warren; in all, three.

The North Boston District, similarly organized, embraces the Methodist churches in Ashburnham, Athol, Barre and Hardwick, Clinton, Templeton (East), Fitchburg, Gardner, Hubbardston, Leominster, Lunenburg, Oakdale (West Boylston), Phillipston, Princeton, South Royalston and Winchendon. Whole number, fifteen. Total Methodist churches in the county, thirty-seven.

The Worcester Conference of Congregational (Unitarian) and other Christian Societies, was organized at Worcester, Dec. 12, 1866. Connected with it are twenty-seven societies belonging to the county, and three in other counties, viz., at Ware, Marlborough, and Hudson. Those societies which are within the bounds of the county, are in the following towns:—Athol (two), Barre, Berlin, Bolton, Brookfield, Clinton, Fitchburg, Grafton, Harvard, Milford, Hubbardston, Lancaster, Leicester, Leominster, Mendon, Northborough, Petersham, Sterling, Sturbridge, Templeton, Upton, Uxbridge, Westborough, Winchendon, and Worcester (two).

The Conference holds three meetings each year, in January, May and September, the first being the annual meeting. Like the Conferences of the Orthodox Congregationalists, this has no ecclesiastical or ministerial power. It is composed of ministers, and delegates, male and female, from the churches of the connection within the bounds of the Conference. The object is expressed in the name. Sermons, essays, discussions, and devotional exercises occupy the time. The benevolent causes of the denomination are sometimes presented. The religious life of the various churches and societies is fostered and expressed in this social and fraternal way.

The officers for the year 1879 are as follows: Hon. Charles A. Stevens of Ware, president; Rev. Henry F. Cutting of Sterling, secretary; and John C. Otis of Worcester, treasurer.

Episcopal Churches in Worcester County.—These churches are all embraced in the diocese of Massachusetts, and have no local organization which makes a separate report of church statistics. The following are the Episcopal churches in the county, with the name of the church, and of the town or other place where located:—Clinton (Good Shepherd), Fiskdale (Grace), Fitchburg (Christ), Milford (Trinity), Millville (St. John's), Oxford (Grace), Rockdale (Christ), Southborough (St. Mark's), Webster (Reconciliation), Wilkinsonville (St. John's), Worcester (All Saints'). Total number, eleven.

Universalist Churches.—There are churches or religious societies of this denomination in Charlton, Dana, Fitchburg, Gardner, Milford, Oxford, Southbridge, Warren, Webster, Westminster and Worcester, making eleven.

Catholic Churches in Worcester County.—The diocese of Springfield was established in June, 1870, and comprises the five western counties of Massachusetts. The bishop is the Rt. Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, D. D. The churches

of this order, in Worcester County, are located as follows, with the names by which they are designated:—Ashburnham (St. Dennis), Athol (St. Catherine's), Barre (St. Joseph's), Blackstone (St. Paul's), Brookfield (St. Mary's), Clinton (St. John's), Douglas (St. Patrick's), Fitchburg (St. Bernard's), Fitchburg, West, (Sacred Heart), Gardner (Sacred Heart of Jesus), Gilbertville (St. Aloysius), Grafton (St. Philip's), Holden (St. Mary's), Leicester (St. Joseph's), Leominster (St. Leo's), Milford (St. Mary's), Millbury (St. Bridget's), North Brookfield (St. Joseph's), Otter River, Oxford (St. Roch's), Rochdale (St. Aloysius), Rutland, Shrewsbury (St. Theresa's), Southbridge (St. Peter's, and Notre Dame), Spencer (St. Mary's), Stoneville (St. Joseph's), Templeton (St. Martin's), Uxbridge (St. Mary's,) Upton (Holy Angels), Warren (St. Bridget's), West Warren (St. Thomas's), Webster (St. Louis's), Westborough (St. Luke's), West Boylston (St. Luke's), Winchendon (Immaculate Heart of Mary), Whitinsville (St. Patrick's), Worcester (St. John's, St. Joseph's Chapel, St. Paul's, St. Ann's, Notre Dame, Immaculate Conception). Total number of churches, forty-three.

The following denominational statistics have been gathered from the United States Census of 1870.

At that time the Baptists had forty churches, and fifteen thousand one hundred and seventy-five sittings.

The Congregationalists had seventy-three churches, and forty thousand four hundred and forty-five sittings.

The Episcopalians had eleven churches, and five thousand four hundred and twenty sittings.

The Methodists had forty-two churches, and fourteen thousand four hundred and five sittings.

The Roman Catholics had thirty-five churches, and sixteen thousand one hundred and seventy-five sittings.

The Unitarians had twenty-seven societies, and fourteen thousand five hundred sittings.

The Universalists had twelve societies, and five or six thousand sittings.

The minor denominations are not reported in full, but are supposed to have about twenty societies, and a corresponding number of sittings.

The whole number of churches, societies, or organizations was two hundred and sixty. The number of church edifices was two hundred and fifty-two. The number of sittings was one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and eighty-two. The value of church property was two million two hundred and seventy-one thousand and three hundred and seventy dollars.

Worcester County Bible Society.—Not long after the formation of the American Bible Society, auxiliary societies were formed in States, counties, and cities to co-operate in the work of raising money, and assist in the distribution of the Sacred Scriptures. The Society in this county was organized Sept. 7, 1815, when the constitution was adopted with the title of "The

Auxiliary Bible Society in the County of Worcester." The following are the important points in the constitution:—1. "The distribution of Bibles and Testaments in the common English version, without note or comment, shall be the sole object of the Society." 2. "The supply of those families in the county of Worcester which are destitute of the Scriptures and are unable to purchase them, shall be the primary object; any surplus means shall be applied to a more extensive dissemination of the Bible at the direction of the Society." 3. One dollar per annum was to constitute a member, so long as he paid that sum. 4. Ten dollars, in advance, made the giver a member for life. Every settled minister of the gospel in the county, of any denomination was *ex officio*, a member. The officers, chosen annually, were a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and seven directors. The officers were members of the board of directors. The directors, three of whom made a quorum, had the whole management of the business of the Society. Every person paying a dollar a year, might have a Bible yearly, provided he took it within three months. The annual meetings were to be on the second Thursday of September, when a sermon or address was to be delivered by some member of the Society. The object of the Society was to sell Bibles cheap to persons of limited means, who preferred to buy, as well as to give to the poor.

The constitution, of which a full outline is given above, was adopted by a convention of delegates from various religious societies in the county. The following officers were chosen: President, Hon. Joseph Allen of Worcester; Vice-President, Rev. Joseph Sumner, D. D., of Shrewsbury; Secretary, Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Nathaniel Thayer of Lancaster; Treasurer, Hon. Benjamin Heywood of Worcester. The directors were Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, Hon. Benjamin Adams of Uxbridge, Rev. Dr. John Fiske of New Braintree, James Wilson, Esq., Worcester, Rev. Elisha Rockwood, Westborough, Mr. Pliny Earle, and Levi Lincoln, Jr., Esq., of Worcester.

This Society existed without organic change nearly sixty years, as a vigorous auxiliary, though by degrees the change made in the modes and celerity of travel caused it to do less than formerly, when it was not so easy for the State or national society to have agents in the field. The work can now be done as readily from Boston or New York as from Worcester. Annual meetings were held, and money was raised for the distribution of the Scriptures at home, or to go into the general fund to supply the destitute in other parts of the land and the world. At several times inquiries were made throughout the county in order to find every family that was destitute of a copy of the Bible. In all such cases a copy was given, if the family were willing to receive it. This has been done at other times, either by the county or by the central societies. In this way the native population were supplied with the Bibles. It has been offered to all classes of the foreign-born, and in many cases has been gratefully received, but, as a general thing, they prefer a copy of their own version, which is supplied, as wanted, through their own booksellers. The history of

one year is that of another, and, therefore, no great space is needed to record it.

This was the state of things until a few years since, when, for the reasons above mentioned, the Society ceased to represent the county, and became the Bible Society of Worcester. The last president of the Society was the late Hon. Henry Chapin.

Three or four years since, the Society, as a local organization, canvassed the city, in part, and supplied Bibles to the destitute. The same work is done through the Young Men's Christian Association, and by the aid of private Christians, at present. The Rev. William T. Sleeper is the secretary of the Society in its present form. A Bible Depository was kept in Worcester, where the Scriptures, in all styles of binding and at different prices could be obtained; and perhaps the same arrangement still exists. By a recent change in the policy of the national society, the need of depositories will not be so great, as booksellers are to be supplied from the Bible House in New York, at wholesale prices, and the Bibles are to be sold, like other books, to suit purchasers. It is supposed that by this means sales will be increased, and the Bible more widely circulated, at less expense.

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE COUNTY.

THE preceding statement in regard to the churches and associations or conventions and conferences of the different denominations, with the names and locations of the individual churches, and the statistics of the various religious bodies in the county, may be properly followed by a condensed sketch of the planting and growth of the churches since the first settlement in Lancaster.

The great body of the people of the county, from the beginning till after the Revolution, belonged to the Congregational denomination. About sixty years ago it was found that some of the churches had gradually departed from the doctrines which were held by those who founded them, and had adopted a modified system of belief. Some had become Arians, some Socinians; but all agreed in the points which made them one as Unitarians. In some places, the parish or town had drifted away from the strict faith of the fathers, while the church adhered firmly to the ancient symbols. All continued to be Congregationalists in the matter of church organization and government. The number of churches in the county that were separated from the main body, on account of a change of belief, was about twelve. One of these was the oldest church in the county, that of Lancaster, which was organized in 1660, and which

remained in its original connection until the time of Rev. Dr. Thayer, who was ordained in 1793 and died in 1840. Its main history, therefore, comes under this division, in treating of the Orthodox or Trinitarian Congregationalists. Its present connection will be recognized in the proper place.

Beginning, then, with the year 1660, we find a church in Lancaster. The church in Mendon was organized, perhaps, in 1667, though this is not certain. There was a meeting-house and preaching in Brookfield before the massacre in 1675, but if a church was formed the records do not remain. It is believed that the churches in Lancaster and Mendon were the only ones before the end of the century, though there were places where preaching was enjoyed before churches were organized. In this connection the churches of Indian converts are not included. There is some reason to suppose that the church in Lancaster became extinct after the massacre in 1676, as Judge Sewall in his diary states that a church was organized there in 1690. The next church was not established till 1716. This was the Old South in Worcester. The first church in Brookfield, now West Brookfield, was established in 1717. The next two were in Rutland and Sutton in 1720, and the church in Leicester was organized in 1721. The church in Westborough was organized in 1724; the church in Uxbridge in 1730, and the church in Grafton was started in 1731. This was the year in which the county was incorporated. From which it appears that there were but nine churches in the county at its formation, unless one or two have been omitted, which subsequently became Unitarian.

The question arises, what proportion of the people in the above towns, constituting the new county, were members of the churches? It is impossible to give a definite reply; but it is certain that the popular impression on the subject is erroneous. It is believed, and often said, that the people in those early days were eminently religious, in comparison with their successors. One ground for this general belief is that all the towns were supplied with able, learned and pious ministers soon after their settlement. Taking for granted that meetings were held, and meeting-houses built, and ministers supported by the spontaneous liberality of the people, it is readily inferred that a large proportion of them were members of the church, leading prayerful and godly lives. But when we take into the account the fact that no settlement was authorized to have the privileges of a township until they had made provisions for the support of a faithful minister, the case is altered. The settlers in any particular place might or might not be highly moral and religious. What the General Court was determined to secure to each town was, the means of religious training for the people and their children. And this policy was adhered to with tenacity: certainly, with most beneficial results. This one thing made it sure that all the new communities in the county, as well as those then existing, should be, or become, intelligent, thrifty, moral, and to a large degree, religious, in the true sense of the word. But we come back to the question in regard to the relative proportion of the members of the church to the whole

population. As we have no reliable statistics in regard to the population of the towns, and very few accessible documents to determine the number of members in the respective churches, an exact conclusion cannot be reached.

There are, however, detached facts which help us to understand the matter to a certain extent. For example, when Lancaster was set up as a township, and there were nine or ten men with families on the ground, there were only three "freemen," or men qualified to vote and hold office by virtue of their membership in the church. This caused such heart-burning and excitement,—such "boiling," as the old records put the matter, that the people applied to the General Court to appoint a committee of three men belonging to other towns, who should take the oversight of their affairs as a town, and give directions to a board of selectmen. This was done, and the famous Major Simon Willard, the chairman of the committee, removed to Lancaster, where he resided several years, and guided the people while laying the foundations in church and state. A similar arrangement was made in Brookfield, one of the oldest towns, and doubtless for a similar cause. In those times there were restive men in the sea-board towns who were willing to move away and form new communities in the interior, where they could be comparatively free from restraint. The first company who made a move towards founding Lancaster were of this sort; but the authorities gave them no encouragement, and they did not come. A better class of men made the undertaking, and were successful; but, as we have seen, the number of church members among them was so small that they needed guidance from abroad. As a result of settling Mr. Rowlandson, and the maintenance of the public worship of God, the church was enlarged, but there is no evidence that it became relatively numerous. The tax-payers supported the service as the law required; and, as the law required, they generally attended meeting. Doubtless they also recognized the needed value of religious faith and ordinances, but that is a different thing from being active and exemplary members of the church.

As in Lancaster and Brookfield, so in Worcester, the original settlers were not largely in the church. Strenuous efforts were made to increase the religious element, and probably there was a gain from decade to decade, but there were fearful impediments to progress. In the first place, the people soon became subject to all the evils of savage warfare. All the oldest towns were harassed, more or less, by the war of King Philip, and the Indian wars that followed, with intervals, till "Lovewell's fight." One or two towns, as Lancaster and Brookfield, were almost or entirely broken up. The settlement of Worcester was hindered. It is an established fact of history that such wars are peculiarly demoralizing, since civilized and Christian peoples learn to fight the savages in their way. Human life is made cheap; and the feeling grows up that the ignorant and debased children of the woods may be slain like wild beasts. But with this feeling there is a peculiar hatred and contempt that wild

animals cannot excite. Besides, in the course of time, many families would take up farms at considerable distance from the centre, where the meeting-house and school-house stood. This distance led to the neglect of schooling, and of public worship. Only by the fidelity of the ministers and the good people who sustained them, could those living in the outskirts of the towns be drawn to meeting, or have meetings held in their neighborhood. It was one of the strong pleas for the formation of new towns that they might establish new centres where they could enjoy better religious and educational privileges. In addition, this was a period, between 1660 and 1730, of a religious reaction in England, the effects of which were felt, to some extent, in New England, as well as in the middle and southern Colonies. The loose thinking and vile manners which Charles II. brought in, after the strictness of the Commonwealth era, did not lose its force for sixty years, though it gradually became loathsome, and created a necessity for the reformation brought about by the labors of Watts, Doddridge, the Wesleys, Whitefield, and other men of that stamp, who were influential in lifting England out of the gutter into the regions of a wholesome social and religious life. English books and plays, English governors and other officials, English business men, sailors and travelers, were continually exerting an influence upon society in all our coastwise towns, and thus another impediment to the increase of sound doctrine and upright living was in active operation. But in spite of all these antagonistic forces, society became established on a solid basis in our towns, and churches grew in number and influence.

Taking the period from 1731 to the close of the Revolution in 1783, we find that twenty-nine churches had been formed, which still exist in the Orthodox connection, besides a few which are now in the Unitarian ranks. During this half century many new towns were formed. Indeed, nearly all the towns in the county west of Lancaster and north of Brookfield, except Rutland, were incorporated in this period. It was a time of new settlements to them, with the same hardships from the necessity of felling the woods and subduing a rough and rocky soil, as the settlers of the older towns had to face. Besides this, during these fifty years the people were engaged in three or four prolonged and wasting wars. The Spanish war, which broke out in 1739; the old French and Indian war, which was declared by France in March, 1744; the last French and Indian war, which lasted from 1755 to 1763, in which the Colonies sent troops year after year, on hazardous and deadly campaigns to Canada and the eastern Provinces, and finally the war of the Revolution, extending from 1775 to 1783. In those times when the young and middle-aged men were away from the kindly charities of home and the elevating influences of public worship; when exposed to all the temptations of the camp, the siege, the sack, and the battle, religion had a hard struggle to maintain its hold on the minds and hearts of the people. There was but little relative increase of the church upon the whole community. Yet there was a gain, because in the

first half of this period occurred that great religious awakening of which Jonathan Edwards, the elder, was the chief agent and exponent, which, by God's blessing, saved New England from threatening moral paralysis, and gave its churches new life. Such a work, so general and so profound, was then unparalleled in our history, and has never since been surpassed in any land. Without it, many statesmen, as well as philosophers and divines, have doubted if the colonists would have had the energy to enter on the struggle for independence, or the virtue to come out of it without entire demoralization. What with war, and the influence of allies who were steeped to the lips with the French infidelity of that age, there was a fearful outlook for the young before, during, and after the Revolutionary war. The old forms remained intact, the old symbols of belief were repeated in the church, in the school, and in the family, but the leading minds in this country, outside of the pulpits, were familiar with the writings of the English deists, who were bitterly hostile to the Christian religion, and made strenuous efforts to undermine its power. The first lawyer in the town of Worcester, Mr. Putnam, was outspoken in opposition to the authority of the Bible, and told his student, John Adams, that the works of the authors above mentioned were in circulation through the county, and were received with favor by the majority of the most intelligent men. Yet the churches stood firm, and the ministry maintained their ground amid the torrents of error and vice which threatened to deluge them.

As no statistics of the churches were published in those days, and as there was no reliable census of the State, it is impossible to learn the exact proportion of professors to non-professors in the period under notice, without consulting the records of the churches. So far as these have been read, they show a respectable list of the names of men, with about twice as many female names, as is the case in our times. In the towns whose history has been published, it will be found, so far as the facts are given, that while the church was gaining, yet there was a less number on its rolls, compared with the whole population, than there has been during the last three-quarters of a century. And this is true not only of the native-born population, but including the whole of whatever race or religion.

Again, there is an exaggerated idea of the church-going habits of those who lived in the olden times. Because people were required by law to attend meeting, and were arraigned and fined for non-attendance, it is hastily concluded that they did attend with great punctuality. But there were sick and old people, as well as little children, then as now, who could not go out on the Sabbath. Allowance must be made for them. Then a man was not complained of for occasional absence. If he was not seen at the meeting-house for several Sundays in succession, his case might be looked into and made a subject of complaint. It is said to have been the practice of many ministers, when they missed any of their flock from the house of worship, to call the next day and

see if they were sick. But these calls were probably made on habitual attendants, and not on that class which then existed, as it now exists, who were present only at distant intervals.

There is one test that can easily be applied. Take the population of any town, when it can be ascertained, and then find the size of the meeting-house, or its capacity to seat a mixed congregation of old and young. It will probably be found that few, if any, towns in the county had sittings for more than half the people during the last century. This was a fair supply after allowing for infancy and old age, and the sick, and the attendants on the sick, but it proves that our fathers were more scantily supplied with houses of worship than are their descendants and successors.

In 1783, at the close of this period, there were forty-seven towns in the county, and a church was established in every town. All these were of the Congregational order. There is a similar church in all these towns at present, except Bolton and Mendon. In these towns, the old churches have become Unitarian, and no Orthodox Congregational churches have arisen to take their place. As stated before, the first churches in some other towns have been through a like change, but new churches have been formed which are connected with the original communion. Up to this time, only five Baptist churches had been organized in the county: the church in Leicester in 1737; the church in Sturbridge in 1749; the church in Royalston (West) in 1768; the church at Still River, in Harvard, in 1776; and the church in Templeton in 1782. These were all composed of a few members, and connected with small congregations. There were a few scattered members of Baptist churches before the county was formed, but they were not in an organized state, except perhaps in the town of Uxbridge. No Methodist churches existed in the county, and it is doubtful if Methodist preaching was heard here much before the end of the century. There were a few societies of Friends or Quakers in the county, and possibly scattered meetings of other denominations or persuasions, but no statistics have been found.

The ratio of the members of the churches to the whole population of the county may be approximately estimated. The census of 1776 showed that the population of the county was forty-six thousand four hundred and thirty-seven. In 1790, it amounted to fifty-six thousand eight hundred and seven, giving an increase of ten thousand three hundred and seventy. From 1776 to 1790 was fourteen years. The year 1783 was half way between; we may therefore allow that there was an increase of about five thousand people between 1776 and 1783. This would give a population at the latter date of fifty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-seven. The number of members of the forty-seven Congregational churches at that time probably would not exceed, on the average, one hundred and fifty, or nearly one member to seven and one-half of the total population.

For the sake of convenience, the period from 1783 to 1879 will be divided

into three generations of thirty-two years each, and we will ascertain the increase of the population and of the churches in three divisions.

The first division or generation would bring us down to the year 1815. In that year, the population of the county was not far from sixty-nine thousand, or an increase of seventeen thousand four hundred and seventy-three between 1783 and 1815. In the meantime, the number of new Congregational churches formed was four, one in each of the following towns; viz., Phillipston in 1785; Gardner in 1786; West Boylston in 1796; and Southbridge in 1801. The new Baptist churches in this division were seven, as follows: The church in Sutton, formed in 1785; in Grafton in 1800; Holden in 1806; Athol in 1813; Worcester First in 1813; Webster in 1814; and Westborough in 1814. By this time, there were several Methodist churches in the county, but the number is not given in the Minutes of the Conference.

Thirty-two years added to 1815, brings us to 1847. The population at the beginning of this division was, say sixty-nine thousand. In 1847, it was not far from one hundred and twenty thousand. The increase was, in round numbers, fifty-one thousand, or about seventy-three per cent. In 1847, the membership of the Orthodox churches in the county was eleven thousand one hundred and four, belonging to sixty-six churches, and averaging one hundred and seventy to each church. The number of Baptist church-members in the county in the year 1847 was four thousand eight hundred and thirty-one. The communicants in the Methodist and the Episcopal churches in 1847 probably reached to the number of four thousand. This was the period in which the former denomination made great progress, and the latter began to be an appreciable element in our religious history. The number of communicants in Unitarian churches was considerable, as well as in the recently-organized Universalist churches; but, for some years, the statistics of membership have not been published. But, taking the number of the three denominations above mentioned, we find nineteen thousand one hundred and twenty-five. This would give a little less than one member to every six of the whole population, or, omitting children under fifteen years, as few below that number are enrolled as church-members, about one in four, or twenty-five per cent.

Adding thirty-two years to 1847, and we have 1879, the present year. The population of the county in 1847 was called one hundred and twenty thousand in round numbers. The population now amounts to about two hundred and twenty thousand, or an increase of one hundred thousand, or something like eighty-two per cent. Let us now sum up the membership of the churches, so far as possible, in this year of grace 1879. According to the Minutes of the Orthodox Congregationalists, their number in 1879 is thirteen thousand three hundred and eighty-two. The Baptists numbered five thousand one hundred and nine. The Methodists were four thousand one hundred and fifty-three, and the Episcopalians nine hundred and twenty-three. Total, twenty-three

thousand five hundred and sixty-seven. That is, the membership of these churches gives about one member to every nine inhabitants; or, deducting those under fifteen, one in every seven and a fraction. To these are to be added Quakers or Friends, Adventists, Christian Disciples, Unitarians and Universalists, if the number could be ascertained, who are classed among communicants. The number of Unitarian societies is twenty-seven; some of which are large. The Universalists are less in number, but quite numerous. The Adventists of different varieties are to be found in almost all parts of the county, though their church organizations are not generally numerous or large. The result shows that the Evangelical churches, so called, have not increased in the last thirty-two years in the same ratio as the total population. If to them should be added the probable number of four thousand belonging to other denominations, the whole number would be, of communicants in the county, about twenty-seven thousand five hundred.

But here comes in another element which modifies the result. The number of foreign-born persons in the county in 1875 was forty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven. As this class of our population has been coming in during the last forty or fifty years, the number of children of foreign-born parents is very large. The mass of this division of the population is Catholic, from Ireland and Canada. Their children are trained in the same faith. In some towns, the children born here are more numerous than their parents who are foreign born. But we will suppose that the children born here are but half the number of their foreign-born parents. This would make a total of about seventy-five thousand of foreign birth or blood. Five-sixths of these, born in Ireland, Canada, Germany and other countries, with their children, are in the Catholic communion. The total number is about sixty-three thousand. Looking into the "Catholic Directory," we find the Catholic population of the diocese of Springfield estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand. The whole population of the five western counties which constitute the diocese was, in 1875, four hundred and fifty-one thousand and a fraction. Two hundred and ten thousand of this number were in Worcester County. If the Catholic population is equally divided among the counties in proportion to the whole population, the number of Catholics in the county would be nearly seventy thousand. The probable number is somewhere between sixty-three and seventy thousand; say sixty-eight thousand. Taking this number from the total population in 1875 would leave one hundred and forty-two thousand. On this basis, the Protestant churches have gained quite a large percentage on the Protestant population during the last generation, — the thirty-two years now closing.

It will be convenient to have the statistics of the churches as they are at this date in a form convenient for reference and comparison. They will be arranged in the order of their date, as established in this county, with the number of

members or communicants, so far as can be ascertained from documents or records.

Congregationalists (Orthodox), churches,	. . . 77.	Members, 13,382
Congregationalists (Unitarian), societies,	. . . 27.	"
Baptists, churches,	. . . 35.	" 5,109
Methodists, churches,	. . . 37.	" 4,153
Episcopal,	. . . 11.	" 923
Catholics, churches,	. . . 44.	

Besides these may be enumerated the following, of which no numerical statement is at present available. Their number is very considerable, and in some towns one or another will be found to have especial prominence. They are the Swedenborgians, Adventists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Disciples or Campbellites, and Friends or Quakers. Statistics of some of them may be extant, but hardly of all.

Before leaving the religious history of the county, two points claim some attention: One relates to church government, and the other to Christian doctrine. It is alleged that great changes have occurred, especially in the denominations which were first planted in the county, — changes in polity and faith. What, then, are the changes that have taken place?

In regard to some of the more recent religious bodies, there is not much to be said. The doctrine of the Second Advent has undergone several modifications since 1843, when Mr. Miller roused the public mind to consider the speedy coming of Christ to judge the world, destroy the wicked, and establish his religion on earth. Some still attempt to fix the time of his coming, notwithstanding repeated failures. Others believe in the speedy second coming, but do not attempt to foretell the time except by way of approximation. There are also quite a number of Pre-Millenarians in the county, belonging to various denominations, who see no occasion for forming a new sect, as their views in relation to the cardinal doctrines of the Bible are unchanged. Perhaps this form of belief is more rife in the Episcopal than the other denominations. The Seventh-Day Adventists join to their views respecting the Second Coming, the dogma that the Jewish Sabbath is still obligatory in regard to time, if not in strictness of observance. Nearly all Adventists, of whatever variety, are Baptists, and practise the immersion of believers, only not administering the ordinance to children.

In matters of doctrine, they were originally orthodox in the general sense of the term; but of late years they have, to a great extent, adopted the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked who die in their sins; or, more correctly speaking, they hold that man is not immortal by nature and creation, but that immortality is a gift of divine grace. Christ confers immortality on those who believe and are renewed in heart, and those who reject salvation through Christ, at some time, not remote, cease to exist. This section of the Adventists believe in the sleep of death; or, in other words, that, at the death of the

body, the soul becomes unconscious, and remains so until the resurrection, when all shall be called to judgment. The righteous will then enter upon the eternal and blessed life, and the unrepentant will end in non-existence. The polity of some sections of the Adventist persuasion is a modification of the Methodist Episcopal system. They have a system which is without bishops, even in name, with much Congregational freedom; but it is compact and efficient. To what it will grow, remains to be seen. The members, as a class, are industrious, moral, bound closely to each other, strict in the observance of the Sabbath and the ordinances of the gospel, and apparently devout.

The Disciples, or "Campbellites," as they are often styled, are quasi-independent in their organization, though the ministry have great influence, not to say power. This people, who are numerous in the Central-Western States, though few within this county, are strong Calvinists in many points of doctrine, modified by a modern view of the freedom of the will. Mr. Campbell, who originated this variety of religionists, was a man of powerful mind, with a logical cast, and he stamped his image on the whole denomination. It has experienced no great change since his day. But as the churches are composed, to a considerable extent, of those who have come out of other churches, as Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and others, there is a variation in tone and manner, in different places, according to the proportion of the ingredients of the new amalgam. For example, a church made up of converts from the Methodists, though receiving the Disciple doctrines and polity, will be more lively and animated in their meetings for worship than one composed of original Baptists. But time is removing these differences. This body of Christians exalt the mode of baptism by immersion so highly as to make it a condition of membership, though they admit others to the Lord's table if they come into their assemblies.

The government or polity of the Universalist body is essentially Congregational. All power is in the brotherhood. The minister is a member, with no authority. His pastoral office gives him influence, and he is *ex-officio* moderator of the meetings of the church, unless some one is specially appointed. As to doctrine, there has been considerable change since it was first preached in this country. At first, the ministers taught the immediate happiness of all at death. It was universal salvation without delay. If there was any variation from this statement, it was merely an admission that the highest state of blessedness would not be entered upon until the Judgment. Dr. Huntington of Coventry, Conn., the first native Universalist of note, was an Orthodox Congregational clergyman, and held all the doctrines of his denomination, except in relation to the final condition of mankind. He believed in the need of an atonement by Jesus Christ, of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and the duty to live a godly life; but he held that through the mediation of Christ all these blessings would be secured to all the race. Universalists at the present day unite in holding that none will be irreclaimably and forever lost. But between this view and that of Dr. Huntington there are many

shades of doctrine. Some discard the doctrine and the fact of atonement on the ground that mankind do not need a Redeemer. All will be punished according to their deserts, be led to holiness, it may be by discipline, and so made happy. On this system there is no place for grace, though much for benevolence in the divine scheme of moral government. Others exalt Christ to a very high position in the scale of being, and connect the salvation of man closely with his character, his teachings, and even his suffering. There has been very noticeable within a few years, an elevation of tone, both in regard to morality and spirituality, in this body of Christian believers. There seems to be a growing reverence for the Bible as a book of authority, and a higher appreciation of whatever leads to a devotional life. The progress of Biblical criticism and philosophical thought must have its work among this class of our population as well as among all their co-religionists. The churches of this denomination have not become numerous, but they claim, and probably not without reason, that their views are held by many who have not joined their organization.

It is the claim of the Unitarians, and the claim is just, that, while holding to the body of Christian truth, they are not shackled by creeds, or liturgy, or ritual, or forms. Thus they enjoy great freedom in regard to church polity and Biblical doctrine. In the matter of government, they have made no essential departure from the Congregational form in which they had their origin. The church is independent of all other churches, and of all ministers, priests or bishops; yet they adhere to the custom of calling councils to advise and assist in the ordaining and installing of ministers. The business pertaining to the support of public worship is confined, for the most part, to the parish or society. In some towns the word church has gone into desuetude and society has taken its place. All are invited to the Lord's table who feel it a privilege, without examination, or the form of admission to the church. This change indicates a change in belief, to some extent, since the older churches of the denomination had a covenant which expressed or implied a distinct belief in certain great, fundamental facts of the Christian system. There is, confessedly, great variety of opinion in the Unitarian body. All agree in rejecting the doctrine of Christ's supreme divinity; and all, or nearly all, reject the doctrine of atonement in all its forms. In this they differ from the early Unitarians in the country, who certainly held to the atonement, and to the satisfaction made to Divine justice by the sufferings of Christ. Time was when all believed in the necessity of regeneration, in the strict sense of the word, by the Holy Spirit, either as a manifestation of God, like the Sabellians, or by a Divine influence directly from the Father. In the old sermons, the doctrine of future eternal suffering for sin is presented as a motive for repentance and a holy life, not merely as an appeal to fear, but because penalty was considered as a measure of the Divine hatred of sin and love of holiness. But these points need not be dwelt upon, since it is a characteristic of the Unitarian body to admit the

utmost latitude of belief and expression within certain limits. Excluding the divinity of Christ on the one hand, and the denial of revealed religion on the other, the basis is laid for a kind of denominational union, in which a large majority of those who bear the Unitarian name or have Unitarian proclivities can do much good work in harmony.

It would be a vain thing to talk of change in the Catholic Church, whether in this country or in any other part of the world, in the ordinary understanding of the word change. The government of that Church is ultimately in the hands of the Pope, for the time being, who is himself governed by a system older than any existing European government. The great doctrines of the Christian system, as settled by early councils, are held by all Catholics, in all parts of the world. Yet as the polity grew into shape in the lapse of centuries, so it is modified in its working by the people who receive it, or upon whom it is imposed. The priesthood has a tremendous power in the sacraments. An order of men who can withhold baptism, and refuse to perform the marriage rite, and let a man die without extreme unction, and then forbid the burial of his body in consecrated ground, has a powerful hold on all who believe in his priestly functions. But in a land where a man can suffer no civil or political disabilities on account of his religious belief or connection, and where intelligence abounds, and thought is free, it is not the same as in a land where all the opposite conditions prevail. The man, as he grows, compels the relaxation of his bonds; and the influence of his religious teachers, or superiors, is adjusted to his elevated character. And yet the theory of the government may not be altered one iota. As in a well regulated family, there is one general code for all the children, yet as they grow in age and discretion the elder part learn to administer the law for themselves; so any church system made for the ignorant, uncivilized or weak, and necessarily minute and stringent, is modified as the people learn self-government, though its theory remains unchanged. In this way the Catholic administration cannot fail to be modified, in many particulars, in such a country as this; and it can adjust itself to such a change without lessening the proper influence of its priesthood, and can, at the same time, become more beneficent in its action.

And as to doctrines, every student of church history knows that there have been divisions in the bosom of the Catholic Church. These may not have touched the substance of doctrine or truth, but the different systems of philosophy, held by the parties to these conflicts, have modified the doctrines in a practical sense. But there is another ground for difference, and for individual progress under the system, even if the system is as changeless as the laws of the Medes and Persians. It is a fact, that in the Catholic system of doctrine will be found every great doctrine held by Evangelical Christendom. The doctrine of one only living and true God is held by both parties. The doctrine of the Trinity, or God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, as one God, is held by them in common. They use the same language to express

the inexplicable but clearly revealed fact. The natural sinfulness of man; the consequent condemnation of man as a sinner; the necessity of a change of heart, expressed by the word of our Saviour, regeneration; the absolute need of a Redeemer to deliver a sinner from the penalty of the law of God; and the conditions of pardon, even "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," are primal doctrines in the creed of Catholic and Evangelical Protestant alike. And so of other Christian truths. But here comes in the fact, that the Catholic system holds several great truths in connection with views that to others seem erroneous. Salvation is by faith in Christ. So say the Protestant and the Catholic, and use the same language of Paul as the basis of their belief. But the Protestant says that salvation is "not of works, lest any man should boast"; on the other hand, the Catholic teaches that salvation is of works, because James asserts "that faith without works is dead." Yet it does not seem difficult to harmonize both views when we consider faith as the principle of action, and the fact that a faith that does not inspire and secure works is spurious. Repentance is accompanied by penance, which to an ignorant mind may seem a substitute. In fact, it is natural for one who is impressed with a sense of his sinfulness to subject himself to suffering as a sort of expiation. The danger is that he will put his own self-inflictions in the place of the voluntary endurance of stripes in his behalf, and thus trust in his own works and merits instead of the merits of his Lord and Saviour. However this may be, it is evident that here is occasion for different views as to the ground and the conditions of salvation. Is it not possible that the progress of knowledge will produce unanimity of belief in the fact that Christ alone can save, and the other fact that only the faith which leads a man to keep the commandments is scriptural? In the meantime we may take comfort from the assurance that the Catholic churches in our country are a civilizing and Christian force, operating with energy in connection with our schools, industries and political life, in uplifting a large element of our population.

The Episcopal Church, like the Catholic, has not been established in the country long enough to have made much local history for itself. Certainly it has undergone no changes, except that of growth. As a polity, Episcopacy is prelatical, and the entrance to the church is controlled by the prelate; but in this country the worshippers have a considerable influence in the management of the secularities of the church. Free from the incumbrance of state connection, the Episcopal Church in the United States has a great advantage over the National Church of England in many respects, and has, without doubt, a beneficent mission to perform in Christianizing our heterogeneous population. As to doctrine, its articles are approved by Calvinists; its liturgy, in actual working, is elastic, partly satisfying the ritualists, but capable of being used by the devout clergyman who exalts spirit and life above form and ceremony.

The Methodists are a growing people in more senses than one. They have had a remarkable increase, not only in the newly-settled parts of the land

and in the South, but also in the very heart of New England, and of our Commonwealth. But there is another thing in connection with the Methodists still more remarkable, and that is the wonderful energy with which they have worked their own educational institutions, or availed themselves of existing schools for the training of their ministry, the higher education of their youth, and the elevation of the masses. Wesley was an educated, scholarly man; but the mass of Methodist preachers in this country were "ignorant and unlearned men." Such were the pioneers here. They had sense and piety, but were uncultured. Now they take rank with the most cultivated of our clergy in general, and in theological training, and their sermons are composed with as much care, and delivered with as much regard to the proprieties of the pulpit, as those of any religious teachers among us.

The Methodist polity, whether formally changed or not, has been greatly modified in its working. When the denomination began to grow, the people were necessarily led by their ministers, as is always the case with the less-informed and comparatively poor. As the people become educated and rise in the scale of living, and surround themselves with the means of independence, they will naturally assume the management of their own affairs. Hence the gradual lengthening of the pastorate in the Northern States; hence the admission of laymen into the Conferences. The multiplication of schools, colleges and seminaries also brings the laity into close connection with the clergy in the management of institutions of the highest importance. There is little danger that their bishops will ever assume prelatical functions. The tendency of our institutions is rather to make them efficient superintendents, and in that way to give unity and vigor to the denomination.

As to theology, the ministry are close students of the Bible, and have a growing tendency towards the study of mental philosophy. Soundness in the faith is the natural result. The ultimate of such a course must be the harmony of God's unvarying law with the freedom of the human will. Both will be held in their fullness, and neither will be sacrificed to the other.

When the Baptists first came into notice in England they were Independents; a branch of that great party which wrought a reform in religion, and turned an almost absolute kingdom into a commonwealth. In them was the very "dissidence of dissent." The leader of them in this country had too much individuality to work happily with any church or community, except as they fell in with his ways of thinking and acting. But Roger Williams had one of the sweetest spirits that ever wrought with a busy brain or an unbending will. The Baptists in this county have ever been unyielding friends of civil and religious liberty. Their church polity is as near Independency as is compatible with the fellowship of other churches. They are united as a denomination by unison in belief and spirit rather than by any ecclesiastical bonds. While each church resists interference and repels oversight, it desires sympathy and seeks the fellowship of other churches.

In regard to doctrine, there is no essential, and scarcely any non-essential difference between them and those of other names who receive the articles of the Episcopal Church, or adopt the Assembly's Catechism. John Bunyan has been a blessing to millions of different names; but a special blessing to the Baptists, in this regard, that his mind, as expressed in his chief work, was clear in its philosophy of religion. In his immortal dream the theology is only less wonderful than the poetry and imagination. He exalted God upon the throne, but was a deadly foe to fatalism. This last heresy infected the theology of some of the leading minds of the denomination in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the "Pilgrim's Progress" was always in the *via mediâ*, and conducted its students to heaven.

It is singular that the two soundest heads, in their time, were two poets,—Milton and Bunyan. What one was to the Congregationalists the other was to the Baptists. But neither could be confined to a sect, and both are for all time, citizens of the world. In their attempts to reconcile the decrees of God and the freedom of the human will, they anticipated the most enlightened philosophers of modern times. Their themes, their thoughts, their fancy and their style, unite to make them teachers, not of one country and one period, but of all periods and all nations.

When the supralapsarians became influential among the Baptist clergy, in the last century, the dream of Bunyan kept the people free from its entanglements, and aided the younger ministry to come to a better understanding of the ways of God. Andrew Fuller and John Foster were brought up to believe in the most intense form of fatalism that was consistent with any sense of duty. Robert Hall, the prince of modern preachers, felt the same influence in his early days. Hall and Fuller, under the lead of the New England divines, and especially of Pres. Edwards, burst the fetters that prevented them from urging duty upon all, and making the fullest offers of salvation to all, while Foster remained a prisoner all his days.

The Baptists in the Colonies, and in this county as well, partook of the opinions and the conflicts of their brethren in England. There can be no doubt that the luminous writings of Fuller and the transcendent eloquence of Hall have had a beneficial effect upon every respectable Baptist clergyman who has preached among us during the last half century. In like manner the missionary enterprise started by Carey and Marshman has exerted a modifying influence upon them, and upon all Protestant Christendom. But in regard to the great fundamental truths of the Christian religion, the Baptists in this county have known no change but what comes from the clearer understanding of the doctrines which their fathers held, and the stronger zeal they cherish to carry these saving truths to the ends of the earth.

The Congregationalists have lived the longest, and wrought the most history on this soil. They were the first of white men in the county, and they laid the foundations of all our civil, religious and educational institutions. The

question arises whether their history as a denomination has been merely an expansion of numbers, or a change in polity and faith. The answer is, "No," and "Yes." Substantially, they are to-day what they, as a branch of the church universal, were two hundred and fifty years ago. In non-essential points they have experienced some variations. What are they?

First, in regard to polity. There has been no change in the government of the churches since this county was settled, and coming hither did not affect the independence of any church in its relation to other churches. The Congregational theory is that each church is an independent body, and when fully organized by the adoption of a covenant, and the choice of officers, is qualified to conduct its own affairs without the supervision or interference of any power in Church or State. But Congregationalism, in distinction from pure Independency, always included the fellowship of other churches. It called councils to aid in ordaining and installing ministers. In cases of difficulty in the administration of discipline, it called in the aid of sister churches, and asked their advice, but always with the understanding, unless expressed to the contrary in the Letters Missive, that the "Result of Council" would not be binding unless approved by the parties concerned. It also sanctions and approves of general councils, of conferences, and associations for mutual benefit. This makes it necessary for each church to continue in the faith and the ordinances and the polity of the order, so long as it values and wishes to enjoy fellowship. In this regard the polity of the Congregational body is the same as it has always been in the State of Massachusetts and the county of Worcester. But in the internal government of the individual church there has been one important modification. In the early churches of Massachusetts Bay some of the churches had two ministers, a pastor and a teacher. They had also a ruling elder, perhaps more than one, who aided the pastorate in the governing of the church and the administration of discipline. There grew up an idea that no act of the church was valid unless it had the sanction of the teaching and ruling elders. Before Worcester County was settled, the custom of having two ministers over a church, or a ruling elder, had been changed, not by any vote or associated action, but simply by disuse. But the notion still lingered in the minds of some of the clergy, that all the power or authority of pastors and elders had passed into the hands of the single pastor. He was the residual legatee of all clerical power rather than the elected pastor and teacher of the church and congregation.

It is a notable fact, which comes directly in our way when studying the history of Worcester County, that the contest over this question was carried on, in this county, unto the end. In how many cases the pastors claimed and asserted the veto power, cannot be now ascertained without consulting the records of every Congregational church established in the last century, or before: but there were two or three cases which have been reported in print. As they all grew out of one origin, they may be treated together. And as

they mark a distinct but evanescent phase in our history, they are worthy of attention.

The Church of Christ in Bolton was organized Nov. 4, 1741, and the Rev. Thomas Goss was ordained as the pastor on the same day. Thirty years later difficulties arose between him and his people. They brought charges against him, and a council was called, before which both parties appeared. After a hearing, the council found a result in his favor. The people were not satisfied, and the controversy became more heated. The church, having found no relief by appealing to the neighboring churches, took the matter into their own hands, and dissolved the relation between their minister and themselves. This was contrary to Congregational usage, and left them by law under obligation to support their minister; for as the law then was, and is now, a Congregational pastor had legal claim to support from his people until a council had dissolved the relation by consent of all parties, or by the conviction of the minister of unministerial conduct. Probably patience on the part of the Bolton church, and a steady persistence in the effort to sever the relation between themselves and Mr. Goss would, in time, have secured an orderly dismissal. But they asserted their independence.

And now the trouble began to spread. The ministers considering this, as it was, an assumption of power not warranted by the polity of the churches, passed censure upon the Bolton church, and called on their churches to withhold fellowship from the church in Bolton, and from the individual members. In these circumstances the people of Bolton made an appeal to the churches in the adjoining towns. Their method was singular, and out of order, but probably they acted in accordance with a plan prearranged with brethren in different places. In our day, if a church and parish had dismissed a minister irregularly, the remedy would be, on his part, to claim his dues, but there would be no effort to sustain him against the decision of his people in the pastoral office, and the church would proceed to call another man. Even then, if the council invited to settle him should deem the past action of the church irregular or wrong, the most they would do would be to express their opinion; but would proceed to examine the candidate, see if he had a regular call, and, if satisfied, proceed to installation. Or the church might cut loose from its religious connection, and become independent.

The church and parish took another way, and there is reason to believe, with a concerted purpose to break down the minister's assumed power to veto the action of the church. Six of the members of the church in Bolton went to Sterling on the day for the administration of the Lord's Supper, and presented themselves at the communion. The Rev. John Mellen, the minister of the church, declined to go on with the service while the brethren from Bolton remained. The question was put to vote, and the decision was that the visiting brethren should remain. This was thus made a test case. Mr. Mellen then asserted the right of the eldership, on the supposition that ruling elders, or

the eldership, including the pastor, teacher and elder, had formerly claimed a separate but co-ordinate power in the government of the body, and declared his negative or veto upon the action of his church. They voted to admit the brethren to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. The minister non-concurred, and not only vetoed their action, but refused to go on with the service, and thus deprived his own people of the ordinance for the time. In this action he put himself in the wrong by taking indefensible ground, and the result was an invincible determination on the part of his people not to submit.

They had other causes of complaint against Mr. Mellen, but this was now seized upon, and was followed up until a separation was effected. At the meeting above mentioned, the excitement rose to a high pitch. The brethren insisted that the service should be performed, and the visiting brethren be permitted to partake with them. The pastor, to avoid further confusion, says a writer who was familiar with the case, "withdrew from the meeting-house, leaving the sacred emblems of brotherly love, of peace, and of humility. The communion was now suspended, and the commotion greatly increased." The action just related took place on the first of November, 1772.

In September, 1773, a council was called, and went into an investigation of the charges against Mr. Mellen. These were under three heads, but we are only concerned with the first, that of "maladministration." Under that head he was charged with the abuse of power as moderator of the church. He had "declined putting questions to vote when proposed; had neglected to call church meetings upon request; had arbitrarily dismissed them when called." The whole was, however, gathered into this, as the main cause of all the difficulties, "namely, that he assumed the power of negating or non-concurring the votes of the brethren." It is said that the council denied this right, and that Mr. Mellen explained himself in a way that could not be objected to, though subsequently he did assert it in full. His idea of the relation of pastor, church and parish, was analogous to the constitution of the realm of England, in the concurrent action of king, lords and commons; and he claimed that nothing could be done concerning their civil connection without a concurrence of minister, church and parish. It is not needful to continue the narrative *in extenso*. The council, after hearing Mr. Mellen, exonerated him from the charges. By a small majority the result of the council was rejected. Then council followed council, but they all resulted very much as the first. At length the church resorted to ultimate principles, held a meeting without the concurrence of their minister, and voted to dissolve the pastoral relation between Mr. Mellen and themselves. The parish concurred. Mr. Mellen, of course, resisted this action, and a council sustained him. In a question of damages also, the decision by the referees was in his favor. But though he had many friends in the church and town, who clung to him as their religious teacher ten years longer, yet he ceased to be the pastor of the church and parish. The veto power was dethroned in Sterling as well as in Bolton.

The same contest was taken to Lancaster, where the mild and popular Harrington was firmly established in the affections of his people. He was favored with a united parish, and with wise men to guide. When the brethren from Bolton wrote to inquire if they "would be permitted to hold communion in special ordinances," or, in other words, would be recognized as members of a Congregational church, in good and regular standing, the matter was considered in church meeting, and then laid over for about a fortnight. When the adjourned meeting was held the question was put in this form by some wise head: "whether the church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally." The vote was in the affirmative. Gently the church in Lancaster put aside the veto power. Mr. Harrington non-concurred with the church, and added the following note and statement to the record, which vote was non-concurred by the pastor, as follows: "Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational church in general, and to this church in particular, and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do, before you, that I cannot concur in this vote. This vote shall be recorded, but my vote must be recorded with it." So far he was on safe ground, as a minister has a right to non-concur, and make a record of it. But he goes on as follows: "And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied. But as the church act in their favor is not perfected, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us till their society is in a more regular state." Here comes the assertion of the veto power in the words: "The church act in their favor is not perfected." There is no record that the matter was ever put to the test. Probably the Bolton brethren were not encouraged to come in person, and make the claim. The church in Lancaster enjoyed their minister, and wanted no pretext to rid themselves of his services and presence. But they had taken ground against the action of the Bolton council, and if pressed to act upon the main question, would, doubtless, have rejected and defied the veto power of the clergy. These transactions took place in 1772-3, when the people were preparing for the Revolution, and were full of the spirit of liberty, civil and religious. In that great movement, nearly all the ministers in the county joined most heartily; in many cases they took the lead. But in relation to the power of non-concurrence in ecclesiastical matters, they did not see the matter in the same light as their people viewed it. However, the veto power of the clergy had received a mortal blow. The claim had arisen from a confusion of ideas. In the state, where there is a governor or president, a house of delegates and a senate, it is necessary that each should have the power of non-concurrence; otherwise it would be annihilated by the concurrence of the other two. The people who are the source of power, lodge a portion of it in the three departments. But in a church there is no delegation of power to any one. The people who, under Christ, are supreme, choose their minister;

he has certain rights; they are under certain obligations; but he is not a department of government, and the idea of his vetoing their action is an absurdity. In this respect there has been a change in the administration of the Congregational churches, and it has been beneficial to both church and clergy.

Passing from this point, and coming to that of faith or the substance of doctrine, it is often asserted that there has been a wide departure from the standard of the fathers. This statement is made not only with reference to the churches or societies which are avowedly Unitarian, but in relation to those which retain the ancient name and the creeds and platforms of former times. But the candid student of their history will be slow to accept this conclusion. He will most probably find that the same stability which characterizes the other denominations of Christians, pertains especially to the Orthodox Congregational churches. There are individual changes. Occasionally a minister, as is the case in all other bodies, takes his leave, and joins those with whom he has come to agree; but these cases are few: and the change of a whole church, or a majority of it, is a very rare occurrence. But the claim is, that while the creed remains the same in the records of the church, the ministry and the people have come to discard the old doctrines, and to hold new views entirely hostile to them. Again the reply is, that those who make such an assertion will find it difficult to bring the proof. It will be found, on inquiry, probably, that these churches now hold all the main points of doctrine which were held by those who set up the first churches in the county. If there has been any change, the doctrines are now held more intelligently, and clung to with a tighter grasp than ever before. This is not the place to enter into a disquisition on the subject of Christian doctrine; but speaking historically, it is pertinent to say that a perusal of the creeds and covenants of these churches, and of the writings of their accredited authors and editors, in the past and the present time, and some familiarity with their modes of acting and ways of speaking, and tone of sentiment, will concur in producing the conviction of a substantial unity of faith and principle, and spirit of Christian living, between the members of these churches now on the stage, and those who have gone before them.

It would be easy to show the origin of the mistake on this subject. And the mistake or misrepresentation is made with reference to Baptists, Episcopalians and Methodists, just as much as the Congregationalists. The fact is, that the mental philosophy of former generations did not recognize the full and perfect freedom of the human will. This is the achievement of modern thinkers, many of whom are Christian theologians. The fatalism of the ancient, and of the middle ages possessed the scholars of all civilized countries, to a great extent, and though the unhackneyed mind of the race always asserted its freedom, the logicians and scholars were held by the iron chain of the Stoics. It was feared by devout theologians that the assertion of the "power of contrary choice," would undermine the authority of God. On the other hand, good

men were so firm in asserting the freedom of the will that they denied, not only the doctrine of decrees, but limited the foreknowledge of God, lest that should preclude the freedom which is essential to a moral being. The solution is supposed to be found in the postulate that the entire freedom of the human will was embraced in the Divine plan of government over men and angels, good and bad, and that all contingencies were provided for and included in the plan, so that man is free, and yet the eternal plan of God will not fail in any one thing, even the minutest.

This being received, the government of God over men is set free from all the objections and difficulties which beset the fatalistic schemes of theodicy. By this the responsibility and blame of all sin is fixed upon the transgressor. The penalty of sin, in the case of any one, is exactly adjusted to his degree of guilt, and his guilt by the amount of light he enjoyed, by his surroundings, his training, his temptations, and his capacity to choose the good and resist the evil. By this philosophy, every moral being is supposed to be fully endowed with the power to keep the law of God; to repent of his sin when he has broken the law, and to accept of pardon and spiritual healing on the terms in which they are offered in the gospel of Christ. Therefore, if any one is subjected to loss, or suffering, or the degradation of guilt, here or hereafter, the blame is on himself. The only fatal impediment to his recovery in this life or while a probationer, is his own unwillingness to turn from the evil and choose the good, to cease from being governed by the law of selfishness, and with all his heart, surrendering himself to the law of love. On this ground it is claimed that every one of the old doctrines held by the Congregationalist or other churches in times past, can be held, and is held now, in entire harmony with the most enlightened philosophy of the mind, and in such a sense as to reflect peculiar honor upon God as the moral governor of the universe. This statement is not made in the interest of any sect or denomination, but as a part of the mental history of a large portion of the people residing in the county.

The question naturally arises, after reading this sketch of the religious history of the county, whether the morals of the people have kept pace with the increase of the churches. Those who are ignorant of past evils, or forget them, and look only at the crimes against life and property, which are now so common, hastily conclude that society has been on the descending scale since the days of their youth. That has always been the case. In the day of Solomon, men said, "the former times were better than these"; but they were rebuked as not speaking wisely. But it is not strange that the readers of our papers, daily and weekly, who find in every issue a detail of horrors and crimes, should be impressed with the conviction that crime and wickedness are on the increase. The past is faded from the memory; the present is thrust upon the attention from day to day.

But a careful scrutiny of facts will show that religion, as understood and practised among us, is conducive to morality. It is true that morality does

not prove that the moralist is governed by high religious principle, but it is equally clear that any amount and degree of what is called religion, yet is not attended with morality as its fruit, is not only worthless, but positively pernicious.

Crimes are divided into various classes. Some are crimes against the marriage relation, which undermine and corrupt society, and destroy all happiness. Some are crimes against the rights of property, and render all possessions insecure. Some are crimes of appetite, and are exceedingly debasing in their influence. Some are crimes of passion and revenge, and perpetuate themselves from generation to generation. Some are crimes of personal injury; and some are crimes against life itself, and by direct infliction of death, by means of poison or violence.

In regard to the first, this may be said, that in some forms it is far less apparent than in the last century, so far as this county is concerned. The records of the county prove a great change for the better. One who reads the old records is shocked at finding how often marriage rights preceded marriage rites, and how many first-born children were prevented from being children of shame by the hasty marriage of their parents. It may be that sins against the seventh commandment are as common now as they were then; but if so, they are more carefully concealed. But it will be found, on inquiry, that there is less impurity in respectable families, and that the vicious, as a visible class only, are more numerous, being brought together in towns and cities. The moral filth is drained from the community at large, and confined to sinks of corruption, leaving the tone of all respectable society more elevated and pure.

That there is less intemperance now than formerly, our younger temperance reformers find it hard to believe; yet those whose memory extends backward fifty years, know to a certainty that there has been a great reformation in regard to the drinking habits of the people of all classes, male and female. Intoxicating drinks were used by the first settlers of New England, though to a limited extent. Drunkenness was uncommon though it was not unknown. The facilities for making "fire-water" were not so great as they have since become. The leading families were religious, and exerted a strong influence, as well as authority, over their servants, dependents, and children. During the wars of the last century intemperance increased, and in the Revolution rose to a fearful prevalence. From that time there was no abatement of the evil for half a century. Besides cider, which the orchards made almost free as water, the trade with the West Indies and France, brought Santa Cruz rum and French brandy. Then the people learned to distil their own fiery beverage from molasses and scum, and so produced great quantities of New England rum. Later, say fifty and sixty years ago, the business of making cider-brandy became common in almost all our county towns. The apples went to the cider-mill; the cider went to the distillery, and came out as brandy, cheaper than the French article, but as quick to intoxicate, and more

powerful to injure the health than the more costly article from France. How many of those old distilleries stood on our hill-sides, where barrels of cider could be rolled in on the upper side, and barrels of brandy could be rolled out on the lower side, and easily loaded into carts.

The drinking kept up with the making of drink. Very little was exported. People drank when sick, and when well to prevent sickness. Many drank to withstand cold, and to overcome the languor of heat. They drank to enliven themselves in pain and sadness, and also to heighten their hilarity and revelry. They drank at funerals and at weddings, giving the children the sugar and drainings of the glass. When they met at huskings, at chopping-bees, at raisings, at launchings, at balls and at trainings, drinking was a matter of ordinary usage and civility. And thus they poured down what Robert Hall called "liquid death and distilled damnation" in a steady stream.

The effects were ruinous in respect to property, health and morals. The traveler, in going through our towns, could see the effects of drinking, in the houses, barns and fences; and inquiry would show that farm after farm was mortgaged to the country trader, who supplied the farm with rum; and when his unpaid bills accumulated, took security in a bit of paper, which soon led to foreclosure. And so many a family, living on a farm that had come down from father to son through several generations, was driven from the ancestral home.

The effects in regard to health need not be dwelt upon, as every one knows how the indulgence in intoxicating liquors is the fruitful cause of disease and death. More baleful still is the moral result. Intemperance is the great hindrance to religion. It is the deadly foe of morality. More than half the crimes that are brought before our courts are attributed to intemperance. In the days when drinking habits were worse than now, the results in crime were more frequent. Fightings, family quarrels, violence against wife and children; these were the results of which rum was the cause. There is enough of intemperance now to fill the philanthropist with alarm, but the improvement over the past is fitted to inspire hope.

But it will be said that there is more rioting and violence than in the days of the fathers. This is true; but not among the sons of the fathers. This is imported violence, to a great extent. The Irish are given to drink, and when intoxicated are full of fight. The Italian and Frenchman commit crimes of passion and revenge. The Englishman is great on a bank robbery, and the opening of a safe which defies all the ingenuity of the burglar. The bad Yankee is equally sure for any kind of rascality, but makes nothing a specialty. Omitting the cases of crime that are brought before the grand jury of inquest, which are charged to those of foreign birth, and it will appear that the proportion of crime to the increase of native population has decreased. Then it should be noted that the robbery of great houses, banks and offices is a comparatively new crime among us, inasmuch as banks and treasure houses,

and safety deposit companies are new institutions, unknown in the county a few decades ago. These robberies are generally done by villains who live at a distance: who lay their plans in Boston or New York, or some other haunt of criminals, and when the time comes, make a raid on one of our quiet towns. They come in the night, and before men are awakened to their daily labors, the money, bonds and other securities are gone. This sort of crime is, therefore, not chargeable to any large degree, to our own people, and ought not to be admitted in the inventory of our native wickedness.

These suggestions apply, in nearly equal force, to crimes against life. There have been eighteen executions for capital crimes, in Worcester County, since courts of justice were first held. Ten of these were for murder; five were for burglary, and three for rape; both of which were formerly capital crimes. Omitting these, which, with one exception, occurred in the last century, and confining our attention to the executions for murder, it appears that six of the ten executions occurred in the last century, and four in the present. The first was in 1745, when one Jeffrey, a negro, was hanged for the murder of his mistress. The second execution was in connection with the celebrated Spooner case, the most atrocious murder in our annals, when William Brooks, James Buchanan, Ezra Ross and Bathsheba Spooner were executed for the murder of Joshua Spooner. In the sixth case, Samuel Frost suffered the penalty of the law for the murder of Elisha Allen. The other four cases occurred within the memory of the living. If executions now are as correct indications of crime as they were in former generations, the above facts show that there has been no increase of wilful homicides, but considering the great increase of population, a large relative decrease. Since the execution of Frost in 1793, the last of the six murderers in the last century, the population of the county has increased more than fourfold. Every reader may draw his own conclusions. The sum of the matter is, that taking all the population, native and foreign born, the state of morality is higher now than it was preceding the great religious and temperance reformation about 1825 and the years following. The tendency is upward.

CHAPTER XVI.

BUSINESS IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

THE first business was farming; but the pioneers had need to understand that word in an enlarged meaning. It was to fell trees, and build log-cabins, and make roads, and lay rustic bridges across the small streams, in the very beginning of the settlement of the county. John Prescott, who was perhaps

the first permanent settler, was a blacksmith as well as farmer, and he also hastened to set up a saw-mill and a grist-mill for the accommodation of his neighbors as well as himself. In addition, he kept a store or "trucking house," to supply the settlers and the natives with needed articles that could not be raised or obtained in the wilderness. Prescott's son Jonathan was a blacksmith. Lawrence Waters had a division of land, but he was a carpenter as well as farmer. Millers, blacksmiths, carpenters and farmers were indispensable, and in many cases one man united two or more trades or callings.

But taking a farmer, pure and simple, how much was implied in that word more than one hundred and fifty years from the time when the first cabin was raised in the county! The farmer raised all his cereals, and all kinds of animal food which he used. Corn, rye and often wheat were raised for his own family, with some to sell to other families that might be engaged in some mechanical trade. After the first mill was set a running, it is probable that but a very small quantity of flour or meal was brought into the county. Oats and barley were raised for cattle and horses. Potatoes and other esculent roots were grown in abundance. It was not long before apples, pears, quinces, cherries and plums were raised to the full measure of the wants of the inhabitants. The woods and intervalles abounded in nuts of the best varieties. In short, every kind of vegetable growth necessary for food, the farmer could raise on his own land. But this was not peculiar to the farmer of old times; it can be done, and often is done now, even to the raising of wheat.

The peculiarity of the early times was that the farmer's family were independent of the outside world for clothing and animal food. No trains brought cattle and sheep from the West. No ships brought linen from Ireland. No vessels brought wool from California and Australia. Beef, pork, mutton, veal, lamb and poultry were supplied by the farmer's own land. Wild game was running or flying in the forests. The streams were full of fish, including the herring, the shad and the salmon. But he needed clothing; and how did he meet that necessity? Wool grew on his sheep, and flax grew in his field. Woolen and linen goods constituted his clothing. It is true that the ambition of every farmer's wife was to have a silk dress, but she contrived to make this last a life-time. In like manner, cotton goods were used, but sparingly. Sheepskins and buckskins were dressed and made into trowsers, or breeches, as they were then called. They were often worn by elegant gentlemen. Furs were as common as numerous wild animals could make them.

The wool was washed, sheared and brought to the house by the father and his sons. The women took the wool, and dyed it in the dye-pot standing in the corner of the fireplace, and answering the purpose of a seat. They carded the wool, spun it into thread, and wove it into cloth. They had a primitive way of dressing the cloth. Though seamstresses or female tailors soon came into the line of work, yet it was one of the accomplishments of the housewife to be able to cut and make up the woolen cloths for herself and all her family.

The same was true of the flax. This was pulled, dried and swungled by the men, but the women folk hatchedled, spun, wove and bleached until the white linen was ready for under and outer garments, and for sheetings. The coarse tow was made into rough, but strong clothes for boys and workmen. Stockings were made at home, as were fur and cloth caps and mittens. And if there was any other article of clothing needed except shoes, it could be made without calling in outside help. Besides all this, the farmer had straw and feathers for beds, and he could readily put together a frame or bedstead on which to sleep.

Such, in part, was the condition of the farmer before the modern "division of labor" came in to restrict his independence, though to minister to his convenience and luxury. Factories were unknown. The age of falling-mills and clothiers' shops had not come. The farm was a little kingdom in itself, and every man's house was indeed his castle. Some of the handicraft trades have been specified. In addition to those were the tanner, the shoemaker and the hatter, though hats were imported from England for a long period. The blacksmith, the carpenter, the tanner, the shoemaker, and all the rest worked for their immediate neighborhood, and not to sell their wares at a distance. Business, in the present sense of the word, was not known; but, after the lapse of a generation or two and the growth of town centres, there was a demand and an opportunity for the beginning of business. Wagon, cart, sleigh and carriage makers made their vehicles to order, and sometimes kept them on hand for sale. The making of snow-shoes was a business at one period of our history. Then came in rake-makers, and makers of shovels and hoes; but everything was done on a small scale. It was long before the large streams were raised by dams. Small streams were drawn on for water-power, because of the comparative safety. More than a hundred years since, the Wilders (Joseph and Caleb) of Lancaster began to make pot and pearl ashes. There were nail-works on the Nashua, at Ponakin. Enterprising men in Worcester, Mendon, Brookfield and other towns began to set up shops and mills, and to do business on a larger scale than before. But there was little chance for manufacturing in the Colonies until after the Revolutionary War. Commerce flourished, and the fisheries employed a large number of sea-faring men. Boston, Salem, Gloucester, Beverly, Marblehead, Newburyport, Charlestown, Plymouth, New Bedford, some of the Cape towns and Nantucket had, in the aggregate, a considerable tonnage; but the inland towns had no corresponding means of growth in population or wealth. It was the policy of the British Government to keep down our manufactures. Even such a friend of the Colonies as the elder Pitt said that he would not have a hat or a hob-nail made in the Colonies. The products of our fisheries, farms and mills, and the timber from our forests, might go to the West Indies, to Italy and to England, but the return must come back mainly in the products of English machinery. The Revolution was the era of industrial as well as of political



CHRIST CHURCH, COURT HOUSE, AND SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, FITCHBURG, MASS.

independence. After that event, business was possible, and soon different kinds of business sprung up all over the North. In this awakening prosperity, Worcester County had its share. It felt the life and stir of the new order of things, and new enterprises were started in new as well as old centres of business. But there was one drawback to the increase of population. As in preceding generations, the opening of new towns had drawn off the surplus of people from the older settlements, so the Revolution was followed, for a series of years, by the shifting of population from Massachusetts to Vermont and the Genesee country in New York. Probably, not a town in Worcester County escaped this cause of depletion. And the process went on, and new States were laid open for settlement for several lustrums in the present century. The tide of migration was not retarded until manufacturing on a large scale became the settled policy of our people.

It is not known when the first fulling-mills were set up in the county, but there is evidence that they were in use far back into the last century, and before quite a number of the towns were organized. The farmers' wives were unable to full their cloth to any great extent, by any appliances or contrivances at home. The fulling-mill was a necessity. Hence it came into existence in nearly every town. Then came the clothiers' shop, where the full'd cloth was dressed by teazles and shears fixed upon cylinders. Attention also was paid to dyeing, and among the handsome colors common from sixty to eighty years ago were "snuff color" and "Lunnun (London) brown." The clothiers felt a pride in their business, and gave a good appearance to the cloth which was sent to them for dressing.

About the same time carding-machines, or mills, run by water, came into vogue, and thus a great saving of the hard work of women was effected. Loads of fleeces went from the farm-houses to the mills, and came back in handsome rolls. But still the spinning and the weaving was done by mothers and daughters on the old-fashioned wheel and the hand-loom. This continued down to about 1825, or a few years later, when the policy of protection to our infant manufactures was begun. Then the carding-machines, the fulling-mills and the clothiers' shops were smitten as by a blast from heaven. Capitalists built larger mills and introduced machinery which superseded the work of carding, spinning and weaving at home, and all the business of the fuller and dresser. The wool went to the factory, clean or foul, and came out in fine broadcloth. Hundreds of men who had small mills up and down our streams, and who made a comfortable living from their business, were thrown out of employ. Their mills and shops were too small to be utilized as factories, their machinery was useless, and their water-wheels were left to decay beside the flumes through which the water ran to waste. For years they stood as sad monuments of a business gone to ruin. At the same time the domestic manufacture of linen came to an end by the introduction of cotton, which followed the invention of the cotton-gin, and the starting of cotton-mills. By this process, as the young

reader will easily see, the economy, or general life of the farm was revolutionized. The farm and farm-house which were once the owner's realm, where he could raise or manufacture almost everything needed for comfortable subsistence in the way of shelter, clothing and food, except salt and spices, became dependent on the outside world for every article of clothing; for much of the lumber used in building or repairing; for all his sugar as well as his molasses; for the greater part of his breadstuffs; for nearly all his meat, whether beef, pork or mutton; for his cheese, and in some cases for his butter.

This seems a bad showing for the farmer, and the first thought would be that he is now in a reduced and pitiable condition. On the contrary, the means of obtaining a comfortable living, and sharing in the advantages of settled and cultivated society were never so great in this county as at present. In some towns the land, or a portion of it, is poorer, because the virgin soil is exhausted, and thriftless farming has not kept it in good condition. The wealth of the forest has been cut down, and land good for nothing, by reason of rocks and ledges, but tree-raising, has been left to the abrading force of sun and storm. But the influence of agricultural societies and publications has been effective in improving the arable land of the county. During the present generation thousands of acres which were so full of stones and stumps that a mowing-machine could not be operated, are now prepared for planting by a plow which would have filled our fathers with astonishment, and mowed, teddered, raked and loaded by machines which dispense with the labor of three-quarters of the men once employed, leaving them to follow other useful occupations. There is more skill in preparing the land, in procuring and applying fertilizers, in adapting crops to the soil, and, in general, in the whole business of farming. The evidence of improvement is not far to seek, and is convincing, in spite of the cry of "hard times" which is chronic with tillers of the soil. It is seen in the nice houses where once were log-cabins: then, one-story framed houses: then, old-fashioned lean-tos, and afterwards the larger, but ill-contrived and unpainted farm-houses, which were common in country towns fifty years since. There are living men who can remember the time when, in many towns in this county, the painted houses were few and far apart. The out-buildings were cheap and vulgar, and the barns were rough and often open to the weather. The internal finish of the houses — a few comparatively excepted — was devoid of elegance, and the furniture was free from the suggestion of beauty, and often of comfort, unless by way of contrast. In all these regards the change is so great as to be almost incredible to the rising generation.

If it should be said that the appearance is deceptive, and that farmers are in debt for these comforts and luxuries, the answer comes at once, that as a class, they are not so hampered with debts and mortgages as were their predecessors. The one thing, which, in these times of depression and failure in business, the mind dwells on with satisfaction is, that few farmers have become bankrupt, and that many have good investments away from their farms. One town in

this county, may stand for several. This one has no business centre and no manufacturing village. Nearly all its business is farming, yet the people have been able to bear the loss of many thousand dollars in outside investments, and still remain in good circumstances. But enough on this topic. The agricultural products of the county, according to the last State census, will be found on a subsequent page.

The Woollen Business.—The changes in this form of industry, from the spindle and loom, worked by the hands of the farmers' wives and daughters, to the fulling-mill and clothier's shop, have been already stated, but the change from these workshops to the great factory was indicative of a far greater revolution in industry and in population. We should not fail to notice that this began on a small scale, and that only by an alteration in governmental policy was it finally established. The gradual introduction of factories is worthy of notice. In Uxbridge, for example, John Capron had a clothier's shop in 1792, and later. In 1820, there was a woollen mill in the same town, in which, in 1828, the first satinets ever made in this country was woven. In Leicester, there was, on Kettle Brook, in 1787, a "custom shop" for dressing home-made cloth. In 1809, Samuel Wilson, from England, had a fulling-mill. In 1814, he began making broadcloth, but it was all made by hand. In 1818, he leased the property to a Mr. Anderston, an Englishman, and the founder of the great manufacturing interest in Cherry Valley. Thomas Bottomly, who came from England not far from the same time, engaged, at first, as a weaver. In 1820 he became a manufacturer. His first spinning-jenny, as he said, was "made with a jackknife." He cut the timber in the woods, and fashioned it into shape as a working jenny. He smuggled the spindles from England about 1830. He built a machine-shop in Worcester, in which the late Dea. Ichabod Washburn was engaged, and there, under Bottomly's direction, was built the first "fulling-mill with falls" ever made in this country. A woollen manufacturing company was started in Oxford as early as 1814, but the business was not large, compared with modern standards. In 1831, the old clothiers' works were all burned out, and the Denny Manufacturing Company built a woollen mill one hundred by forty feet, and four stories high, in which broadcloths were made.

Without going farther into particulars, for which search must be made in the sketches of the towns, it is enough to say that the woollen business gradually went from the clothiers' shops into factories; and that after the accession of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, such protection was afforded by the revenue policy of the general government as to encourage capitalists to engage in it on a large scale. Satinets and broadcloths were made in Worcester, Leicester, Webster, Southbridge, Blackstone or Mendon, Oxford, Holden, Lancaster, Winchendon, and other towns, until the manufacture of woollen goods, in some form, has become a great interest. The business has had its times of depression; manufacturers have failed; mills have been burned or

carried away by floods: the tariff legislation of Congress has caused fluctuations: and depreciated currency has been a great impediment, yet the business seems to be firmly established.

The Carpet Business is one form of woolen manufacture; and in this branch Worcester County occupies a prominent place. The making of carpets is one of the oldest industries of the world. In oriental nations the carpet, in some shape, was used in tent, house, palace and temple. They were in use in Europe long before this country was settled. Before the Revolution they were little known in the United States, though it appears from advertisements in New York papers, that Scotch and other carpets were offered for sale. Rag-carpet, made in farm-houses, were more common. A carpet factory was built, in Philadelphia, in 1791, the products of which were called Turkey and Axminster by the proprietor. By the year 1810 the census reported as the product of that year, nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-four yards of carpetings and coverlets in the whole country. The weaving was done entirely by hand, up to this time. Patents were granted for improved looms, but only the simplest kind of carpets was the result. It is said that the "problem of making a power-loom which should automatically perform so apparently difficult a task as to weave a two-ply web so as to produce any required pattern, had in England been abandoned as insoluble." This problem an American genius, Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow, then of Lancaster, took up and solved. Not only did he succeed in producing a loom for manufacturing two-ply web, but a loom also for the manufacture of Brussels carpets. His improved loom, for producing figures which would match, was patented in 1845. Out of his inventions the immense business of carpet-making in Clinton and Lowell has grown. Recently he has made such improvements in the machinery as greatly to reduce the cost of manufacturing. Of Mr. Bigelow it has been said that he has done more than any American, and as much as any inventor who ever lived, to bring woolen manufactures to their present perfection. "He has taken out more than fifty distinct patents for devices and improvements in loom and other machines for handling wool." By his automatic loom Brussels carpeting is woven rapidly, and with great perfection. The English mills have adopted his looms, and Wilton and Axminster as well as Brussels carpets are among their admired products.

The Cotton Business.—This business is comparatively modern in the United States. Samuel Slater set up the first cotton mill with machinery on the Arkwright principle, in Rhode Island, in 1790. Eli Whitney had already invented the cotton-gin, which reduced the price of the raw material, and laid the basis of the immense business of cotton-dealing, and cotton-weaving in our country. But the number of cotton mills did not increase very rapidly for several years. By the year 1812 there were factories in Rhode Island running over thirty thousand spindles, and in Massachusetts more than half as many. The policy of the government, however, was opposed to protection, and not until

1824 did a moderate tariff encourage a large investment in this branch of manufacturing. From that time the advance of this business was astonishing. Which town in this county has the honor of containing the first cotton mill may be disputed, but there were two in Blackstone as early as 1809. From that time forward efforts were made in different towns to start the business, with alternate success and failure, until the first quarter of the century closed. Soon after the new era of "protection to American manufactures" was inaugurated, in 1824-5, cotton mills were built, and old mills were enlarged in almost all parts of the county. Besides introducing machinery from England, inventions and improvements were made by our own mechanics, increasing the production of cotton fabrics, and lessening their price. On all the principal streams of water, large factories were erected from year to year, and many new villages were created, while old ones were filled with new life and energy. It is due to this as much as any one cause that the population of the county increased from seventy-three thousand in 1820 to two hundred and ten thousand in 1875.

The making of ginghams and the calico-printing business alone, in the Lancaster Mills, Clinton, has added greatly to the population and wealth of that enterprising village. This part of the great cotton business has flourished during the season of depression, because there has been a demand for fine goods, and there has been, comparatively, but little competition.

The Leather Business. — Under this head will be included the manufacture of leather and the products of leather, one of the most important of all the branches of business in the county. During the first century after the county was organized, all the towns, probably, had their tanneries and shoemakers. The domestic demand for shoes and boots, whether cowhide, calfskin, morocco or horsehide, was met by the domestic supply, but there was little if any production for export. In some towns the tanneries were many; in others few; but the shoemakers were very evenly distributed, according to the wants of the people. It would be difficult to find when boots and shoes first became articles for sale in the county stores; and quite as hard to learn when manufacturers began to supply the Southern market.

However, there was a movement in this direction about the time of the last war with England. For example: in 1810, Charles Watson of Spencer, made eighty pairs of calf boots at four dollars and a half per pair, to go South. After awhile the business ceased, but was renewed again in 1820. From this small beginning has grown the immense business which places Spencer among the leading towns in this branch of industry. The same business was commenced on a large scale, for those days, in North Brookfield, in 1820, by Tyler Batcheller. This establishment is continued in the family, and is said to be the largest in the county, and perhaps in the Commonwealth.

The Iron Business. — This branch of business is divided into many varieties, including nails, railroad iron, wire drawing and weaving, metals and metallic wares, tools, arms, and various industries in which iron, in some form, is largely

used. The old blacksmith-shop was indispensable to farming life; it was one of the first buildings set up in new towns, and it is still found in or near every village. By degrees the workmen learned to make axes and other tools into which steel was welded. Axles as well as tires were made for vehicles, though for generations the former were made of hard wood. Some kinds of cutlery, as knives, scythes, sickles, cleavers and bill-hooks were the products of the old shops. The time came when our ingenious mechanics tried their hand upon fire-arms, and turned out tolerable muskets. The making of guns in this county as a business, was begun, as is believed, in Sutton, about the opening of the Revolution. Richard Waters, who came from England in 1632, and settled in Salem, was a gun-maker. His wife was the daughter of a gun-maker, and they had a long succession of descendants who were makers of fire-arms. One of these was Jonathan, of Sutton, who had ten sons, two of whom, "Asa and Andrus, inherited the mechanical talent of their progenitor Richard." The war of the Revolution created a great demand for fire-arms, which could not be supplied by importations from England, and it was unsafe to bring them from France or Holland on account of the British cruisers which infested the Atlantic. There was a necessity for the making of guns at home. The men needed were here. Says Col. Asa H. Waters of Millbury: "Asa and Andrus erected on the Singletary stream [in Sutton], a gun-factory or armory, which they fitted up with tools and machinery for making guns by water-power. Hitherto they had been made mostly by hand-power, both here and in England." It is said that they discovered that the best iron for gun-barrels lay in the mines of Salisbury, Connecticut. "They obtained it there in pigs, had it carted through the forests to a forge in Douglas, where it was converted into refined iron and carted thence to their factory in North Sutton, where it was wrought into the various parts of the gun." The manufacture of arms has since been carried on by the son and grandson of Asa Waters, who have thus furnished the sportsman with the implements of the chase, and what is far more important, have indirectly enabled the country to maintain two wars against England, and to suppress a wicked rebellion.

The axe business of East Douglas has made the place well known throughout the land and in foreign countries. Scythes were made in Fitchburg many years since, and that business is still continued with energy. Machine-making is pursued in Worcester, Fitchburg, Winchendon and other places, on an extensive scale.

The making of railway iron is one of the large business enterprises of Worcester. The workings are on a cyclopean scale, and the men seem like spirits of the flame. Wire-drawing has become one of the most extensive branches of business in the county. This was begun by the late Dea. Ichabod Washburn, in Worcester, in connection with Benjamin Goddard, in 1831. The business continued to grow, and the necessary tools and machinery were mostly contrived and invented in the works of Mr. Washburn and his son-in-

law, Mr. Moen. In 1850 he was induced by Mr. Chickering, the great piano-forte manufacturer of that day, to make steel wire for the strings of his instruments. The invention of sewing-machines created a demand for steel suitable for needles. Then came "crinoline wire," now nearly obsolete, and soon the weekly demand for this article was sixty thousand pounds. The "annual consumption of three thousand tons of steel was required to expand and give prominence to the ladies' dresses in this country."

STATISTICS OF BUSINESS.

Without dwelling farther upon the origin of various branches of business in the county, it will serve the convenience of many to have the production of some of the great industries pursued, in the form of statistics. With the value of the products will be named the towns which are most engaged in their production, whether in the field of the husbandman, the shop of the mechanic, or the factory of the manufacturer.

Agriculture, according to the census of 1875, employed about fourteen thousand persons in Worcester County. These were people actually engaged in farm-work and superintendence, not including the wives and children of farmers. The agricultural products were valued at \$6,960,777, or, in round numbers, seven million dollars.

The mechanical and manufacturing products will be given in figures, in the order of their pecuniary importance.

ARTICLES MADE.	CAPITAL.	VALUE.
Boots and shoes,	\$4,696,780 00	\$17,919,398 00
Woolen goods,	3,521,300 00	11,017,716 00
Cotton goods,	6,507,848 00	7,623,314 00
Machines and machinery,	4,028,417 00	4,866,553 00
Metals and metallic goods,	3,069,500 00	3,951,867 00
Furniture,	2,468,000 00	3,084,965 00
Leather,	1,091,030 00	2,025,227 00
Food preparations,	480,190 00	2,030,385 00
Paper,	787,000 00	1,776,203 00
Wooden ware,	752,560 00	1,474,821 00
Clothing,	581,655 00	1,675,120 00
Artisans' tools,	1,342,950 00	1,399,288 00
Lumber,	426,404 00	775,015 00
Musical instruments and materials,	497,300 00	656,710 00
Agricultural implements,	528,000 00	460,489 00
Carriages and wagons,	278,550 00	438,702 00
Arms and ammunition,	166,500 00	249,500 00
Carpeting,	500,000 00	Not given.
Printing and publishing,	334,787 00	433,831 00
Boxes,	43,000 00	140,000 00

The value of the carpeting made at Clinton, on a capital of half a million, is very great, and is one-eighth of all made in the State. Besides the above

industries are many others of less importance, as stone quarries and stone-cutting, brick making, tobacco manufacturing, worsted making, and other forms of business. The aggregate capital and value in the above columns foot up as follows: Capital, \$32,097,171; value of products in 1875, \$62,001,104. Adding the agricultural productions, valued at \$7,000,000, and the minor products, the grand total would be more than seventy million dollars in an average year. It will be noted also that farming is only one of the principal forms of industry, instead of being almost the only pursuit, as in former generations. The boot and shoe, the woolen and the cotton business, each surpasses the agricultural in the value of annual production.

The cities and towns which take the lead in the boot and shoe business are Worcester, Milford, Spencer, Grafton and North Brookfield; in the woolen business, Worcester, Webster, Leicester, Northbridge, Dudley, Fitchburg, Blackstone, Oxford and Holden; in the cotton business, Clinton, Northbridge, Southbridge, Millbury, Grafton and Webster; in machinery, Worcester, Fitchburg, Northbridge, Leicester, Winchendon, Clinton and Warren; in metallic goods, Worcester, Clinton, Spencer; in furniture, Gardner, Fitchburg, Templeton and Ashburnham; in leather, Shrewsbury, Leominster and Winchendon; in paper, Fitchburg, Worcester and Leominster; in woodenware, Winchendon and Worcester; in carpeting, Clinton; in artisans' tools, Worcester and Douglas; in lumber, Fitchburg and Winchendon; in musical instruments, Worcester and Leominster; in agricultural implements, Worcester, Fitchburg and Winchendon; and in printing establishments, Worcester.

The changes in population have been as noticeable as the changes in industrial pursuits. The change has been in two directions. First, the sparsely settled towns have furnished a continual supply to the growing villages and cities. Several of the towns have less population than in 1860, or in any year for half a century. Other towns, which are favored with water power, have increased rapidly, and come into the front rank. In other towns having limited natural advantages, public-spirited men have created business, and so increased wealth and population. Secondly, the demand for labor in the growing towns and cities has attracted many of foreign birth, who have become permanent residents. Not far from fifty thousand of our people are of foreign birth. Adding those of foreign parentage, the result is indicative of a great change in the origin and character of the population of the county. There is, doubtless, a wonderful power of assimilation in our institutions; and those of foreign parentage rapidly assume the gait, expression and language of the descendants of the original stock; yet they impart, as well as receive impressions. The influence is in some measure reciprocal, though that of the native New Englander is mightily aided by the *genius loci*, the human atmosphere of locality, which is intangible and irresistible. The use of the same language opens the way to interchange of ideas and feelings. Attending the same school in childhood and youth leads to association, respect and sympathy outside of

the school-house. Learning our modes of farming and cattle-raising, and engaging in our handicraft trades and manufactures, induces familiarity of thought and intercourse. Participating in the open discussions and business of town meetings and city government gives a new character to those who have been subject to lords temporal or spiritual, or both, in other lands, but who feel in our free land the inspiration of a new order of society. Above all, the Christian religion is our common possession. Its doctrines and its pure morality are a constant force in educating the mind, purifying the heart, and regulating the life of our people. The Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the Gospels, and the Psalms of David, are accepted, at least in theory, by all except a few, as the best possible presentation of the character and will of God to mortals, if not to angelic beings. The example and spirit of Christ are held up for imitation in all our pulpits, and are commended to our children by the tears and prayers of the mothers of all denominations of Christians. With such a soil and climate, with such varied industries, with such political institutions, with an omnipresent press, with such schools and academies, with such an administration of justice, with such libraries and scientific associations and lectures, with such a spirit of liberality and of patriotism, with such a religion, — in a word, with such a general culture as our people possess and enjoy, can we fail, with the blessing of God, to become more and more assimilated as the generations go and come?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY PRESS.

THE following sketch does not claim to be exhaustive, or minutely accurate, though much pains has been taken to verify names and dates. It is expected that the local press will be mentioned in the histories of the towns or cities where established.

The first newspaper, and probably the first printing-office, in this county, were the property of Isaiah Thomas. The story of the transfer of Mr. Thomas and of his paper, the patriotic "Spy," from Boston to Worcester is entertaining as a romance. That story, as well as the biography of Mr. Thomas, must be looked for in another place. He came to Worcester in April, 1775, in the heat of the excitement which brought on and succeeded the expedition to Lexington and Concord. Boston was too hot with British loyalty and native Toryism for such an earnestly patriotic paper as the "Spy," and therefore it was removed, with all needed precaution, to the inland town of Worcester, where the pulse of liberty has always beat strongly, as becomes the "Heart of the Commonwealth." The first number of the "Massachusetts Spy" issued in Worcester was dated May 3, 1775. Mr. Thomas continued to own the paper, though he

leased it to others for a time, while he was engaged in extending his business into other towns and States. Through the war of the Revolution the "Spy" was the staunch advocate of American independence. An act was passed laying a tax on advertisements in newspapers, which diminished the profits of the paper, and in 1786 led to its discontinuance for two years, during which the proprietor issued the "Worcester Magazine." He then resumed the publication of the "Spy," and continued to be its owner, though others conducted the business, till about 1801, when his son, Isaiah Thomas, Jr., became proprietor. The late John Milton Earle became connected with the paper in 1823, and retained his connection in some capacity until 1858, a period of about thirty-five years. He had been editor four years previous to 1823, making his relation to the paper as editor, sole proprietor, or associate proprietor continue nearly forty years. The Hon. John D. Baldwin has had the control of the "Spy" since the spring of 1859, over twenty years. In the time of Mr. Earle the "Worcester Daily Spy" was started, July 24, 1845, from which the weekly paper has since derived the main part of its news and editorials. These gentlemen, Thomas, Earle and Baldwin, have had the longest and most conspicuous connection with the weekly or daily "Spy," but many other men of honorable fame and wholesome influence have been proprietors, editors, or assistant editors. The three above mentioned became eminent outside of the printing-office, in private business and public trusts. The latter still presides over the columns of the paper with ability and varied learning, and few editors wield a sharper pen, or one feathered with a more subtle wit than that of his chief associate, J. Evarts Greene. The influence of the daily and the weekly "Spy" has always been great, and it stands, as it has in all the past years of its existence, at the head of the newspaper press of the county.

A printing-press was set up in Brookfield (now West Brookfield), by Isaiah Thomas, in 1793. It was taken not long after by an apprentice of his, named Ebenezer Merriam. Ebenezer took his brother Dan into company. Later, George, the son of Dan, and Ebenezer P., the son of Ebenezer, and Lewis, the brother of George, became partners in the concern. Thus originated the great business of the Merriams of Springfield. The printing business has been continued in West Brookfield, and stereotyping was done there about the year 1857 by Thomas Marcey. In 1794, Thomas and his partner Waldo started the "Political Telegraph and Brookfield Advertiser." In 1798 "The Political Repository and Farmer's Journal" began to be issued by E. Merriam and his associates. These have ceased to be, but other publications have succeeded. At present, the Brookfield "News" and the North Brookfield "Journal" are issued, and supply a local demand.

There may have been other local papers of limited circulation in some of the towns in this county before the close of the last century, but if so, they will be remembered in their town history. The first paper of prominence established since the year 1800 was the "National Ægis," first issued on the second of

December, 1801. The "Spy" was a Federal paper, and had supported the political system and measures of Washington and Adams. When Mr. Jefferson was elected, a Republican party was founded in this State, and the Hon. Levi Lincoln, Sr., was made the attorney-general of the United States. An organ was wanted in Worcester, and the "Ægis" was the result. This paper, which was edited with ability by Hon. Francis Blake and others, assisted by many good writers, was continued until Dec. 31, 1833, when it ceased to exist under its name, if not in reality. Its influence was great within and beyond the county, and it was a foe man worthy of the rivalry of the "Spy."

The "Massachusetts Yeoman" came into existence in 1823, on the 3d of September, Austin Denny, editor and proprietor, in the interest of the Anti-Masonic party. It was conducted with ability, and had considerable support, as the party of which it was the organ cast a heavy vote in this county during several years. Aged men recollect that William Wirt, the able and accomplished attorney-general of the United States under John Quincy Adams, was the Anti-Masonic candidate for the presidency, and at one time Mr. Adams was held up for the office of governor of the State by the same party. The late Daniel Henshaw of Leicester, and the late Judge Emory Washburn, then young lawyers, were employed as editors at different times. In 1833, the "Yeoman" was consolidated with the "Ægis," and both with the "Palladium."

The "Lancaster Gazette" was published in Lancaster in the years 1828-30, about two years. At that time there was a large printing and publishing establishment in the oldest town in the county. The proprietors were the Messrs. Carters, Ferdinand Andrews, and others who set up the business of stereotyping, map-making, steel engraving, printing, and book-binding, and employed many hands, both male and female. The name of the editor was not given, but the paper was conducted with ability and discretion. In some respects, the local paper of those days was better than now, inasmuch as it contained able political discussions by the best writers in the vicinity. It is the fashion now to depend on the papers published in the centres of influence for the discussion of great principles in politics, finance and foreign affairs, as well as for general news and literary intelligence, while the village paper is mainly the vehicle of local news and items. It must have good stories, bright jokes, and pleasing anecdotes to make it popular. A moderate flavoring of politics may be tolerated if the editor is good-natured and accommodating.

The decease of the "Lancaster Gazette" occurred April 13, 1830. The "Worcester County Republican" was born in Worcester the next year. This was a Democratic paper, started March 4, 1829, the day on which General Jackson was first inaugurated as President of the United States. The name of the Democratic party was "Republican" from the time of its origin in the presidency of John Adams. The Worcester "Republican" was continued about ten years, and was merged in the "Palladium" in 1839, about the middle of the Presidency of Martin Van Buren.

The "Fitchburg Gazette" was started in 1830, and the "Fitchburg Sentinel" eight years later. This latter became a daily, as the town, by its rapid growth, became a city, and is still published. The Messrs. Garfield were long connected with the establishment, and were succeeded by Mr. Stratton, the present head of the firm. This paper has always aimed to meet a local want, by gathering up the news of adjacent towns, and by furnishing an advertising medium; yet it has maintained a political character as a vehicle of Republican principles. Its tone has been mild and conciliatory, though firm and unwavering.

The "Reveille" was published and edited by the late J. J. Piper, Esq., for some years register of probate for the county. It was a semi-weekly during a part, at least, of its existence. It had its origin at the time when the revolution in politics in this county, growing out of the Anti-Slavery movement, was inaugurated. The "Reveille" was a sharp, spicy paper, and was devoted to the interests of its party. In its origin it was opposed to the Abolitionists, but became Republican.

The "Worcester Palladium" was owned, published and edited by the late Hon. John S. C. Knowlton from its origin, in 1834, January 1, to his decease, June 11, 1871, a period of about thirty-seven years. It was continued by his daughters, with much ability, four years longer, when it was bought by Charles Hamilton, by whom it was sold, in a few months, to the publishers of the "Spy."

Mr. Knowlton was a man of superior natural abilities, which were well developed by an academic and collegiate education. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College. As an editor he was candid, clear-headed and independent. Though mild and considerate in thought and style, he could not take his cue from others, but uttered his own matured opinions. He was a man of much intelligence, of fine reasoning powers, and of high moral principles; his words expressed his thoughts in the most lucid manner, and his constant readers were very apt to adopt his views of public affairs. For a whole generation Mr. Knowlton, as a citizen, a member of the General Court, and the constitutional convention of 1853, as sheriff of the county, and specially as an editor, was a power in the county and the State.

The Temperance cause had its organs, which chronicled, and perhaps aided its onward movement. The paper or papers which were devoted to the temperance reformation, bore various names. Some of them follow. "The Waterfall," "The Cataract," "The Washingtonian," "The Standard," "The Dew Drop," "The Agitator." At one time most of these titles were consolidated thus: "The Cataract, Waterfall, Standard and Dew Drop." Among the able men connected with these papers were the Rev. Phineas Crandall, a war-horse in the Anti-Slavery contest, and Jesse W. Goodrich, devoted to reforms. He was an "original" in thought, style, and all his ways, but died in the midst of his activity, while still meditating his life's career.*

* A curious anecdote is extant of Mr. Goodrich, which may have some pertinence here. It is said that, being disposed for marriage, he resorted to that very equivocal method, advertising for proposals. A large number of responses were received, but he died before he had made any selection.

The "Christian Citizen" deserves notice in any chronicle of newspaper enterprise in the county, both from its character and the fame of its distinguished founder and editor, Elihu Burritt. It was started on the 6th of January, 1844, in Worcester, and was continued seven years. For a time, and while the editor gave to it his personal attention, it was a success, having over four thousand subscribers in this and foreign lands. But Mr. Burritt went to Europe on philanthropic and lecturing tours, and left the paper in the hands of others, who, though men of ability, could not fill the founder's peculiar position. The "Citizen" was zealously opposed to slavery. The editor was a Christian Abolitionist, and his efforts were felt in creating a healthy public sentiment against the giant wickedness of slavery. The temperance reformation found in him a stalwart champion, who would make no compromise. But the specialty of the "Citizen" was its opposition to war. All wars, defensive as well as offensive, were put under the ban, and the most thorough "peace principles" were advocated with all the learning and ability which the editor and his correspondents could wield. He also published, for a while, a monthly, called the "Literary Geminae," one-half French, and the other half English, filled with choice extracts from French authors.

The Liberty party, which cast its first vote for James G. Birney as president of the United States in the fall of 1840, had also its organ in Worcester County, though not issued till the second of January, 1845. Rodolphus B. Hubbard, distinguished as a teacher and principal of the high school, was the candidate of the Liberty party for Congress in 1844. The bitterness of the old pro-slavery parties was so pronounced that he was obliged to retire from the school, and he engaged in editing the "Worcester County Gazette." After about two years the paper was discontinued, but the progress of anti-slavery sentiment was such that the "Spy" came into line in 1848, as the organ of the Free Soil party.

Other papers and magazines which, however able, had but a temporary existence, need not be described at length. The facts about these may be found in Wall's "Reminiscences of Worcester." Their names may be recorded here, as follows: "The American Herald and Worcester Recorder," 1788. "The Independent Gazetteer," 1810. "The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal," 1825-6, two years, very valuable. "The Worcester Magazine," six months, in 1843, edited by J. Milton Thayer, since governor of Nebraska, and the late William Lincoln, Esq., one of the best writers in the county in his day. "The Wasp," 1842, a Democratic campaign paper. "The Worcester Talisman," 1828-9, made up of choice selections. "The Heart of the Commonwealth," 1854, and the "Bay State Press," 1869.

The town of Barre had its local press many years since, perhaps as early as Lancaster, though the date of the first issue of the "Gazette" or the "Patriot" is not at hand. The first is still published. Both were able papers, and their editorials evinced talent, and their selections good taste.

"Le Travailleur" is the survivor of several attempts to sustain a French newspaper in Worcester. In 1869 "L'Idée Nouvelle" began its brief life in Burlington, Vt., where the three first pages of each issue was printed, half in French and half in English. The wet sheets were sent to Worcester, where the fourth page was printed. The "New Idea" expired in three months, when "L'Etendard" was given to the popular breeze, and continued to wave until 1875. It was published in Worcester one year, and afterwards in Montreal, though dated at Worcester. It was illustrated, and had a circulation of three thousand copies. "Le Foyer Canadien" began in Worcester in 1873, was transferred to Montreal in October, 1874. "Le Travailleur" above mentioned was first issued in October, 1834, and is said to be the "most permanently established Franco-Canadian newspaper in the United States." The most recent French paper in Worcester is "Le Bien Publique."

Besides the above weeklies and monthlies, there are a dozen or more weekly papers published in the large and growing towns of the county. Some of these have been in the field perhaps a quarter of a century or more, while others are of quite recent origin. In this period many have been started and abandoned. Some of them are without party bias or connection; others take a part, more or less active, in national or State politics. Following the towns in alphabetical order, and omitting those already mentioned, Athol and vicinity have supported two papers during several years past — "The Transcript" and the "Worcester West Chronicle," both managed with spirit and ability. In Clinton the "Lancaster Courant" was established when Clinton was part of Lancaster. It is still continued under the title of "Clinton Courant," and for local news and interesting miscellany takes a fair stand in this line of publications. The editor is free to speak his mind on all subjects of interest. The "Reflex" was formerly printed in Clinton, but had not a long lease of life. The "Clinton Record" is only a year or two old, but a lively paper, with Democratic sympathies. Gardner has been a very prosperous town the last twenty or thirty years, and during the last ten or twelve has had, in the "Gardner News," a paper worthy of the place. Moreover, as a business enterprise, the paper and the printing business has been a success. Grafton has the "Herald," Leominster the "Enterprise," and Milford "The Journal," to supply the local wants of those wealthy and enterprising towns. The "Northborough Farmer" and the "Shrewsbury News" are hemmed into a limited sphere of circulation, but satisfy a local demand. Southbridge, Spencer, Uxbridge, Webster and Winchendon are noted for business enterprise and intelligence, and they are able to support large and spirited sheets. Spencer is illuminated by "The Sun;" Southbridge is large enough to be the centre of circulation for two spirited papers, the "Journal" and the "Press"; Uxbridge has its "Compendium"; Webster supports "The Times"; Westborough is regulated in part by "The Chronotype," and Winchendon is now served by "The Courier" in place of the "Journal" and other papers which preceded it. Formerly "The Times,"

and "The News," and (as far back as 1852) "The Torchlight," had a brief life, or made a passing flash. These village papers which, every week, supply news, amusement and instruction to a large number of readers, in the aggregate are the best histories of the times within the sphere of their influence, and will be of inestimable value to the future historian of town or Commonwealth.

All the above publications were weekly or monthly except the "Daily Spy," which began its career in 1845, and still holds on its way, its eye not being dim nor its natural force abated. Many other dailies have had a brief existence in Worcester. The most transient of all was the "Worcester Daily Sun," which shed its light and warmth for eight days only in 1869. The "Evening Budget" went its rounds a few weeks in the summer of 1847. The "Worcester Daily Journal" began Sept. 1, 1847, and lived till Oct. 2, 1849. It was independent in politics, but favored temperance and was opposed to slavery. This paper was started again in October, and ran about three weeks. Another paper bearing the name of "Daily Evening Journal" was begun Aug. 30, 1854. Dexter F. Parker, the indefatigable worker, whether as writer, editor, orator or soldier, became connected with it, and made it the champion of the "Know-Nothing" party for a brief season. The paper was discontinued in May, 1855. The "Daily Bay State" had a run of about a year and a half, from September, 1856, and opposed the election of John C. Fremont. In July, 1860, the Hon. Moses Bates of Plymouth, an able writer, set up the "Worcester Daily Times." A weekly paper was issued from the same office. Both sustained the Democratic party till the winter of 1861. The "Bay State Press" was started about ten years ago, and was conducted with much ability by Edward W. Lincoln, Esq., until it was either discontinued, or merged in another paper. The "Worcester Daily Press" was first issued April 1, 1873, by Edward R. Fiske, and was continued till June 30, 1877. It was a Democratic paper, and supported its party with spirit and energy. After the "Daily" was discontinued, the "Weekly" was published for some time, but was finally given up for want of support.

The "Daily Transcript" has been the title of two distinct daily papers published in Worcester. The first "Daily Transcript" was started on the 23d of June, 1845, by Hon. Julius L. Clarke, recently State auditor, and now occupying another responsible office under the State government. The paper was continued, in connection with a weekly, until May 1, 1847, when both were bought out by Mr. Earle, of the "Spy," which became a daily about a month after the first issue of the "Transcript."

Four years later, nearly, April 1, 1851, the "Daily Morning Transcript" was issued by J. Burrill & Company, with Julius L. Clarke for editor. It was a two-cent paper, neutral in politics till May, 1851, or about seven weeks, when it was bought by Silas Dinsmore, and changed into a one-cent Whig paper, still edited by Mr. Clarke, under the title of "Daily Transcript." This was the year when the grand "compromise scheme" of Mr. Clay was brewing,

by which the old leaders of parties hoped to settle the slavery agitation without removing the cause. Gen. Scott was the candidate of the Whigs, instead of Mr. Clay or Mr. Webster, and Gen. Pierce was the candidate of the Democrats. The compromise was a disastrous failure, but its success would have been still more disastrous. The paper went into new hands in 1854, with new editors in succession, as William R. Hooper and Z. K. Pangborn, until, finally, in 1864, April 1, the whole establishment was purchased by Caleb A. Wall, who published and edited the daily paper and the weekly "Ægis and Transcript" over a year and a half, when other parties took it and changed the title of the daily to "The Worcester Evening Gazette," and of the weekly to the "Ægis and Gazette." Since May 3, 1869, Charles H. Doe has been connected with the "Evening Gazette" as one of the proprietors and chief editor. Under his direction the paper has acquired a fixed character, and it meets the wants of a large number of readers. Everything in the "Gazette" is short. The news is condensed; witty remarks are filed down to a sharp point; stories are brief; and the editorials hit the mark by the most direct and rapid shot. The paper, like its morning contemporary, is Republican in politics, and exerts its share of influence in supporting the Republican party. The "Evening Star" is a new one-cent daily, first issued April 3, 1879, by F. E. Corbett, as editor and proprietor. It is said to have a good circulation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE COUNTY.

THIS does not refer to the part taken by the people of this county in the various wars in which our country has been involved. The history of our war-like energy will be found in that of the towns, in proportion to their expenditure of life and property in the Indian, the Spanish, and the French wars before the Revolution; and later in the war of 1812, the Mexican war, and the war of the Rebellion. That is a wonderful history, and the marvel is that communities which have suffered such a drain of their material and vital forces could have survived and flourished. But the history of the militia, or the military arrangement in time of peace, now solicits attention for a moment. It must be brief, because the historic materials are scarce. It is known that, from the earliest settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, there has been a military system. Until within a few years, military service was universal and compulsory. The volunteer companies of the present day take the place of the old infantry, artillery and cavalry of former generations, when every able-bodied man, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, was enrolled, and called out for drill twice a year by company, and once a year by regiment.

As there are no data, in town, county or State records, accessible, only an idea of the ancient system can be given to the youth of the present time by selecting a period not very remote, and stating the arrangement of the militia of the county at that time. For stating so much, the facts are furnished in the "Worcester Magazine," August, 1826.

At that time, there were in this county two brigades and eleven regiments of militia. These two brigades constituted one division, which was the sixth division in the State. The first brigade, which was a little the largest, consisted of six regiments, belonging to Worcester and the southern half of the county. Several towns were grouped around a "principal town," and these together furnished a regiment. The arrangement was as follows for the southern section of the county: Leicester and three associated towns had six companies of infantry, and one of light infantry, making seven companies and four hundred and thirty-nine men. Mendon and four associated towns had six companies of infantry, four of light infantry, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, or twelve in all, and seven hundred and twenty-three men. Brookfield and five associated towns had seven companies of infantry, one of light infantry, one of riflemen, one of grenadiers, and one of cavalry; in all, eleven, and seven hundred and twenty-nine men. Charlton and three associated towns had four companies of infantry, two of light infantry, three of riflemen, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, making eleven, and five hundred and seventy-nine men. Sutton and four associated towns had five companies of infantry, three of light infantry, making eight, with five hundred and fifty-five men. Worcester and three associated towns had four companies of infantry, one of light infantry, one of riflemen, one of grenadiers, one of cavalry, and one of artillery; in all, nine, with five hundred and sixty-nine men. In the list of men, the artillery and cavalry are not counted as part of the regiments, but separately. The whole number of men in these six regiments was three thousand five hundred and ninety. The regiment of cavalry was two hundred and six. The battalion of artillery contained one hundred and forty-eight. The band and officers were thirty-five. The total number of officers and men, of all arms, in the first brigade, was three thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine.

The second brigade belonged to the northern half of the county, and consisted of five regiments of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a battalion of infantry. Lancaster and four associated towns raised six companies of infantry, four of light infantry, two of riflemen, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, making fourteen companies and eight hundred and twenty men. Shrewsbury and five associated towns had six companies of infantry, two of light infantry, two of riflemen, two of grenadiers, and one of cavalry; in all, thirteen, and seven hundred and thirty-three men. Barre and four associated towns had seven companies of infantry, two of light infantry, one of riflemen, one of grenadiers, one of cavalry, and one of artillery; in all, thirteen companies, with six hundred and four men. Fitchburg and four associated towns had

six companies of infantry, three of light infantry, one of riflemen, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, making twelve companies, composed of six hundred and eleven men. Templeton and six associated towns had seven companies of infantry, one of light infantry, one of riflemen, one of grenadiers, and one of cavalry; in all, eleven companies and six hundred and sixty-two men. The whole number of companies in these regiments was sixty-two, and the number of men was three thousand four hundred and thirty. The regiment of cavalry had two hundred and eleven men; the battalion of artillery one hundred and sixty-six men; the band and officers were thirteen men. The total of the second brigade was, therefore, three thousand eight hundred and twenty-four. In both brigades, were one hundred and twenty companies in eleven regiments, also two regiments of cavalry and two of artillery, making, with the officers and bands, a total for the sixth division, of seven thousand eight hundred and three.

As the population in 1826 was about seventy-eight thousand, or a little more than one-third of what it is to-day, we can readily estimate the proportion of the militia to the whole population at any given time. It is probable that the towns were grouped as above, without material change, for a long series of years. As population increased, the companies were made larger, rather than more numerous. There was very nearly one soldier to every ten of the inhabitants, and this continued till the old militia system was superseded by the present volunteer force.

The annual muster, or regimental training, was a great occasion in those old days. Then the companies — infantry and light infantry, riflemen and grenadiers, cavalry or "troopers," and artillery, with the big guns — came together at the central town of the group, and were followed by all the old military officers, idle men and boys, big and little, belonging to the towns in military association. Horse-jockeys, showmen and peddlers crowded the procession on all the roads, and filled the place of muster with life and din. The military drill and evolutions thrilled the boys with wonder, while the veterans, who had "seen service," criticised the "awkward squads." The firing especially, when the guns went off with about the precision of corn in a popper over a hot fire, was something grand. The "sham fight" was a fitting climax of the mimic war. The great muster-fields at Lancaster, Barre and other central towns witnessed many such scenes, so characteristic of a state of things forever gone. But those regiments, rude and undisciplined as they might seem, were the right arm of public defence, and the bulwark of free institutions.

WORCESTER COUNTY IN THE REBELLION.

In the war of the Rebellion, the State acted through the towns. There was no county action as such. The history of each town, therefore, is the proper place to find what part the people of this county took in suppressing that wicked assault on the integrity of our National Government. But it will serve

the convenience of many to have the facts in regard to the raising of men and money brought into one view, and there is no better connection in which to place them than in this chapter.

In the table below, under the head of "Money," will be placed the amount raised by the towns by subscription, and by the aid of the ladies. In some towns, nearly all the private subscriptions were assumed by the public, and paid out of the treasury. The "State Aid" is properly credited to the towns, because the money out of which it was refunded was raised by the towns.

The number of men furnished by all the towns in the county, as given in the returns of the selectmen and the mayors in 1866, and published in Gen. Schouler's history, was sixteen thousand six hundred and thirty-one. Every city and town furnished its contingent upon every call made by the president, and each had a surplus over all demands. The surplus aggregated one thousand three hundred and ninety-seven men.

The expense, exclusive of State aid to families, was	\$1,322,693 45
The State aid amounted to	1,038,909 90
Voluntary subscriptions, and ladies' gifts,	165,750 41
The total, not including many private gifts, was	\$2,527,353 76

Here follow the items for each town in the county.

TOWNS.	MEN.	MONEY.	STATE AID.
Ashburnham,	230	\$30,587 00	\$16,698 96
Athol,	310	30,361 15	18,915 18
Auburn,	97	8,215 00	5,233 71
Barre,	319	21,556 00	11,135 68
Berlin,	130	14,013 22	11,312 79
Blackstone,	720*	35,000 00	24,271 73
Bolton,	150	19,847 00	7,430 47
Boylston,	80	10,657 00	6,663 45
Brookfield,	245	15,708 72	14,324 02
Charlton,	213	22,000 00	12,262 53
Clinton,	419	17,043 19	36,664 98
Dana,	83	8,788 18	5,398 94
Douglas,	250	30,734 78	12,652 11
Dudley,	200	14,421 84	9,061 60
Fitchburg,	850	81,770 61	60,287 99
Gardner,	287	26,405 27	17,673 60
Grafton,	397	31,350 23	29,068 32
Hardwick,	180	12,896 76	8,552 03
Harvard,	129	18,809 15	5,257 89
Holden,	204	7,963 38	10,450 00
Hubbardston,	168	13,919 54	8,445 53
Lancaster,	181	20,864 06	9,337 73
Leicester,	272	30,275 86	13,234 75
Leominster,	404	31,139 38	22,667 60
Lunenburg,	120	15,480 20	8,084 03
Mendon,	132	19,695 00	9,347 19
Millford,	1,142	92,264 00	101,637 39
Millbury,	346	35,930 70	20,085 50

* Blackstone furnished about two hundred soldiers for Rhode Island regiments, in addition to the above.

War Expenses — (Continued).

TOWNS.	MEN.	MONEY.	STATE AID.
New Braintree,	78	\$9,000 55	\$3,171 94
Northborough,	140	10,647 57	9,367 20
Northbridge,	311	15,407 10	12,368 42
North Brookfield,	247	16,939 08	18,561 53
Oakham,	102	10,867 58	6,685 78
Oxford,	293	22,372 69	20,550 48
Paxton,	66	6,707 37	2,244 40
Petersham,	177	13,909 76	6,302 73
Phillipston,	76	5,031 81	6,106 90
Princeton,	127	14,456 52	4,823 15
Royalston,	148	16,600 60	9,523 00
Rutland,	111	12,870 90	3,659 65
Shrewsbury,	177	16,663 90	5,308 72
Southborough,	198	19,186 21	11,373 97
Southbridge,	400	23,080 65	18,802 25
Spencer,	319	27,101 70	23,840 51
Sterling,	178	20,172 69	10,051 98
Sturbridge,	235	18,638 00	13,979 72
Sutton,	223	25,180 14	11,795 43
Templeton,	344	33,832 52	21,440 84
Upton,	219	27,690 56	14,177 20
Uxbridge,	290	30,200 16	15,122 40
Warren,	225	17,173 37	12,364 75
Webster,	331	28,674 61	19,591 30
Westborough,	340	23,910 60	18,138 92
West Boylston,	240	22,584 90	19,276 45
West Brookfield,	159	11,277 61	12,268 41
Westminster,	166	10,694 00	7,843 13
Winchendon,	294	23,043 56	17,791 35
Worcester,	4,227	175,892 00	166,020 88

Worcester kept open a "Soldiers' Rest" near the railroad station, at which more than three thousand soldiers, going to and from the front, were provided with refreshments.

CHAPTER XIX.

FOUR CELEBRATED INVENTORS.

THE county of Worcester is noted for the number and the usefulness of the inventions produced by the ingenuity of its people. Especially is this true of the towns in which shops for the manufacture of machinery have been long established. In such places there is a constant demand for labor-saving machines, and the minds of mechanics are awake to the importance of meeting the demand. It is expected that the inventive ingenuity of the various towns will be duly honored by their historians, in the various sketches contained in

this work. In this place room can be found for the mention of only four of the inventors of the county, but these four are men of world-wide fame, and their inventions have added immensely to the wealth and power of nations, while increasing the comfort and lightening the toil of millions of our race in nearly every land on the globe.

I. ELI WHITNEY.

The first of these great inventors in the order of time was Eli Whitney, a native of the town of Westborough, where he was born in the year 1765. He became a pupil of Leicester Academy in 1784; thence he went to Yale College, where he was graduated in due course. The family of Gen. Greene of Revolutionary fame was then living in Georgia, and young Whitney became an inmate soon after leaving college. Being often in the company of planters, and hearing them speak of the importance of some invention by which the seed could be rapidly separated from cotton, his mind was turned to the subject, and thus was diverted from teaching, and from the studies of the legal profession. The "green seed cotton," which was very productive in Georgia, was peculiar in this, that its fibres adhered so closely to the seed as to be detached with difficulty. It was a day's work to free a pound of cotton from the seeds. At this rate the raising of cotton was not remunerative. This, then, was the condition in which Whitney found himself. There was a demand for a machine. A vast industry would be called into existence if the machine could be made to work. The latent ingenuity of his mind was stimulated to activity in this direction, and after pondering the problem a few months, he devised an engine which, with the attendance of a single person, would clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day. This cotton-engine has ever since borne the abbreviated title of "cotton-gin." The trials, losses and injustice to which the inventor was subjected cannot be recited here, but it may be said that the chief reward which he derived was undying fame, and the consciousness of being the means of adding untold wealth to his country, and furnishing countless millions of his fellow-men with cheap but valuable clothing. By this one invention the whole industry of the Southern States was changed; slavery became profitable; cotton became "king" in the politics of the nation; the wealth of the country, by stimulating manufacturing industry, was vastly augmented, and the cotton spinners and weavers of England and other countries, by hundreds of thousands, were supplied with the means of subsistence. Whitney was the benefactor of the world, though he was deprived of the reward of his inventive genius by the pirates who made and sold his machines. But he was a man of resources. Returning to the North, and settling in New Haven, he made in 1798 a large contract with the United States for the manufacture of arms. With no experience himself, and no knowledge of the business by his workmen, he devised means to manufacture muskets in a way which was novel and eminently successful. Ingenious devices and brilliant inventions enabled him to establish a large and profitable business, by which he acquired wealth and

consideration. His death occurred in 1825. His methods were introduced into the national armories. It may be said therefore that he gave the nation power to defend its rights, while he added to the comfort and health of all its inhabitants.

II. THOMAS BLANCHARD.

The town of Sutton has the honor of being the birth-place of Blanchard, who first saw the light, June 24, 1788. His father was a farmer, living remote from any mills or shops that would awaken the spirit of invention. He was of Huguenot descent, and was worthy of such an ancestry. Among the inventors of all nations, he seems to have been second to none in that singular quality which may perhaps be termed inventive inspiration. In addition, he had the indomitable perseverance which overcomes all obstacles. The story of his life, if well written, would make a most valuable book for the youth of our country. The narrow limits of this sketch will permit nothing more than a brief mention of some of Blanchard's most important inventions. When a boy he was employed by an older brother to head tacks, one by one, with a hand-hammer. The tack was held in a vise. Thinking over the matter a few months, he invented a machine, says Col. Asa H. Waters, from whose notice of him in the History of Sutton, these facts are derived, "which would cut and head them at one motion, twice as fast as the ticking of a watch, and better finished than those made by hand." The next grand stroke of his genius was a decided advance. Mr. Asa Waters had a factory in Millbury in which he made guns, with machinery constructed by his own inventive genius. But he and all his men were baffled in the endeavor to turn the irregular butts of gun-barrels. Young Blanchard was sent for, when "glancing his eye over the machine," he suggested a "simple, but wholly original cam motion," which proved a perfect success. Mr. Waters, delighted, said: "Well, Thomas, I don't know what you want to do next. I should not be surprised if you turned a gun-stock." Amid the loud laugh of the workmen, Thomas stammered out: "We-we-well, I-I'll t-t-try that." And he succeeded in the invention of a machine to turn irregular forms of every shape. He declared that he could make machinery do anything in the power of human fingers. By another invention he succeeded in bending knees for ship-building at any desired angle, making the angle permanent, and at the same time not weakening the timber. This invention has numerous applications. He sold one right for ship-building for \$150,000. The machine for bending slate-frames yielded him an annual commission of over \$2,000. These were a few of his inventions, and perhaps the most important. By these three, his genius has entered into thousands of machine-shops, and facilitated the making of tens of thousands of machines, by which useful products have been multiplied by millions. By his means guns and gun-stocks, lasts, tackle-blocks, school-slates, carriage-wheels, plows, shovels and other articles, in great number, are made quicker, cheaper and better than before. The genius of Blanchard has added untold millions to the

wealth of nations, while augmenting their comfort in ways that are manifold. An anecdote must close this imperfect notice. Among other irregular forms he applied the machine to turning marble busts. He had expended in defending his right, \$100,000, when the second term of his patent had nearly expired. In this situation he applied to Congress for the extension of his patent. This was unprecedented. In his extremity Blanchard set his machine at work, and having obtained plaster casts of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and others, turned out marble busts of these Senators, which astonished the beholders. The patent was extended, whereupon Mr. Choate remarked that, "*Blanchard turned the heads of the Senators, and so carried his point.*"

III. ERASTUS B. BIGELOW.

This world-renowned inventor was born in West Boylston in the year 1814. The particulars of his early life and of his first ventures in business, alone, or in company with his brother, the late enterprising and excellent Horatio N. Bigelow, would form an interesting and useful memoir, but the only object of this brief sketch is to present Mr. E. B. Bigelow as a great inventive genius. It is said that in the course of his life he has taken out more than fifty patents, but many of these are minor devices or contrivances to guard against lessening the value of his great invention. There will be only space, in this connection, to refer, in a few lines, to the invention for making carpets, which has given him an enviable fame in all civilized countries, and will eventually carry the productions of his looms into all lands. The weaving of carpets, both in this country and in England, had been done by hand until several years after the opening of this century. Previous to 1840, however, several patents had been taken out for looms to weave carpets, but only those of the simplest kinds. The problem of making a power-loom which should automatically perform the difficult task of weaving a two-ply web so as to produce any required pattern, had been abandoned as insoluble by English mechanics and inventors. This was the grand achievement of Mr. Bigelow. He also invented a machine for the manufacture of Brussels carpets. His improved loom by which matched figures were produced was patented in 1845. The first power-loom factory for the production of Jacquard Brussels and Wilton carpets was established in Clinton in 1848. Within a few years Mr. Bigelow has patented a new loom, "which produces a smoother face, a closer texture, and consequently a more sightly and durable carpet than any other loom." The manufacture of these carpets at Clinton and Lowell has become one of the great industries of the country, and the business seems to be increasing. Within a few years the works at Clinton have been doubled. By improving the article and reducing the price, the elegant products of Mr. Bigelow's looms are brought within the means of all families of industry and thrift, and there appears to be no assignable limit to the demand for these elegant and durable fabrics. The genius of Mr. Bigelow, and the business ability of his brother

Horatio, have secured a well-deserved competence, and the respect and honor which industry and integrity merit.

IV. ELIAS HOWE.

The fourth of this illustrious group of inventors, in the order of time, is Elias Howe, who was born in Spencer in 1819. His father was a farmer and miller, and he early learned to work for his living. At the age of nineteen, when he was learning the trade of a machinist in Boston, he overheard the remark: "Invent a sewing-machine and I will insure you an independent fortune." This was in 1838. By the remark just quoted the mind of Howe was excited to think, and he watched the process of sewing by hand; but no advance was made. He married young, and in 1843 was supporting himself, his wife and three children as a journeyman, working for nine dollars a week. He first tried to make a machine that would imitate sewing by hand, and in the vain effort filled many a basket with chips. In 1844, when twenty-five years old, the "thought flashed upon him that there might be another stitch. The idea of using a needle with the eye near the point and a shuttle carrying a second thread soon occurred to him," and he then became confident that he had "invented a sewing-machine." He spent the fall and winter in completing a model, and by May, 1845, he had completed his first machine. Before this time his friends had not encouraged him, but now greater trials tested his spirit. No one would buy his machine. Tailors would have nothing to do with it. The cost was too great — \$300. He constructed another model and a cheaper machine. Still failing of encouragement, his invention was taken to London and sold to Mr. William Thom for £250, or about \$1,250. Mr. Thom derived a profit of more than a million of dollars from that invention. Being employed by Mr. Thom in adapting his machine to the making of stays, he invented a fourth machine, which, in his poverty, he sold for five pounds. He returned to New York with half a crown in his pocket. It was now 1849. The invention being a success in England, infringers of the patent sprang up in this country, and for several years Howe had to combat those pirates in court, till 1854, when Judge Peleg Sprague gave a decision in his favor, remarking that "there is no evidence in this case that leaves a shadow of doubt that for all the benefits conferred by the introduction of the sewing-machine, the public are indebted to Elias Howe, Jr." Fame and fortune were thus achieved. An arrangement was made by which Mr. Howe received a royalty upon every machine manufactured. At the Paris Exposition in 1876, a gold medal was awarded to Mr. Howe, and he was decorated by the Emperor of France with the "Cross of the Legion of Honor."

ASHBURNHAM.

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND SITUATION — WATER SYSTEM AND CLIMATE — EARLY SETTLEMENT — INCORPORATION — ROADS, VEHICLES, ETC.

THE present boundaries of this town are the following: On the north by the State line, on the east by Ashby, on the south by Westminster and Gardner, and on the west by Winchendon. On the north line, where the corners of New Ipswich and Rindge in New Hampshire meet, and also the counties of Cheshire and Hillsborough unite, there is a tree about one foot in diameter; and it is so situated that a person passing round it in closest proximity, will be in three towns, three counties, and two States. The old centre of the town on Meeting-house Hill is in latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$, and is fifty-five miles from Boston, and thirty-one miles from Worcester, by direct line.

The surface of the town is much broken by high hills and mountains, with deep intervening valleys. There are no extensive plains, and no intervalles of much extent. The Great and Little Watatic mountains are north of the centre, the first being on the State line. The Great Watatic is one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven feet above tide-water, and is a conspicuous object in the landscape. Meeting-house Hill, where the first house of worship was placed, and where the old burying-yard, with its garnered dust, remains, is one thousand two hundred and eighty feet high. There are many other great elevations, and the average height of the town above the sea-level is probably as much as one thousand feet. The railroad station at Ashburnham Junction is said to be the highest point on the railroad line between Boston and the Rocky Mountains. The Hoosac Tunnel is at a lower level. The hills are steep, and the valleys between are narrow, but a large part of the town is cultivated or capable of cultivation. This contour of the town affords a great variety of scenery, while the distant views from the summits are extensive and grand. At the north, from the top of Watatic, a large section of New Hampshire is under the eye, including Monadnock and the elevations near the centre of the State; on the east, and south, and west, is displayed an immense

area of cultivated country, diversified with hills and valleys. The lofty dome of Wachusett rises at the south, and far off in the west is the long chain of the Green Mountains.

The town is well watered with springs, brooks, miniature rivers and ponds. The water gushes from the hillsides and fills the meadows with verdure. Besides the ordinary springs to be found in broken country, there are some in this town which are natural curiosities. There is one spring — perhaps others — which keeps at the same level in the driest seasons. Rain or shine, summer or winter, it seems to be fed from a source too deep and perennial to be affected. There are also mineral springs, though none of them have become places of popular resort. The brooks and little streams abound in every part of the town. Three rivers have their sources in the central part. Of the two main sources of Miller's River, that in Ashburnham supplies the largest amount of water in the year, though not so much in the dry season. The upper Naukeag Pond, which empties into the lower Naukeag, is the eastern head-water of Miller's River. The Skowhegan River, which flows north and east to Manchester, N. H., rises a little to the east of the Great Naukeag, and connecting the out-flow of two or three ponds, runs a strong and rapid stream, and furnishes considerable water-power to the mills and factories on its course.

Two copious affluents of the northern branch of the Nashua also have their source in this town. The first, called Philip's Brook, rises a short distance north-east from the Naukeag, and uniting with the waters of the vicinity in a reservoir, flows by rapid descent to the village of Ashburnham, where it is used in various industries; it then bends eastward, and works its way over rocks and mill-wheels to West Fitchburg, just below where other streams from the south of the town and from Westminster swell the current of the Nashua into a powerful stream. There are several ponds in the town, of varying size, the largest and most beautiful of which is the Upper Naukeag, on the north side of Meeting-house Hill, and not far from eleven hundred and fifty feet above the ocean. This lake covers an area of about six hundred and eighty acres, and is rarely surpassed in its features of natural beauty. The water is sweet and clear, and mirrors the sky, the clouds, the hillside and the verdurous margin with magical minuteness. The hill which rises to the south, where the "tribes went up to worship" in former times, is a water-shed, and the roof of the old meeting-house turned the rains of heaven eastward to the Merrimac and westward to the Connecticut. Indeed, the whole town is a divider of the waters; so much so that Whitney, in his History, says all the water which comes into the town could be passed through the leg of a man's boot. This has been repeated as a literal fact, but there is a brook flowing in near the north-west corner which would fill the boot-leg of a giant.

The climate of Ashburnham is favorable to long life. Formerly this was eminently true, but it is stated by Rev. J. D. Crosby, in a valuable manuscript history, that there has been a change in this regard by which the average of life

has been lessened. Still the town stands well in the list of healthy residences. Being one of the most elevated townships in the county, the snow is deep in the winter, and lingers after it has departed from the valleys below. When settled by white men, the whole surface was thickly covered by forests in which all kinds of trees common to the region were found. Great quantities of lumber, in various shapes, have been cut in the time of former generations.

The town, in its origin, was proprietary. Its name, before incorporation, was Dorchester Canada. In the ill-fated expedition to Canada, in 1690, under the command of Sir William Phipps, a number of soldiers went from Dorchester. These were paid like the other forces, but soldiers always have claims which are paid in the shape of grants or pensions. The descendants and heirs of the Dorchester men, in the next generation, applied to the General Court, and received, for delayed compensation, a grant of land, six miles square, with the title of Dorchester Canada. This was in 1755, Dec. 9; the number of acres was twenty-three thousand and forty. Grants were also made to towns and individuals, amounting to three thousand eight hundred and fifty acres. Lexington and Cambridge had each a grant of one thousand acres located in this town. The real size of the township proved to be larger than the grant, as was generally the case under the old surveys. The surveyors seemed to have made sure that their lines included as much land as the terms of a grant warranted, and then to have thrown in a considerable addition.

Efforts were soon made to effect a settlement, as the grantees naturally desired to realize something from their titles. Probably not many of them ever moved into the town, but their policy induced them to encourage the immigration of steady, industrious families. However, it was found almost impossible to effect a permanent settlement of any of the territory north and west of the Wachusett until the French and Indian wars were ended. It is interesting to notice how much the history of one little township was mixed up with colonial and imperial affairs. The old French and Indian war — 1745-9 — rendered all the upper half of Worcester County insecure. The same was true, though perhaps in less degree during the last French and Indian war, — 1755-63, — when the power of France in North America was broken. Wolfe's victory at Quebec, in 1759, gave the *coup de grace* to the French dominion, but the treaty of peace was not signed till 1763, after which the people in the lower towns felt safe in planting homes in the hill country. Those few who had stayed in the grant during the war, were soon joined by others, and a petition was sent to the General Court for an act of incorporation.

Among those on the ground were several families of Germans. According to the manuscript above mentioned, there were ten or a dozen of these families, all of whom were worthy people, and contributed their part to the settlement. These came in about the year 1757. They occupied the "Dutch farms" which were mostly in the "Lexington grant." The name of one family was Kiberlinger, afterwards known as Kibling. The names of all were Anglicized

by degrees. They were industrious and temperate people ; generally read the Bible and attended public worship with their neighbors and townsmen ; nearly all joined the church, in German fashion, and as a class, gave evidence of sincere piety. A portion of them became Calvinistic Baptists. They were healthy, and many lived to a good old age.

The act of incorporation was passed, Feb. 22, 1765, with the name of Ashburnham, in honor, it is supposed, of John, third earl of that title.

That the permanent settlement and incorporation of the town was delayed by fear of hostile Indians, there can be no doubt, but there is no evidence that the aborigines ever lived in the limits of the town, or had any ancestral associations which made them resent the coming of white men. But the forests of Ashburnham were a part of their hunting-grounds, and they visited the ponds as they went back and forth. It is related that Indians used to camp in the town after its settlement, and when under the influence of strong drink, would let out secrets fatal to their own safety. For example, they would visit families, some of whose "members or relatives had been slain or carried away captive by them, and when excited, would boast of their cruelties." This aroused anger and led to retaliation. An Indian had been boasting thus at an old tavern called the "Blenfield house," and after his departure a gun-shot was heard. Soon after the dead body of the "Indian was found floating in the Lower Naukeag pond."

But efforts were made to locate families without delay. In 1736, the surveyors were on the ground, making the first division of lots, looking for a "convenient spot for the meeting-house," and choosing "places for a mill or mills." In the first division, "lots were laid out on the east and west sides of the Upper Naukeag pond, then extending south" through the present centre village, and comprising in all, about three thousand acres. "A plot of land forty rods square, or ten acres, was selected as a site for the meeting-house," and there the house was built, having been raised by sixteen men from out of town, and there also is now the old burying-ground. This ten-acre centre is described by the committee in these words : "It lieth on a hill one hundred and eighty rods south of a great pond, and has a very fair prospect." In this and following years, work was done in road-making, and in firing the woods. In 1738, lots were assigned to the first minister, to the ministry, and to schools. The saw and grist mill was built in 1752, and a road straight to the site of the meeting-house, which was erected the next year, and was forty-five feet long, thirty-five feet wide, with twenty-one feet corner posts. But neither doors nor windows were put in for some years. In 1743 an offer of £120, old tenor, was made to any one who should erect "a good and sufficient house, three rooms on the floor, with chimneys in each room, fit for a house of entertainment, with a barn, and provision fit to entertain men and horses." A man by the name of Mosman built the house, and in the spring of 1744 was in it with his family. But the hostility of the Indians caused his removal. A fortified house was put up, but was not long occupied.

Peace being restored, there were, in 1750-51, as many as thirty men in the grant, clearing land and preparing for the coming of families. But the prospect of war put an end to all efforts of this kind for a few years, until 1757, when the first permanent settlement of what is now Ashburnham was made by Jeremiah Foster, great grandfather of the late Jerome W. Foster, Esq. In this year came John Kiberlinger or Kibling, already mentioned. By 1760, seven or eight German families were on the ground. Kibling's wife had a good education and brought from the banks of the Rhine her diploma as a graduate of the high school. She was a good singer, and a woman of religious sentiment. At the great age of ninety or more she was present at a meeting, and there being no one prepared to take the lead, she conducted it with propriety. By this time, according to Mr. Crosby, there were from twenty to thirty families in the settlement. From thence the population increased steadily, and in 1765 the town was incorporated by the General Court. The first town-meeting was held March 25, 1765, when Dea. Samuel Fellows was chosen moderator, and William Whitcorae, town clerk.

The town being thus organized, the remainder of its history, in this sketch, will be mainly in the mode of topics rather than that of annals. Roads, education, business, military service, the religious societies, and the general growth of the town, will find a brief space.

Facilities of travel are among the first necessities of man, and especially of civilized man. In some localities traveling on foot, on horseback, or in wagons and sleighs, is comparatively easy. The land is nearly level, or gently rolling, the soil is good for vehicles, or snow makes a gliding surface. In other sections there is no snow, the land is broken into hills, mountains, valleys, gorges, and high-banked, swift-running streams. Ashburnham comes under this head, with the exception of an abundance of snow in the season. But even this is sometimes so deep and drifted as to impede locomotion. The first thing done, after rearing a log-house, was to make a passage-way through the woods. The ways from house to house and from town to town were up hill and down. Not till the third generation did the people learn to follow water-courses and avoid high hills when laying out roads. The first vehicles were a cart in the summer, and a pung in winter. By degrees wagons and sleighs came into use, but the wagons had no springs. Men rode on horseback, taking a child in front, with wife or daughter on the pillion behind. Dr. Abraham Lowe states that he "saw the first four-wheeled passenger vehicle owned in town in 1812. This was called a pleasure or family wagon, and was allowed to stand on the wayside in the village, on exhibition. It attracted great attention." He says that it "was rather rudely constructed and imperfectly finished." There was no stage-coach nearer than Leominster previous to 1811. People wishing to go to Boston had to go thither with their own team, or drive to Leominster, thirteen miles, and then take the stage. In 1811 a two-horse coach ran from Boston through Ashburnham to Winchendon once a week — up

on Saturday and down on Monday. This was a great event, a regular mail once a week! There were only two specimens of the two-wheeled carriage or chaise in the town in the early part of the century. One belonged to the minister, Rev. Dr. Cushing, and the other to Joshua Smith, Esq. From that time onward improvement in roads and vehicles has been gradual, but the change is almost incredible to those born since 1840. These last opened their eyes upon elegant teams, good roads, railways and palace cars, and they can form no adequate conception of the slowness and hard-ship of travel in former generations. The Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad reached the junction about 1846-7, and the Cheshire Railroad started from the same point about a year or two later. This opened communication with all the world. Recently the branch road to the central village was made, and it affords all needed means of travel and freight.

CHAPTER II.

BUSINESS—AGRICULTURE—SAW-MILLS AND LUMBERING—CHAIR MANUFACTURE
—EARLY POTASH WORKS—WOODEN WARE AND COOPERAGE—RELIGIOUS HISTORY,
EDUCATION, SCHOOLS, ACADEMY AND MILITARY MATTERS—STATISTICS.

THE business of a country town is, first and last, agricultural. The farming interest is always prominent, and often controlling, though other forms of industry may arise. This was the case in Ashburnham for two or three generations after the first mill was built. There were no mechanics except such as were necessary to supply the wants of a farming community. A mill is indispensable in a frontier town, and one of the first buildings was a saw and grist mill. But the mill-owner was generally a farmer, running his saws and stones when there was water, and attending to his land in the summer. The carpenter, blacksmith and shoemaker are in pressing demand, although these will own land, and when their business is dull will attend to their cattle and crops. The great thing before the settlers was to subdue the land and cause it to yield its increase. The hard toil by which the asperities of nature have been overcome, in felling trees, making fences of wood or stone, ploughing, planting, reaping, and clearing out stones and stumps, has tasked the strength of successive generations of men and women; for the work of the woman has been as exhausting as that of her husband, though in a different form. It is supposed that the first mill was near the outlet of the Naukeag. By 1790 there were four grist-mills and five saw-mills in different parts of the town. The first were needed for grinding the wheat, rye, corn, and perhaps barley, raised by the people, for their own use. Very little, if any grain, was sold to go out of town, as other towns had their own mills. At first the saw-

mills cut only enough of lumber for home consumption. But the abundance of timber in the town became, in time, a source of wealth. It was sold in the shape of boards, planks, joists and other forms, for building, or was cut up into manufactured articles. Wooden chairs of different patterns began to be made quite early, and the great chair business has grown out of this rude beginning. These chairs were all wood, without cane, or straw, or rushes, or other and more modern material for the seats and backs. The demand for chairs increased as the population of the county multiplied, and led to the contrivance of new forms and shapes, and also to the invention of new and ingenious machinery, by which chairs are now made in great variety and immense quantity. We have not room to trace this branch of manufacture down to the time when Charles Winchester and his brother George entered upon it, some thirty or more years since, when it had become a peculiarity in the business of the town. From that time the business took a new start, and became not only the leading branch of business in the town, but their establishment became gradually one of the largest and best managed in the country. The brothers separated their business some years since, and the younger has continued the manufacture till the present time. The different patterns, taking into the account the various kinds of wood and other material, the shape, the size, the design, and the painting of the chairs, are numbered by hundreds, and even by thousands. These are sold in all parts of our country, and are sent to South America, Africa and Australia.

Potash works were set up quite early. Moses Frobisher proposed to begin the making of potash in 1754, on conditions. If anything was done, the war soon hindered the work. Col. Caleb Wilder of Lancaster—who, with his brother, the second Judge Joseph Wilder, was the first in this county to make pot and pearl ashes on a large scale—had an establishment here, as well as in Leominster and Lancaster. It is claimed that the first complete ton of potash which went to market in Boston was made in Ashburnham. The business was continued by different parties till 1830.

The town had, as a matter of course, its clothiers' shops and fulling-mills, but the first mill for making cotton cloth was operated in 1814. The business increased, and under different proprietors, was continued till recently, when a fire destroyed the factory. This mill, with another, had six thousand spindles.

In South Ashburnham, which is supplied with power from a reservoir southwest of the Junction, there are several mills and shops where a large quantity of chairs and wooden-ware is manufactured. In the north-west part of the town, the abundant timber has led to a great variety of business, though none of the establishments, at present or in the past, have been large. Lucifer matches, bobbins, spools, and numerous articles, small in size but great in the aggregate, have rewarded labor. A national bank and a savings bank are of recent origin.

Here follow some of the statistics of industry. There were in the town

in 1875, two hundred and twenty-two farms and over four thousand acres of woodland, from which timber, clapboards, lath and shingles were prepared for market, besides what went into the chair-shop. The value of goods made and work done was \$558,674. Chairs were the principal articles made, the value of chairs and clothes-driers being \$343,742. Morocco was valued at \$65,000; cotton cloth and yarn at about \$60,000; split and finished calfskins at \$12,000; tubs and pails at nearly \$12,000; and meal, graham and rye flour at \$21,600. The value of farm property, including land, buildings, fruit-trees and vines, domestic animals and agricultural implements in use, was \$174,991. The value of agricultural products for sale and use, including hay, was \$112,249. The number of houses was 444, and the number of families was 539; the population amounted to 1,049 males, and 1,092 females; total 2,141. Nearly all the people are native born.

The settlers of our towns carried their religion with them: the proprietors assisted the settlers in building a house of worship and sustaining the ministry; and the General Court did not grant an enabling act except on condition that the worship of Almighty God should be supported. As soon as the settlers were sheltered, and had a mill to saw the boards and shingles, they built a meeting-house. The first inhabitants of Ashburnham followed in this worthy line of action. We have seen that they raised and enclosed a house of worship in 1739. Though not used for several years, owing to the delay in settlement, yet it was ready for use when the people should come. The house was moved from its foundation by a terrible gale in 1766, and was nearly demolished, but was soon put in good repair. By this time it had been furnished with doors and windows, and made, in some measure, suitable for a sanctuary. The Rev. Jonathan Winchester, son of Henry and Frances Winchester, born April 21, 1717, and graduated at Harvard in 1737, was the first minister of the town and pastor of the church. He was ordained April 23, 1760, and the church was organized on the same day. Two years before the Rev. Elisha Harding preached here a few times. In 1759 it was voted that "Mr. Elisha Coolidge be appointed to board up the window-places in the meeting-house with rough boards to keep out the wet, and to make window-sheets for two of the windows that are most convenient to let in the light when there shall be preaching." This was before the hurricane above mentioned. Mr. Winchester was on the ground in 1759, and after hearing him the people invited him to settle with them. They offered him £60, or \$200, annual salary, and a settlement of similar amount. He had also one right in the township of about three hundred and fifty acres of land. At that time an active man had half a dollar for a day's work.

The church, when organized, consisted of thirteen men, including the minister. Six of them were Germans. No female names are on the original list of subscribers to the covenant; but doubtless some were admitted by vote, then or soon after. If there were any records, they have been lost. Moses Foster

and Samuel Fellows were the first two deacons. Mr. Winchester continued in the sacred office about eight years, and died, after a short sickness, in November, 1767. He was kindly treated and greatly respected by his people, which included the whole town; and also by the non-resident proprietors. This they showed, not only by a handsome gravestone and an appreciative epitaph, but by word and deed while he lived. All his desires as to the choice of a lot of land were granted without hesitation. They paid his salary, and they made him gratuities in "consideration of his extraordinary hardships and expenses." His services were acceptable to his people. His death was a great loss to his parish and his family. The son born after his death was named "Ichabod, — the glory is departed," — as expressive of the feelings of the widowed mother. "The gentleman, the scholar, and the Christian were in him conspicuous."

The second minister was the Rev. John Cushing, a graduate of Harvard College, who, after six months' trial, was called and settled at the age of twenty-four years. He was ordained on the second day of November, 1768, and his half-century sermon was preached, Nov. 3, 1818. At his settlement, he was offered £123, and an annual salary of £60 for seven years; after which it was to be £66 13s. 4d., or \$222 and thirty cords of wood. Besides, he received a few small parcels of land. Here he lived and labored fifty-five years, until 1823. He was honored and loved by his people as a faithful pastor. He was "kind in spirit, gentle in address, and social in his manners." Says Dr. Abraham Lowe, in a printed address: "He was a learned as well as a good man, and his *Alma Mater* recognized his desert, and most worthily conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity." In addition, it is said that he "was highly esteemed by his clerical brethren as an amiable, excellent man and scholar, and they gave him the cognomen of the *living library* of history and geography." The church and parish had peace and stability during his long ministry. A new and handsome meeting-house was built in 1791. His successor was the Rev. George Perkins. Many other faithful and worthy men came after, among whom were the Revs. George Goodyear, Edwin Jennison, Elnathan Davis, J. D. Crosby, F. A. Fiske, E. G. Little, Thomas Boutelle, George E. Fisher, Moody A. Stevens, Leonard S. Parker, and the present acting pastor, Rev. Daniel E. Adams. Some of these have been installed, and others have been stated supplies or acting pastors. After the death of Dr. Cushing, the old meeting-house and common were abandoned, and a new and spacious house was erected in the central village in 1834. A few years since, this sanctuary was raised, a chapel and other rooms were furnished in the high basement, and the audience-room was modeled after the elegant style of a modern church.

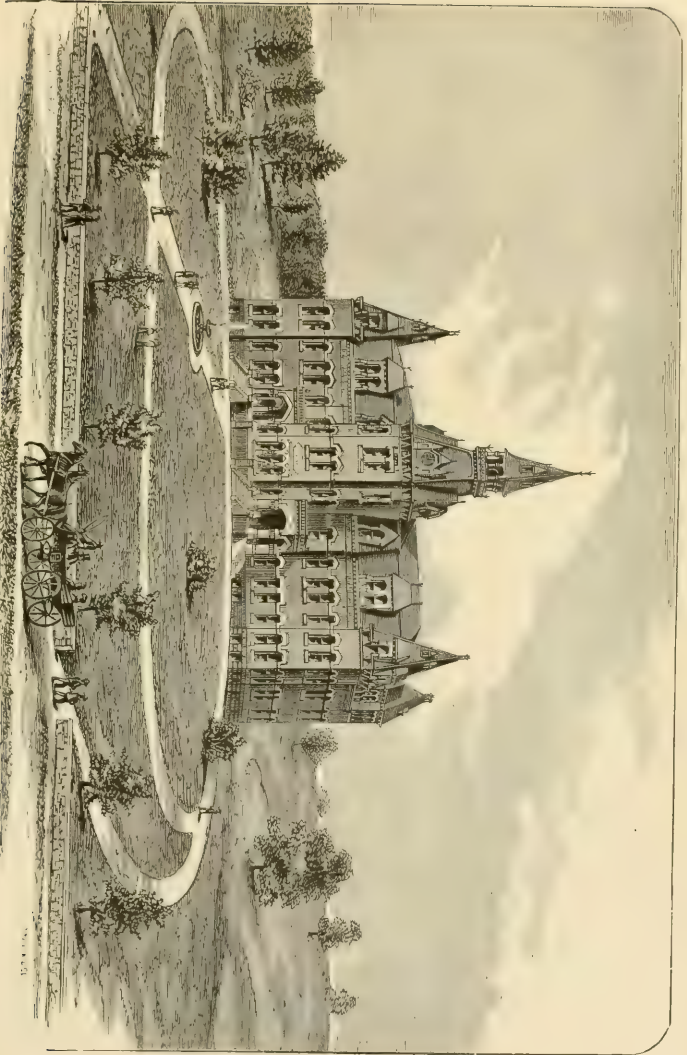
A Union Church was organized in North Ashburnham some twenty-five or thirty years ago, the members of which favored the type of Perfectionism advocated by Pres. Mahan, then of Oberlin College. About 1860, this was reorganized as a Congregational Church, and the Rev. Daniel Wight was the

pastor. In all stages of its brief history, it has been a blessing to the neighborhood.

Methodist preaching was heard here as early as the beginning of the century. That eccentric genius, Lorenzo Dow, was in Ashburnham in 1796. A society was formed in due time. Many years ago, a house of worship was put up in the village, which building passed into the hands of the Catholics a few years since, when the present elegant Methodist Church was erected at an expense of thirty thousand dollars. It was at a time when prices were high, before the financial panic of 1873.

District schools were started, according to the requirements of the law, soon after the town was fairly established. At the close of the last century, there were school-houses in different sections to the number of six or seven. In 1825, there were nine districts. There were two terms of about six weeks each in the year in the smaller districts. Terms were eight or ten weeks in the more populous sections. "Webster's Spelling-Book," a "model of its kind"; the "American Preceptor," a delightful book, as some can remember; and the "Columbian Orator," full of interesting pieces, were used in the early part of this century. The arithmetic of Daniel Adams is remembered by the aged. The "Understanding Reader," "Webster's Third Part," "Scott's Lessons," the "Young Ladies' Accidence," and "Alexander's Grammar" were also in use, according to the recollection of Dr. Lowe, who states that "most of the pupils made good proficiency in their primary lessons, in arithmetic, and in English grammar." From these small beginnings, the cause of education had a steady growth in accordance with the increase of population and the advance of public sentiment. The number of schools supported by the town in 1878 was thirteen; the number of scholars was four hundred and sixty-four; the schools were open six months and twelve days on the average; the money raised for education was \$3,000, besides the expense for superintendence, printing, &c.; the sum appropriated for each child between five and fifteen years of age was \$9.06.

As the town avails itself of the opportunity to send scholars to the academy, on the high-school plan, it is proper to take special notice of this institution as a local school. It was founded by the generous will of Thomas Parkman Cushing, son of Rev. Dr. Cushing. The founder died in 1854. The fund left by him accumulated by judicious investments until 1873-4, when it amounted to \$100,000, besides a sum set apart for building the academy, which, with its furniture and apparatus, cost about \$93,000. The academy was dedicated, Sept. 7, 1875, and the term began the next day. The first president of the board of trustees, Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., died before the opening of the school. The Hon. A. H. Bullock was the second president, and delivered the address at the dedication. Upon his resignation, Abraham T. Lowe, M. D., of Boston, was chosen. The vice-president is Hon. Amasa Norcross. Rev. Josiah D. Crosby was secretary several years, and was suc-



CUSHING ACADEMY, ANDOVER, MASS.

ceeded by Col. George H. Barrett. Hon. Ebenezer Torrey and Hon. Ohio Whitney have held the office of treasurer, which is now filled by Mr. George F. Stevens. The committee on finance are George C. Winchester, Ebenezer Torrey and George H. Barrett. The executive committee have been Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, Prof. Eli A. Hubbard, Prof. Charles O. Thompson, Rev. Leonard S. Parker, Mr. George C. Winchester, Hon. Ohio Whitney and Col. George H. Barrett. This committee has had charge of the arrangement of the plan of instruction, the course of study, the selection of teachers, and the purchase of books and apparatus. The building is one of the best in the county in cost, style, finish and adaptation. Mr. Winchester took the lead in forming the architectural design, and Mr. Whitney superintended the work. The instructors have been Edwin Pierce, A. M., principal; James E. Vose, vice-principal; Miss Mary P. Jeffs, preceptress; and several competent assistants in various branches in music, both vocal and instrumental, and in drawing and calisthenics. The town has paid \$1,000 per annum for the privilege of sending high-school pupils to the academy. Quite a number of students from other towns have attended. A few graduates have entered colleges, where they sustain a good reputation. This new academy has a solid financial foundation, and bids fair to attain in time to the first rank of academical institutions.

The town has evinced a military spirit from the beginning, and now stands well in this regard, when but few towns maintain a military organization. In the opening of the Revolution, the town voted to buy powder, ball and cartridges for the soldiers. In 1774, officers were chosen and the militia put on a war footing. Thirty-six cartridge-boxes were bought, indicating that there were thirty-six minute-men in the town. The company started for Concord and Lexington, but were met on the way by messengers stating that the fight was over, and they returned. Some were in the battle of Bunker Hill. There were others in nearly every battle of the Revolution in the Middle and Northern States. The number of men who went into the service is not known; but doubtless nearly every able-bodied man was in the field at one time or another. The Ashburnham Light Infantry was formed early in this century, and always took high rank, occupying the right in regimental reviews. In the summer of 1814, it was hastily summoned to Boston by the State authorities, and was quickly on the ground, where its soldierly appearance called out rounds of applause. In the late Rebellion, the whole military spirit of the town was aroused, and furnished men and means to maintain the government and establish universal freedom, without stint or grudging. Her gallant soldiers fought and fell on many fields. The number of soldiers who represented the town was two hundred and thirty, and the amount of money raised, including voluntary gifts, was \$30,587, besides \$10,330 as State aid.

Ashburnham has raised her proportion of able and enterprising men, who have honored her either at home or abroad. Besides Mr. Cushing and Dr.

Lowe, already mentioned, the late Milton Whitney, Esq., of Baltimore, was a distinguished lawyer. Mrs. Julia Houston West is celebrated as one of the finest singers of Boston. The late Ohio Whitney had the singular honor of being chosen moderator of town meetings twenty-nine years in succession. The late Jerome Foster and Reuben Townsend, Esqrs., the Rev. Asa Rand, a learned divine, and the senior Col. Barrett, belong on the roll of honor. Want of space prevents reference to others perhaps equally worthy. But it may be added that the town furnished thirteen commissioned officers in the war to put down the Rebellion. Of these, George H. Barrett was lieutenant-colonel in the fifty-third regiment, Addison A. Walker was captain in the twenty-first regiment, and Lieut.-Col. Joseph P. Rice, who was killed at the battle of Chantilly, crowned with the reputation of an able and heroic officer.

Mr. Samuel Fitts, of this town, is credited with the invention of a number of very ingenious machines for chair works.

There is no history of Ashburnham, in print, but the manuscript history by Rev. J. D. Crosby, which has been drawn from in writing these pages, is a very thorough work, as far as it is completed, and it is worthy of publication at the public expense.

A T H O L.

BY GEORGE W. HORR, LL. B.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST LAYING OUT OF THE TOWN — EARLY SETTLEMENTS — INDIAN HISTORY —
INCORPORATION — PROCEEDINGS IN THE REVOLUTION — CHURCH HISTORY —
EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE — LATE SOCIETIES AND CHURCHES.

IN July, 1732, a vote was passed by both houses of the General Assembly of Massachusetts, "that there be four towns opened of the contents of six miles square, each"; the first of the four names mentioned in the above vote, as recorded in the State Records, was Paquoag on Miller's River; this was surveyed and laid out as a township in October and November of that year, and was designated by the Indian name of Pequoiag, from the river which flowed through the township. When the grant of the town was made cannot be definitely ascertained, but it must have been previous to June, 1734, for on the 26th day of that month the proprietors met at Concord, and, in presence of a committee of the Great and General Court, the following persons drew their house lots in the township; viz., Edward Goddard, Daniel Epps, Sr., Daniel Epps, Jr., Ebenezer Goddard, Zechariah Field, Nebemiah Wright, Richard Wheeler, Richard Morton, Samuel Morton, Ephraim Smith, Nathan Waite, John Wood, Benj. Townsend, Jonathan Morton, Joseph Smith, William Oliver, Moses Dickinson, Joshua Dickinson, James Kellogg, Richard Crouch, Ezekiel Wallingford, James Jones, Charles Dubarthy, Gad Waite, Joseph Lord, Benoni Twichel, John Wallis, Samuel Willard, John Smeed, William Chandler, Jonathan Marble, William Higgins, James Kenney, Abner Lee, Abraham Nutt, John Headly, Isaac Fisk, Daniel Fisk, Thomas Hapgood, Richard Ward, Samuel Tenney, John Grout, Daniel Adams, John Cutting, Samuel Kendall, Jonathan Page, John Longley, Joseph Brown, John Child, Nathaniel Graves, George Danforth, James Fay, Capt. Jos. Bowman, Francis Bowman, Stephen Fay, Israel Hamond, Benjamin Bancroft, Joseph Harrington, James Holden.

On the 17th of September, 1735, might have been seen five of these proprietors, Richard Morton, Ephraim Smith, Samuel Morton, John Smeed

and Joseph Lord, with their families, as amid the solitudes of the then unbroken forest, they kindled their camp fires and laid themselves down to rest after the wearisome journey through the wilderness from Hatfield. They had left the beautiful valley of the Connecticut, with its meadows of the most fertile soil in New England, and had come to make their homes upon unimproved hills, the favorite haunt of the red man, and abounding with the wild animals of the forest, miles away from any settlement. A vast amount of labor and hardships were before them; the virgin forest must be felled, their houses erected, and the soil prepared for cultivation. Meanwhile, the greater part of their provisions, for a year at least, must be transported from Hatfield, thirty miles away, to the settlement, on their shoulders, with only marked trees to guide their steps for most of the way. They built their cabins and spent the first winter together about a mile south of the present site of the upper village, on what is now called "The Street." Richard Morton is said to have erected the first dwelling, which was a log hut; Dr. Joseph Lord also settled near by, and if there were other houses built during the winter, they were undoubtedly in close proximity. In the spring of 1736 they were joined by other settlers, but how many is not known. Among those who arrived this year were Aaron Smith, Samuel Dexter, Noah Morton, Robert Young, Nathaniel Graves, Eleazer Graves, Robert Marble, William Oliver, John Oliver, James Oliver and Robert Oliver. The Olivers, who are represented as stout and resolute men, were direct from Ireland, and Robert Young was from the North of Scotland, from whence he removed to Cork, in Ireland, and afterwards to this country. He was a weaver by profession and came to Pequoiag from Holliston. It is supposed that most of these settlers belonged to the original company formed at Hatfield. Very soon after the first settlement, clearings were commenced in various parts of the town. Among the localities first improved by the settlers after that of "The Street" were "West Hill" in the north-westerly part of the town and Lyons Hill in the east part. The first man that came on to Chestnut Hill to settle was John Haven, who came from Framingham about the year 1761.

The first white child born in town was Abraham Morton, son of Richard Morton, who was born the first winter after the arrival of the first settlers. Tradition also says that two others were born the same winter, Abner Morton, son of Samuel Morton and Thomas Lord, son of Joseph Lord. Margery Morton was the first white female born in town, which event occurred in 1738.

"There was a time when red men climbed these hills,
And wandered o'er these plains and by these rills;
Or rowed the light canoe along yon river,
Or rushed to conflict armed with bow and quiver."

This was a favorite seat of the Indians. Here they pitched their wigwams; on these meadows they planted their corn; over these forest-covered hills they pursued the deer and other game, while from the waters of the Pequoiag they

drew the trout, salmon and pickerel. Driven from the fertile valleys of the large rivers, they lingered along the valleys of the Pequoiaug, loathe to leave this almost the last of the river valleys of which they now had control. Tradition says that here lived a portion of the Nipnets and that here lived and died Huncus, the last of that tribe. The settlement of the place was obstructed by the breaking out of the French and Indian war, in 1744, and the settlers experienced much annoyance from the Indians. To guard themselves against the attacks of the Indians, the settlers built several forts. The principal one of these was located on "The Street" south of the upper village; another was built in the north-west part of the town, on what was called "West Hill"; a third is supposed to have been built on the spot upon which the Pequoiaug House, in the lower village, now stands. In these forts they slept and spent much of their time, and on the signal of danger all the families in the vicinity would gather for protection. All lived in constant fear, and were obliged to carry their fire-arms with them at all times, whether at work cultivating their farms, or gathered in their humble meeting-house for worship; for around them were the thick forests, and their wily foe might at any moment be lurking in the shade, ready to send the deadly ball. We can imagine them gathered at their worship, each man with his trusty gun, while stationed at the doors are the sentinels to guard against surprise, as the pastor dispenses the truths of the Gospel, his musket leaning against the rough pulpit within easy reach. "For three successive years," says Clarke in his Centennial discourse, "did the first minister of Pequoiaug carry his weapons of defense into his pulpit."

Although thus exposed, yet Barber in his "Historical Sketches of Massachusetts," says: "It is believed but one person was ever killed by the Indians in this town"; this was Mr. Ezekiel Wallingford, who lived on "West Hill," and resided at that time in the fort. Mr. Clarke, in his discourse, says in speaking of the affair: "Supposing that he heard bears in his corn-field one evening, Mr. Wallingford went out to watch, but he soon discovered that the Indians had deceived him by imitating the noise of bears in the corn and were surrounding him. He immediately turned and attempted to regain the fort, about one hundred rods distant, but in passing a fence he was struck by a musket-ball, which fractured his thigh. The tomahawk and scalping-knife put an instant end to his life, Aug. 17, 1746."

This was the cause of general alarm; guns were immediately fired from this fort, and answered by the garrison on "The Street," which was responded to by the fort in Nichewaug, now Petersham, and the next morning, the inhabitants of both towns joined and went in pursuit of the enemy, but without success. The following spring, Mr. Jason Babcock, while looking for his cows, on the meadows near the junction of Tully Brook and Miller's River, was suddenly surprised and wounded by the enemy, taken prisoner and carried to Canada; in about four months he was redeemed, and returned to his former home.

About the time of Mr. Wallingford's death, so alarming were the dangers, that several of the families left the town and sought safety in "Fort Massachusetts," which stood on the bank of Hoosac River in the town of "Hoosac," now North Adams. For several years after these transactions this region continued to be infested by Indians, so that the settlers were obliged to carry their fire-arms with them continually, but we hear of no more ravages committed by them, and soon the red man disappears forever from these hills and valleys.

The township was incorporated as a town, March 6, 1762, with the name of Athol, and was probably named from James Murray, the second Duke of Athol, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland. The corporate act creating the new town is recorded in chapter XX. of "Acts and laws passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and reads as follows:—

"Anno Regni Regis, Georgii III., Secundo, 1762.

"CHAPTER XX.

"An Act for erecting the new Plantation called Payquage in the County of Worcester into a Town by the Name of Athol. *Whereas* it hath been represented to this Court that the inhabitants of the Plantation of Payquage in the County of Worcester, labour under great Difficulties by reason of their not being incorporated into a Town, and are desirous of being so incorporated: *Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives.* That the said Plantation be and hereby is erected into a Town by the Name of Athol, bounded as follows, viz. Northerly on the Plantations of Royashire and Mount-grace, westerly on Ervingshire and New Salem. Southerly on Petersham and the Plantation called Number-Six, and Easterly on said Number-Six: and that the Inhabitants thereof be and hereby are invested with all the Powers, Privileges and Immunities that the Inhabitants of the Towns within this Province are by Law vested with. *And be it further enacted,* that John Murray, Esquire, be and hereby is directed and empowered to issue his Warrant directed to some of the principal Inhabitants within said Town requiring them to warn the Inhabitants of said Town qualified to vote in Town Affairs, to assemble at some suitable Time and Place in said Town to choose such Officers as are necessary to manage the Affairs of said Town: *Provided nevertheless* the Inhabitants of said Town shall pay their proportionable part of such County and Province Charges as are already assessed in like Manner as tho' this Act had not been made."

The first town meeting was called by John Murray of Rutland, and was held March 29, 1762, when the following town officers were elected:—

Selectmen and assessors, William Oliver, Aaron Smith, John Haven; town treasurer, Nathan Goddard; wardens, Robert Young, Nathan Goddard; constable for south ward, Richard Morton; constable for north ward, Ephraim Smith; surveyors of highways, Nathan Goddard, John Oliver, Seth Kendall; tythingmen, Jesse Kendall and Jotham Death. The first town clerk was John Haven, who was chosen at a town meeting held March 7, 1763.

Several territorial changes have been made since the incorporation of the town; a portion of Athol being annexed to Royalston, Feb. 26, 1799, and also March 7, 1803; a part of Athol was taken to form Gerry, in 1786, and a portion of the north-west corner was set off to form Orange. The annexations have been: A part of Gerry annexed to Athol, Feb. 26, 1806; a part of Orange, Feb. 7, 1816, and parts of New Salem, Feb. 5, 1830, and March 16, 1837. The boundaries of the town now are: Royalston and Orange on the north, Royalston and Phillipston on the east, Petersham on the south-east, and New Salem and Orange on the west.

As the signs of approaching conflict between the Colonies and the mother country increased, we find the inhabitants of Athol thoroughly aroused to the dangers which were threatening their liberties, and taking active measures to do their part in resisting the encroachments made upon their rights by the king and parliament. On July 7, 1774, a town meeting of momentous importance to the citizens of the town was held, when, on a motion made, the town entered into the consideration of an article in the warrant: "To Consider and determine on what measures are proper for this Town to take upon the present Exigencies of our Publick affairs, more especially relative to the Late Edict of the British Parliament for blocking up the Port or Harbor of Boston." The town records show the following action: "After very close and serious Debates on what measures were most likely to affect a deliverance from the burdens and oppressions that America in General and this Province in particular are laboring under, it was unanimously agreed to enter into a League or Covenant binding ourselves to Renounce the use and consumption of all goods that shall arrive in America from Great Britain from and after the last day of August next ensuing, until the act for blocking up the Harbor of Boston shall be repealed and we returned to the free use and enjoyment of our National and Charter Rights, or until other measures shall be adopted by the body of the people or the General Congress of the Colonies that are soon to meet, that shall be thought more likely to affect a Deliverance." Also, at the same meeting, it was voted that a committee of correspondence be chosen, and that an attested copy of the transactions of this meeting be sent to the Committee of Correspondence at Boston. Deacon Aaron Smith, William Bigelow, Josiah Goddard, Capt. John Haven, Ephraim Stockwell, James Oliver, Abner Graves, James Stratton, Jr., and Daniel Lampson were chosen as that committee. Again we find them assembled in town meeting, Aug. 25, 1774, and, without a dissenting vote, passing a long list of resolutions, denouncing, in the strongest language, the oppressions of Britain; but the passing of resolutions alone, they think, is not enough, and September 29, only a little more than a month later, at a town meeting, they vote "to enlist thirty men, exclusive of the Officers, to send, in case of an alarm," and also to have two companies of militia in the town, and that the division of the aforesaid companies be made by the river. William Bigelow is also chosen a delegate to attend and represent the town "in the Pro-

vincial Congress to be holden at Concord on the second Tuesday of October ensuing." Jan. 11, 1775, it was voted "that we do approve of and will adopt the non-importation agreement recommended by the Continental Congress." At this meeting, a committee of inspection was chosen. The last town meeting warned in his Majesty's name was held March 6, 1775.

Athol responded promptly to the call for minute-men, and at a meeting held June 15, 1775, it was voted to raise a minute company, consisting of twenty-five men, commissioned officers included. From a statement on the town records of 1777, we find that Athol had furnished soldiers to go to Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, York, Nantastick, Trenton, Ticonderoga, the Jerseys, Rhode Island, Bennington, Saratoga, Fort Edward and other places. April 29, 1777: "Voted to pay twenty-four pounds to each man who should enlist himself into the Continental Army for three years or during the war." July 15, 1778: "Voted to raise 1,583*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* to pay those men that have done service in the war for the Town of Athol." Capt. Ephraim Stockwell commanded a company which was sent to Bennington, and was in the battle at that place. "This company afterwards captured in New Jersey, a British detachment, one less in number, without firing a shot." In the terrible conflict of White Plains, two of its men were killed, who bore the Athol names of Moore and Goddard. And thus we find, through the records of those eventful years as the war progressed, the sons of Athol on many a hard-fought battle-field, contending for rights held dearer than life, while from the farms at home were furnished quantities of food and clothing for the suffering armies of freedom.

One of the first public acts of the early settlers of Pequioag was to build a meeting-house. In what year this was built cannot be definitely ascertained, in consequence of the loss of the early records; but it was not, probably, prior to the year 1741, for at a meeting of the proprietors, September 2d of that year, a tract of eight acres, on Mill Brook, was set apart "to Lye in common, for a Burying Place and a Meeting House, if the Proprietors shall think proper to put them too." On this lot, about sixty rods south-east of the present railroad station, the first meeting-house was built. This was supposed to have been burned by the Indians, but a second was soon after built on "East Pequioag Hill," or "The Street," now called. In this house, which contained but one pew, the few inhabitants of the place met each Sunday for worship. As yet, no church had been organized, and they were without the services of any regular minister; but, for several years, Dr. Joseph Lord, who was probably the best educated man among the early settlers, officiated as preacher. He was the first doctor, magistrate, treasurer, tax gatherer, surveyor, and also the first proprietors' clerk. Trouble arising between him and the proprietors, he absconded from the Province, taking the books and records, which have never been recovered. The first record found where provision is made for preaching is Oct. 18, 1749, when it was "Voted that Mr. Brown be allowed for one days Preaching, five Pounds, Old Tenor." At a legal meeting of the proprietors,

held on the third Wednesday of May, 1750, it was "Voted that we choose an Orthodox minister to settle in this Place; Voted that Mr. James Humphries, our present Preacher, be the Orthodox minister in this place." It seems that Mr. Humphrey had been supplying the pulpit at Pequoia for several months; for at a subsequent meeting, held June 27, 1750, it was voted "That Mr. James Humphries be allowed Eighteen Pounds lawful money for Preaching in this Place from the 10th of December 1749 to the 16th of May, 1750, being Eighteen Sabbaths." The terms of settlement and salary having been agreed upon, Mr. Humphrey accepts the call. The 29th of August, 1750, O. S., is a day memorable in the annals of the church history of Athol, for on that day was formed the first church organization in town, when the newly elected pastor, with Richard Morton, Nathaniel Graves, Abraham Nutt, Robert Marble, Samuel Morton, Nathan Wait, Eleazer Graves, Ephraim Smith and Aaron Smith affix their signatures to the church covenant. The ordination took place Nov. 7, 1750. Rev. James Humphrey, the first minister of Pequoia, was born in Dorchester, March 20, 1722, and was graduated at Harvard University in 1744. He was married Oct. 9, 1751, to Miss Esther Wiswell of Dorchester. For more than twenty years the pastor and people lived together in peace and harmony; then dissensions began to creep in, church meetings are called "to see if the church will desire the Rev. James Humphrey to ask a Dismission from his Pastoral Care of the Church of Christ in Athol." Town meetings are also called for the same purpose, no less than nine being called in regard to the matter, and, for a period of more than five years, discord and contentions reigned in this hitherto peaceful church and town, until the very existence of the town itself was threatened; and so strong was the feeling that efforts were made at town meetings to have a portion of the town set off, and a petition was sent to the General Court, praying that a part of the territory might be incorporated into a separate town.

At length, terms of settlement were mutually agreed upon by the pastor, town and church; and at a council of churches, held Feb. 13, 1782, the Rev. James Humphrey was dismissed from his pastoral relation to the church. After his dismission, he continued to reside in town until his death, which occurred May 8, 1796, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His descendants have always been among the leading citizens of the town. For nearly six years the church was without a pastor, and, divided as the town now was, it became no easy task to unite the discordant elements in the choice of a new minister; meetings are held, both town and church, committees are appointed, rejected and reappointed; votes are passed, calling certain ones to the pastorate, and the next meeting makes them void; but fortunately a man is found who possesses the qualities and character necessary for the restoration of peace and harmony. At a meeting held July 25, 1787, the church vote "unanimously to invite Mr. Joseph Estabrook to take the pastoral care of them in the Lord, and to settle in this town in the work of the gospel ministry." The

town in a few days concur with the church in extending the invitation to Mr. Estabrook: he accepted the call, and was ordained Nov. 21, 1787, seven churches assisting in the ordination.

Rev. Joseph Estabrook, the second minister of Athol, was born at Lexington, March 4, 1759; and although but sixteen years old at the time of the ever-memorable battle of Lexington, yet he was present with that immortal company of Americans, and saw his comrades fall before the British fire. He assisted his father in removing his mother to a place of safety, and was one of those who pressed upon the rear of the enemy as they retreated in disorder from Concord, loading and firing his gun from behind a large rock. He graduated at Harvard University in 1782, and, after graduating, taught school at Kingston, Plymouth County, about four years, and then resumed his theological studies with Rev. Jonas Clarke, the minister of his native town. He was then ordained as minister of the church in Athol, where for nearly forty-three years he ministered to a united and happy people, loved and respected by the entire community; and we may safely assert that few, if any, parishes in New England ever lived with their pastor more harmoniously for so long a period as did the town of Athol with their pastor, Rev. Joseph Estabrook. During his life, a large proportion of the litigation of the town was referred by common consent to his arbitration, and he was commonly called the "Peace-maker," an appellation which he was justly entitled to. While most of the communities of New England were rent by the great religious controversy between Unitarians and Trinitarians, which was in full blast for several years before his death, yet we are informed that in such high respect was his character held, that not a proposal was ever made by anybody for his dismissal; but, when he died, "the parish flew apart like one of those flowers called 'Touch-me-not,' and have remained so until this day." He closed his life on the morning of Sunday, April 18, 1830, in the seventy-second year of his age.

The settlement of a successor to Mr. Estabrook was an event of no small importance, and, when the subject came before the parish and town, it was found that they were divided upon the doctrines to be preached. At a town meeting held in 1830, we find the following vote recorded: "Voted that the Town will settle no man in the ministry, in the Congregational Society, unless he will obligate himself, that so long as he shall be the minister in said Society he will exchange ministerial labours with all the Congregational Ministers in the neighborhood, who are in regular standing, and who will exchange with him, and that the Committee chosen for the purpose of procuring a candidate, ascertain this fact of a candidate before they engage him as such." At a subsequent meeting, an article to reconsider this was passed over by a vote of 108 to 42. A division now took place, in which those who believed in the Evangelical doctrines withdrew from the church and parish.

The next minister of the old church, which retained the name of the First

Congregational Church, was Rev. Josiah Moore, who was ordained Dec. 8, 1830, and continued as pastor until August, 1833. He was succeeded by Rev. Linus H. Shaw, ordained Nov. 12, 1834, and dismissed August 29, 1836. From that time, the society had no settled pastor until the ordination of Rev. Samuel F. Clarke, April 19, 1848, who continued until 1856. Since then, the church has had the following ministers:—

Rev. D. C. O'Daniels, 1857-59; Rev. Ira Bailey, 1861-66; Rev. Crawford Nightingale; Rev. W. S. Burton, 1868-73; Rev. S. R. Priest, 1874-76. The present pastor is Rev. E. P. Gibbs, who commenced his pastorate in May, 1877.

The meeting-house built on the "Street" was occupied until 1773, when the third one in town was built on the "Common," and opened for public worship in July, 1773. This house was burned on the night of July 2, 1827, supposed to have been by an incendiary. The present church edifice of this society was built in 1828, at an expense of upwards of \$5,000. In the fall of 1847, the house was remodeled and fitted up in its present form.

In October, 1830, as a result of the theological discussions of that day, those who believed in the Evangelical doctrines left the old church, and formed the "Evangelical Society of Athol." In March, 1831, articles of faith were adopted, and an Evangelical Church formed. At first, the new church held their meetings in the town house, but, in the year 1833, their present house of worship was built. This was repaired and enlarged in 1859, and a spire was built. The first pastor of this church was Rev. B. B. Beckwith, who was ordained June 8, 1831, and dismissed Nov. 11, 1834. Other pastors have been Rev. James F. Warner, 1835-37; Rev. R. M. Chipman, 1839-51; Rev. John F. Norton, 1852-67; Rev. Temple Cutler, 1868-76. The present pastor is Rev. Henry A. Blake, ordained Sept. 13, 1876. Since 1840, the church has contributed for benevolent objects about \$17,000, the largest amount in any one year being \$1,653.66 in 1871. In 1840, the membership of the church was 220, and Jan. 1, 1878, it numbered 282, having probably the largest membership of any church in town.

We find in the town records of 1774 and '75 certificates signed by certain persons belonging to a society called "Anti-pedobaptists." The certificates state that they met together "for religious worship on the Lord's day in Royalston and Athol." About this time a minister of the Baptist denomination, Elder Whitman Jacobs, commenced preaching in town and gathered quite a company of adherents, including those from the Old Congregational Church, who had become disaffected at the innovation made about that time in the custom of singing; those believing in the doctrines of the Baptist Church first held prayer-meetings in their own houses, then became members of the Baptist Church in Templeton, and in 1810 were constituted a branch of that church; in 1813 there were organized as an independent church. For several years they had no pastors, but their meetings were led by the deacons. One of

their deacons was ordained and settled as pastor of the church, which position he held from 1820 to 1833, being the longest pastorate in the history of the church. The pastors since then have been:—Rev. Andrew Day, Rev. J. Glazier, Rev. Asaph Merriam, Rev. O. Tracy, Rev. Charles Farrar, Rev. J. D. Reid, Rev. Charles Ayer, Rev. George L. Hunt, Rev. D. H. Stoddard, Rev. J. C. Emery; the present minister is Rev. Edwin M. Bartlett, who commenced his duties the first Sunday of July, 1876. The church has had two houses of worship, the first being located in the upper village; it is now owned by the Catholics. Their present church edifice was dedicated Feb. 14, 1849. The church has been generously remembered by some of its wealthy members, the late Moses Briggs having bequeathed it \$1,000. It has sent out seven ministers, and has a present membership of about one hundred and eighty-five.

The first class in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this town was formed Nov. 30, 1851, by William A. Clapp, then pastor of the Phillipston charge and consisted of seventeen members, with Mr. George Gerry as leader. For some time all their meetings were held at private houses. The first place where they held public meetings was in the hall of the large building owned by John C. Hill, near the school-house in the lower village. They soon removed to the hall in Houghton's Block, where they remained until their present church edifice was erected, at the corner of River and Main streets, in 1861. This was dedicated November 6, of that year. The first minister was a Mr. Hayward, a local preacher, and the first one appointed by Conference was Rev. John Goodwin. This little class, formed in 1851, has grown into a large and flourishing church organization, now numbering one hundred and seventy-three members. The present pastor is the Rev. L. A. Bosworth.

There is also a Methodist Society at South Athol, which was the first organized in town. They have a meeting-house, and have had regular preaching since the formation of the society.

The Roman Catholic Church has a representation here. The church of St. Catharine is a part of the Otter River (Templeton) parish; they have services two Sundays out of three, the same priest, Rev. Joseph Coyne, Jr., also being appointed for the churches at Otter River and Barre. About 1856 they purchased the old Baptist meeting-house at the corner of Main and Summer streets, in the upper village, which they now occupy.

The Second Advent Society has a permanent organization, and a chapel on Main Street, opposite the town hall, which was built in the summer of 1873; Elders Miles Grant of Boston and James Hemenway of Athol officiated at the dedication. The society has no regular preacher now.

The youngest of the religious societies of the town is the Second Unitarian Church, which was formed largely of members of the First Congregational Parish residing in the lower village. Public services were first held Sunday, Feb. 11, 1877, and Rev. James C. Parsons was installed as pastor June 12,

1877. The parish numbers one hundred members, and the society over three hundred; services are held in Starr Hall; the society has a fund of \$1,200 and proposes to erect a church at the earliest practicable date.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS — TOWN ACTION IN THE WAR OF 1812 — EXTREME POLITICAL FEELING — MOVEMENTS DURING THE REBELLION — TOPOGRAPHY AND SCENERY — LAKES AND STREAMS — GEOLOGY AND FLORA — ORGANIZATIONS — BUSINESS INTERESTS.

THE first provision made by the town for the support of schools was at a meeting held March 7, 1763, when it was "voted to raise thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight-pence to provide a school, and chose Nathan Goddard, Jesse Kendall and John Oliver a committee to hire a school-master," &c.; also "voted to divide the school money by the river, and those that live on the south side to have what they pay towards the sum raised, and those that live on the north side to have what they pay towards the sum." March 3, 1766, it was "voted to build two school-houses, one on the 'West Hill,' between Deacon Aaron Smith's and Ichabod Dexter's, the other on 'East Hill,' at the head of Capt. Field's lane, so called, 'and the above houses are to be built 16 feet wide, and 18 feet long, and 6½ feet stud.'" March 2, 1767, voted to sell the school right of land; May 18, 1774, the town was first divided into school districts or "squadrons," as they were called, six in number.

All through the Revolution we find the town making liberal appropriations for the support of the schools. Among the early school-masters and school-mistresses we find the names of Nathaniel Babbitt, who was paid fifteen shillings and twopence for keeping school in 1777, also to Paul Church one pound four shillings for his wife keeping school, and to the wife of Capt. John Oliver five shillings and tenpence. Evidently it must have been a great work to provide school-masters; for several years we find a committee of thirty chosen for that purpose. At a town meeting, held Oct. 15, 1783, it was "Voted to choose a committee to procure a Grammer School master, also to provide stocks for the town as the law directs," from which it would seem that the early fathers considered the *stocks* and *birch* as being closely associated. Not only was it considered necessary for the young of those days to be taught in reading, writing, &c., but much importance was attached to singing. At a town meeting, held May 7, 1792, eighty pounds was granted for the use of schooling, to be laid out in the following manner: "70 pounds for the use of keeping a reading and writing school, the other ten pounds for the use of a

singing-school." From 1819 for a period of ten years \$550 a year was raised for schools; this increased year by year until in 1875-6 \$8,726.92 was expended in the schools of Athol. In 1829 we find the first mention of a general school committee, Rev. Joseph Estabrook, Horatio Willard, and Abel Sweetser being chosen for that purpose.

In the March meeting of 1856 occurs an article "to see what action the town will take relative to the establishment of a high school in said town." And now occurs that memorable struggle between the two villages regarding the site of a high school house; meeting after meeting was held and the excitement upon the subject was intense. To such an extent was the feeling carried, that even the ties of church membership were endangered in consequence thereof. Finally the building was located. It is very creditable to the citizens of the town that no village controversies have ever interfered with the interests of the schools. The first high school was held in 1857, with Mr. George A. Wheeler of Topsham, Me., as the teacher. In 1873 a graded system of schools was perfected, and a three years' course of study established for the high school, the school committee at that time being, Rev. W. S. Burton, George W. Horr, and Henry A. Stearns. The last school report gives the number of schools as nineteen, with twenty teachers, and attended during the year by seven hundred and three scholars. The present committee are Rev. Edwin M. Bartlett, Henry M. Humphrey, and Fred. Allen. Among those of recent years who have been longest connected with the schools of Athol officially, are Dr. James P. Lynde and Rev. John F. Norton.

The proceedings of the town as to the war of 1812 are of much interest. At a town meeting held Aug. 31, 1808, a petition to the President of the United States was drafted, read and accepted. It reads as follows: "To the President of the United States: The inhabitants of the Town of Athol, in the County of Worcester and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in legal town meeting assembled, beg leave, respectfully and unanimously, to represent that, although the evils resulting from the embargo laws may not be so immediately and sensibly felt by individual towns as by our seaports, and although the farmer may not, at present, so much as the merchant, feel their deleterious effects, yet they are considered of sufficient magnitude to create a general alarm and distress in the interior part of the country, and that the ruin of the husbandman will soon follow that of the merchant, unless said evils can be speedily removed. We therefore pray that said laws may be suspended as soon as consistent with the nature and fitness of things, and as in duty bound will ever pray." This petition, no doubt, embodied the opinions of a large majority of the citizens of New England at that time, and the war, known in history as the struggle "for Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," was unpopular in the eastern section of our country.

At a town meeting held Jan. 31, 1814, the important article of the warrant read: "To see if the town will petition the Legislature of this Commonwealth

to take such measures as they shall think fit and proper to relieve their constituents from the burdens they now suffer by reason of the present disgraceful war and the late embargo, or act anything relative thereto." A petition was adopted by the meeting wherein they resolved "that every encroachment upon the State Sovereignty, etc., should, at the call of our state government, be resisted to the last extremity." An era of good feeling soon after occurred under the Presidency of James Monroe, and all sectional feeling seemed to be buried, in which the citizens of Athol rejoiced with their countrymen.

As an incident of the state of feeling at this period existing among the people, the following extract from a letter kindly written to the author by Rev. Lucius R. Paige of Cambridgeport, is inserted. It has reference to *our* Rev. Joseph Estabrook: "According to the best of my recollection, Rev. Mr. Estabrook exchanged with Rev. Mr. Wesson of Hardwick at some time during the war of 1812. I think it was on a Fast-day, when political discussions were expected. In his prayer he invoked the choicest blessings upon the heads of our State officers,—naming the governor, lieutenant-governor, councillors, senators and representatives separately (as was then customary), and then, after a moment's pause, continued thus: 'O, Lord, thou hast commanded us to pray also for our enemies; we therefore beseech Thee to bless the President of these United States, and the two houses in Congress assembled,' and then, in his impressive manner, specified the particular blessings sought, such as that they might see the error of their ways, abandon their evil courses, and adopt such measures as should secure the peace and prosperity of the country."

It may be a matter of interest to know how the vote of Athol has stood from time to time for State and national officers. Want of space forbids full statistics under this head. In 1824 the memorable contest for President occurred, when John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives. The vote of Athol stood: Adams, 109; Jackson, 2. So it seems that the Democratic party in 1824 had but one more vote than has happened once since, although it was at the State election of 1865 that the party polled but one vote, which was cast by a citizen who has since been a consistent Democrat.

The first vote for governor at a meeting held Sept. 4, 1780, is recorded as 39 for John Hancock. In 1789 the vote stood for governor: John Hancock, 29; James Bowdoin, 13. But one set of presidential electors were voted for in 1792, 1796 and 1800. In 1804 the vote for President was divided 95 to 28. But during all those years there was a division of votes for Federal representatives.

Before the plurality rule prevailed in elections, and a majority of all the votes polled was required to elect, great interest was often manifested, particularly in the choice of representatives to the legislature. These scenes are well remembered by the older citizens; and, although a contest for governor, which brings out in the town a vote of upwards of four hundred for each candidate,

must necessarily be exciting, yet for the choice of the *people's representative*, under the old law, almost, if not equal zeal was manifested by the voters to elect by a majority vote their favorite candidate.

Athol has always sustained a good position at the State House. The first mention of a representative we find recorded was in 1775, when Capt. John Haven was chosen representative to the Great and General Court. Since then the town has sent the following:—

Senators. — Benjamin Estabrook, 1843; Charles Field, 1858, '59; Alpheus Harding, 1879.

Representatives. — Josiah Goddard, 1792, '95, '96, '98, '99, 1800; Lient. Eleazer Graves, 1802, '04, '05, '17; James Humphrey, 1806, '09, '10, '11, '12, '13, '16, '21, '23, '25; Samuel Young, 1808; James Oliver, 1814, '15; Joseph Proctor, 1819; Dr. Ebenezer Chaplin, 1827, '29; Col. Samuel Sweetzer, 1830, '44, '46; Eliphalet Thorpe, 1832; Col. Nathan Nickerson, 1833; Benjamin Estabrook, 1835, '36, '52; in 1837 two representatives were sent, Benjamin Estabrook and James Young; in 1838 Benjamin Estabrook and Abner Young; Theodore Jones, 1840, '43, '45; John W. Humphrey, 1841, '42; Nathaniel Richardson, 1847, '60; Lysander Fay, 1848; Stillman Simonds, 1850; Nehemiah Ward, 1851; Josiah Haven, 1854; Laban Morse, 1855; James I. Goulding, 1856; Charles Field, 1857; Isaac Stevens, 1858; Farwell F. Fay, 1862; Alpheus Harding, 1863, '67; Calvin Kelton, 1865; T. H. Goodspeed, 1869; Ozi Kendall, 1871; George H. Hoyt, 1872, '73; Edwin Ellis, 1875; William W. Fish, 1876; J. Sumner Parmenter, 1878; Leander B. Morse, 1879.

Constitutional Convention. — Lyman W. Hapgood, 1853.

When the great crisis in our national history came, and the hour arrived when blows must be struck for the maintenance of the institutions which the fathers had planted, and which the founders of Athol had been so active and persistent in helping to establish, it found the sons equally as patriotic in the preservation and the perpetuity of those institutions; there was no hesitation, no faltering, from the time when the news of Fort Sumter's fall, borne on lightning wings, reached the homes of Athol, until the last battle had been fought, and her returning heroes had again donned the garb of peaceful citizens. On the evening of April 19, only seven days after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, a public meeting was held at the town hall, when forty or more were found who were ready to leave at once to defend the national capital. At a large town meeting, held April 30, 1861, it was voted "that five thousand dollars be appropriated" for the purpose of encouraging men to enlist," and "that ten dollars per month be given to each unmarried volunteer, and twenty dollars to each married volunteer, in addition to the pay insured them by the laws of the United States." And, "if more be necessary to support the families of the married volunteers, the committee is to make up the deficiency."

The first man who enlisted and was mustered into the United States service

was Leander W. Phelps, and he was one of the sixteen who marched with the second regiment of Massachusetts volunteers when it left for the Upper Potomac, July 8, 1861. The names of the others were David E. Billings, J. B. Billings, Delevan Richardson, Hubbard V. Smith, Edward L. Townsend, Charles H. Hill, Charles S. Green, Columbus Fox, William L. Clutterbuck, Horace Hunt, William Nute, Frederick Cummings, John D. Emerson, Thomas Johnson and Aurin B. French. In the tenth regiment, which went to the seat of war very soon after the second, were John F. Merrill and James L. Merrill. July 10, 1861, money was appropriated for the support of the families of the soldiers. Twenty-three next left for the war, Aug. 22, 1861, in the twenty-first regiment; most of these men belonged to company A, which was called the "Adams Guards," commanded by Captain, afterwards Col. George P. Hawkes of Templeton. Soon after this, another and successful effort was made to recruit a company in Athol and vicinity, and in the short space of ten days the requisite number of men was obtained; these constituted company B of the twenty-seventh regiment, Adia W. Caswell, captain. During 1861 Athol men also enlisted in the thirtieth and thirty-first regiments, and also in the first battalion of infantry. The first Athol man killed in action was William Hill, company B, twenty-seventh regiment, who fell at the capture of Roanoke Island; Patriek Leonard, of company A, twenty-first regiment, was also mortally wounded in the same conflict. July 4, 1862, the President issued an order for three hundred thousand volunteers to serve for three years, or until the end of the war. The number assigned to Athol under this call was forty-eight. Aug. 2, 1862, a town meeting was held to encourage enlistments, when it was "Voted, that the selectmen of Athol be authorized, in behalf of the town, to pay a bounty of \$100 to every inhabitant of the town who shall have enlisted since July 7, 1862, or who shall hereafter, on or before the sixteenth day of August, 1862, enlist into said service, until the number equal to said quota shall be fully made up." In a few days forty-one men enlisted from Athol, and were assigned to the different regiments of Massachusetts volunteers.

Great enthusiasm was manifested by the people of Athol, while the men were enlisting for nine months' service, and many offered themselves as soldiers who could not be accepted because of some physical disability; the number mustered into service under this call was fifty-two. The nine months men, with those from neighboring towns, formed company E of the fifty-third regiment, of which Farwell F. Fay, Esq., was chosen captain.

The number of men furnished by Athol to aid in suppressing the Rebellion was three hundred and thirty-five, of whom fifteen were commissioned officers, and the whole number furnished to fill quotas, including re-enlistments, was three hundred and eighty-seven; of these, more than fifty died in the service or from diseases contracted in it, of which number fourteen were killed, or died from wounds received in action; twenty-eight men from Athol were in

rebel prisons, of whom four died while prisoners at Andersonville, and one died soon after leaving that place. James L. Merrill furnished five sons for the army; of these, three were very severely wounded, and the fourth nearly sacrificed his life to save that of a wounded brother. The family of Leander Phelps furnished four to fill the quotas from Athol, while Franklin Oliver and Isaac King each sent four sons.

Soldiers' aid societies were in active operation in both villages, and through the efforts of the ladies composing them sent money and supplies to the soldiers, amounting to \$2,381.90. The amount of indebtedness incurred by the town of Athol on account of the war was \$18,880.94, while the total expenses, including bounties, contributed by the citizens, etc., amounted to \$39,565.62.

The history of the gallant volunteers who went from Athol, and the action of the town during those thrilling days, have been carefully preserved in a volume entitled "Athol in the Suppression of the Rebellion," to which we are indebted for much of the information regarding those eventful days.

Athol is diversified with hills and valleys, and abounds with beautiful and picturesque scenery. The principal elevations are Chestnut Hill, in the north; High Knob, near the centre; Round Top, Ward's and Pierce's hills, in the east. Especially worthy of mention is the view from the summit of Round Top; to the north, the Grand Monadnock lifts its rocky form, seeming but a few miles away; to the east are the rounded tops of Wachusett and Watatic, and scattered on the hill-tops the villages of Templeton, Gardner, Westminster, Winchendon and other places; to the west may be seen the Green Mountains of Vermont and Berkshire County, while old Greylock peers above in the dim distance; the villages of Royalston, North Orange, New Salem, and others are also seen in the north and west. The cultivated farms, the snowy white villages scattered on every side, the verdure-covered hills and forest-clad mountains, all unite in forming a scene of rare beauty.

Miller's River, robbed of its more beautiful and appropriate Indian name of Pequoing because a man by the name of Miller was so unfortunate as to have been drowned while attempting to cross it more than one hundred and fifty years ago, flows through the town in a south-westerly direction, furnishing a valuable motive-power for various manufacturing establishments. Tully Brook, the next largest stream, enters Miller's River from the north, forming, for some distance, the boundary between Athol and Orange. Mill Brook, rising among the hills of Phillipston, flows through the upper village, and has numerous mills along its course. Silver Lake, formerly known as Babcock's Pond, is a beautiful sheet of water, situated in a hollow among the hills near the lower village; it contains about twenty acres, and its waters are clear and cool, the shores are bordered by woods, and although within a few rods of the busy village, it presents a secluded and romantic retreat.

South-west Pond, in the westerly part of the town, is a large sheet of water.

It has been leased by the fish commissioners to a company for the cultivation of fish, and has been stocked with several varieties.

Lake Ellis, situated near the upper village, and bordered by the Worcester North-west Fair Grounds on the east, is a favorite resort for picnics and fishing parties; there are several islands which add to the beauty of the scenery, and are becoming quite popular as camping-places during the summer months. A small steamer called the "Escort" plies upon the lake.

The geological structure of Athol is calcareous gneiss. In this formative rock occur specimens of allanite, epidote, fibrolite and babingtonite. Another mineral is frequently found in the form of pebbles among the diluvium of Athol and Royalston, which Prof. Hitchcock did not pretend to name; its color is usually white, sometimes brown, its hardness equal to that of quartz, and its toughness much greater. Prof. Hitchcock mentions a fine example of a moraine in Athol, a little north of the village, where the two branches of Miller's River unite. He also mentions a peat-bed two miles long and eighty rods wide, and containing about three hundred acres, the peat being two to three feet in thickness. This is now mostly covered by Lake Ellis and Ellenwood's Pond. There is also a well-defined train of bowlders near the central part of the town.

The flora of Athol is varied, possessing most of the varieties common to this section of the country, and some which are rare in many localities. There are few places in the State where the trailing arbutus or Mayflower is found so extensively as here, large tracts being covered with this most lovely of New England flowers, the air being fragrant in spring with its sweet perfume. The Twin Flower (*Linnaea borealis*), a delicate little plant, with fragrant, nodding flowers, growing in moist, mossy woods and cold bogs, is found here abundantly, although quite rare in many parts of Massachusetts; it was dedicated to the great botanist, Linnaeus, with whom this humble but charming plant was an especial favorite. Along the river banks and brooks may be seen the Virgin's Bower (*Clematis Virginiana*), climbing over the shrubs and trees, blossoming in July and August; its flowers are succeeded by the long, silken fringes of the fruit, which remain on the vines during the whole of the autumnal months, forming a graceful and pretty sight. The Fringed Gentian (*Gentiana crinita*) is common here, which Bryant so beautifully describes in one of his poems:—

"Thou blossom, bright with autumn dew,
And colored with the heaven's own blue,
That openest when the quiet light
Succeeds the keen and frosty night;

Thou waitest late, and com'st alone,
When woods are bare and birds are flown,
And frosts and shortening days portend
The aged Year is near his end.

Then doth thy sweet and quiet eye
Look through its fringes to the sky,
Blue — blue — as if that sky let fall
A flower from its cerulean wall."

Among other plants found here are the goldthread (*Coptis trifolia*), the Indian pipe (*Monotropa uniflora*), &c.

The first lodge of Freemasons in Athol was Harris Lodge, the officers of which were installed by W. M. Isaiah Thomas, Oct. 13, 1803. Previous to this, the names of a few brethren from this town appear on the rolls of two or three of the older lodges of the county, and some joined the Republican Lodge of Greenfield. Harris Lodge was removed to Gerry in 1811, and afterwards to Templeton. Athol is now one of the strongholds of Masonry, having the following organizations:—Star Lodge, instituted in 1864, has 87 members; Athol Lodge, chartered Sept. 12, 1872, has 75 members; Union Royal Arch Chapter, instituted in 1866; and the Athol Commandery of Knights Templars. The two oldest Masons in town are Maj. Warren Horr and Nathaniel Richardson, Esq., both of whom have been members of the order for more than fifty years.

The organizations engaged in the cause of temperance are Watercure Lodge of Good Templars, Athol Reform Club, Holden Total Abstinence Society, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The Massachusetts Mutual Relief Association was organized in 1876 for the purpose of aiding the families of deceased members; Acme Lodge, Knights of Honor, was instituted in March, 1877, has a good membership, and is fast increasing in numbers. Parker Post No. 123, Grand Army of the Republic, was chartered June 1, 1870. It has done much in furnishing aid to the poor and unfortunate of its members and the families of deceased comrades. Eight comrades have died since its organization. The post occupies a fine hall in Cook's Block, in the upper village. The following have been commanders: F. F. Fay, George H. Hoyt, H. M. Burleigh, Charles Grey and Henry T. Morse. The present commander is George R. Hanson.

The ladies have recently organized Hoyt Post, Matrons of the Republic.

The Athol Library Association was organized in December, 1878, with Hon. Charles Field as president. It has received valuable donations from former residents of Athol, and now contains upwards of 700 volumes. It meets a want long felt in the town, and is being liberally patronized by the citizens.

The Worcester North-west Agricultural and Mechanical Society was incorporated April 2, 1867, and established in the town of Athol. Its fairs are among the best of the agricultural societies of the State, and are largely attended. It has finely located fair grounds, and all the necessary buildings, including hall, stables, &c., with a good half-mile track. Its membership embraces many of the leading farmers, mechanics and manufacturers of this and surrounding towns.

The Emmet Literary Society, composed of young men of Irish parentage, holds meetings for debates and literary exercises, and is in a flourishing condition.

Athol has two brass bands,—the Athol Band at the upper village, and the Citizens' Band of the lower village.

The town has an admirable fire department, consisting of three hose companies, two steamers and a hook-and-ladder company, all well officered and manned. Water is supplied for fire purposes from fifty hydrants. The engineers of the department are J. F. Whitcomb, chief engineer; R. S. Horton, first assistant; Adolphus Bangs, second assistant; W. H. Frost, clerk and treasurer.

We take a little space for considering the business interests of Athol. In 1854, Charles C. Bassett, Isaac Stevens, Lewis Thorpe, their associates and successors, were made a corporation by the name of the Miller's River Bank, to be established in Athol and located in the Depot Village.

It commenced business in 1854, September 12, with a capital of \$100,000. The first president was John Boynton; cashier, Merrick H. Ainsworth. In 1856, Seth Hapgood succeeded Mr. Boynton as president, and Alpheus Harding, Jr., was appointed cashier in August of the same year. Upon the death of Mr. Hapgood, Isaac Stevens was chosen president. In August, 1857, the capital was increased to \$150,000. March 1, 1865, it was changed to the Miller's River National Bank, with same president and cashier. Capital, \$150,000; surplus, \$20,000. In January, 1866, Alpheus Harding succeeded Isaac Stevens as president, and Albert L. Newman was appointed cashier, which positions they still hold. Surplus at present time, \$100,000. The successful establishment of this bank was largely due to the zealous efforts of Charles C. Bassett in its favor.

The Athol Savings Bank was chartered Feb. 12, 1867, and commenced business in March of that year. Charles C. Bassett is president; J. S. Parmenter, vice-president. Trustees, J. C. Hill, George T. Johnson, Lewis Thorpe, N. Richardson, C. C. Bassett, J. S. Parmenter, A. Harding, Ozi Kendall, W. H. Amsden, Athol; J. G. Mudge, Petersham; Rodney Hunt, Orange; and J. W. Goodman, North Dana. Clerk and treasurer, Alpheus Harding. This bank has been admirably managed, has the entire confidence of its depositors and the community, and is an institution in which the citizens of Athol take commendable pride.

The Athol National Bank was incorporated in 1874, and commenced business in the fall of that year with a paid-up capital stock of \$100,000. Thomas H. Goodspeed, president, and Charles A. Chapman, cashier. The president says: "Its business has been steady, and its establishment has, I think, without doubt, been a benefit to the town and an additional means of accommodation to the community. It owns a good banking-house, and its future prospects are promising for a good business and fair dividends."

To the diversity of its manufactures Athol largely owes the thrift, enterprise and business prosperity which characterize the town. The settlers of the town early availed themselves of the abundant water-power furnished by Miller's River and Mill Brook. Whitney, in his "History of Worcester County," published in 1793, says: "There are in the town four grist-mills, six saw-mills, one

fulling-mill and one trip-hammer." About this time scythe works were established by Lilly & Stockwell. The business was purchased about the year 1799, by Mr. Perley Sibley, who carried it on for many years. A cotton-factory, one of the first built in this part of the country, was erected as early as 1814. About the year 1813, Mr. Eliphalet Thorpe came to town and engaged in making paper, which business he carried on for nearly forty years, employing a large number of hands for those days. He was succeeded in the business by his sons, Albert and Fenno, who continued the business for about sixteen years. Stephen Harwood engaged in the manufacture of nails and afterwards in the scythe business. Among those who early contributed to the building up of the town were Timothy Horr and Paul Morse, who utilized the waters of Mill Brook, and built several mills and houses in what is now the upper village. Barber, in his "Historical Collections of Massachusetts," says that in 1837 there were 316,000 yards of cotton goods manufactured, and boots and shoes to the value of \$58,741.

The leading industry of the town, that in which the largest amount of capital is invested, and which gives employment to the largest number of hands, is the manufacture of boots and shoes. There are five establishments engaged in this business, producing goods to the value of nearly half a million dollars annually. Foremost in this branch of industry is Mr. Charles M. Lee, who commenced the manufacture of shoes in 1850, with a capital of about \$100, going on foot to Boston to purchase his stock and returning to his father's farm, where he made his first shoes, making a few dozen pairs and selling them to the merchants of this and adjoining towns. His brothers were connected with him in the manufacture of both boots and shoes for several years, but in 1869 he withdrew from partnership, and has since confined his attention solely to the manufacturing of shoes. He at once enlarged his factory, located on Main Street, in the lower village, and put in steam-power, the first that was used in town. During the last ten years he has increased the dimensions of his factory seven times, and now gives employment to upwards of two hundred persons, turning out, annually, shoes to the value of more than \$200,000, forming the most important industry of the town, being one of the largest, if not *the* largest establishment of the kind in the world that is controlled by one man. M. L. Lee & Co. are engaged in the manufacture of men's, boys' and youth's kip boots. Their factory is located in the upper village, and their salesroom in Boston. They employ from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five hands, and their annual sales amount to \$100,000. Solon W. Lee commenced his present business in 1877, and occupies a large shop on Central Street, where he gives employment to seventy-five hands, and his annual sales amount to about \$100,000. Less than seventy years ago the father of the Lees was making four or five pairs of boots and shoes a day; now the sons are manufacturing more than fifteen hundred pairs a day, and the annual business of the four brothers amounts to nearly a million of dollars, including the products of

their factories in Athol and salesrooms in Boston. Mr. Ozi Kendall may be considered as the pioneer boot manufacturer of the town, commencing business alone in 1834 on a small scale; in January, 1856, his son George N. Kendall went in company with him, under the firm-name of O. Kendall & Son. Mr. George N. Kendall dissolved his connection with the firm in 1875. The present firm consists of Mr. Ozi Kendall, Ira Y. Kendall and George S. Pond. Their business outgrew the buildings where they first commenced, and a fine brick factory was erected on Exchange Street, in 1874, at a cost of \$10,000. They manufacture calf boots to the value of \$70,000 a year. The manufacture of furniture in its various branches is a prominent business of the place. The census report of 1875 returns seven establishments that manufactured \$172,000 worth of goods. Among those engaged in this business are the South Athol Manufacturing Company and the Eagle Furniture Company, located at South Athol, Lucien Pierce, Calvin Miller, and the Athol Furniture Company. In 1851, Mr. Laban Morse commenced the wood-working business, and in 1869, with his sons, built their present factory. In 1871, they commenced the manufacture of Morse's Patent Folding Settees, invented by Henry T. Morse, and assigned, which have proved a great success, and are now used in many of the large halls of the country. They are also engaged in the manufacture of cot-beds, cribs, cradles, &c., employing thirty hands and turning out about \$40,000 worth of goods yearly. Edwin Ellis established the door, sash and blind business in 1847; since the first ten years he has made only sash and blinds. During the thirty-two years he has been in business he has never had a partner, and during that time has probably used from twelve to fifteen million feet of lumber. Mr. W. H. Amsden was also extensively engaged in this business, in which he secured a handsome fortune, and has retired from active business, being succeeded by his son, Otho Amsden. Arthur F. Tyler does a good business in sash and blinds, and George S. Brewer, a young man who seems to have excellent business enterprise, has established a flourishing business in wood-turning. Messrs. Hapgood & Smith are extensively engaged in the manufacture of match splints, succeeding the late Lyman W. Hapgood, who was engaged in the business from 1842 to 1874. Herbert L. Hapgood is also an inventor.

The Miller's River Manufacturing Company was incorporated Dec. 1, 1863, with a capital of \$10,000. It does an extensive business in the manufacture of horse-blanket cloth and satinets, the monthly production being 16,000 yards of blanket-cloth and 10,000 yards of satinets; fifty hands are employed. The company had its mill destroyed by fire in 1875, and a new one which was built in that year partially destroyed. In 1874, Messrs. C. C. Bassett and George T. Johnson bought out all of the stockholders, and continue the business at the present time. Mr. E. E. Partridge is also engaged in the manufacture of satinets and horse-blanket cloth.

The Athol Machine Company was established in 1868, with a capital stock of \$25,000, for the purpose of manufacturing a meat and vegetable chopping

machine and other articles invented and patented by L. S. Starrett of Newburyport, now of Athol. The company was composed of some of the most enterprising business men of the town. In 1869, the capital stock was increased to \$50,000. They have also added to their list of manufactured articles a full line of vises, which has become one of the leading vises in the market. Mr. D. W. Houghton commenced the foundry business in 1863, with Mr. A. Pierce; in a few years he bought out Mr. Pierce's interest, and since then has done a flourishing business in the manufacture of the Novelty Printing-Press, and other iron work. Messrs. C. F. Richardson and G. M. Gerry are also engaged in the manufacture of various kinds of machinery.

The manufacture of cotton duck is carried on by W. A. Fisher & Co. on the same spot where the cotton-factory of 1814 was built. Mr. Fisher took the business in 1865, and now employs seventy-five hands, who turn out five thousand yards of cloth per day, besides a large quantity of satinet and blanket warp.

The bakery business established in 1856 by Mr. Theodore Locke, is now carried on by Mr. Cephas L. Sawyer, whose annual sales amount to from \$30,000 to \$40,000. Twenty-five barrels of flour per week are used, and pedlars carry the products of the shop among the towns of Vermont, New Hampshire and Western Massachusetts.

A large business in the manufacture of wallets was established in 1871, by Palmer, Bates & Co., which for several years was one of the leading industries of the town, employing at one time one hundred and twenty-five persons. The firm has recently suspended, and the business has been started anew by Mr. James P. Bates.

The woolen-waste business has been very largely carried on by the late David Smith, who accumulated a large fortune in the business, Abner Smith, and J. W. Sloan. It is now carried on by J. M. King, R. D. Leonard, W. D. Smith and others.

The building of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad caused the town to rapidly develop. The new depot, erected in 1873, at a cost of more than \$30,000, is an ornament to the town, and one of the finest between Boston and Albany. The construction of the Athol and Enfield Railroad in 1871, which was later extended to Springfield, and is now called the Springfield and North-eastern Railroad, opened a new outlet, and has proved of great advantage to the business of the town. The town voted to take \$90,000 of stock, half of which was afterwards exchanged for first mortgage bonds, which saved the town much loss. The bonds have recently been sold.

Music Hall, one of the finest public halls in the county, was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1875, and was an irreparable loss to the upper village.

Dec. 18, 1845, a destructive freshet was caused by the breaking away of the dam at Ellis' Pond, which swept away many dams and buildings on Mill Brook.

The town has recently received a novel gift of \$9,000 from Lyman Jennings of Erving, on certain conditions which the town has accepted.

Few towns are as well provided with water, both for fire and domestic purposes, as is Athol. The Athol Water Company, a stock company with a capital of \$80,000, was organized in 1876. Works constructed and water introduced in November of that year. The water, which is pure and cool, is supplied by springs and brooks in the western part of Phillipston, where the main reservoir, occupying about twenty acres, is located, five hundred feet above the lower village, and more than two hundred feet above the upper village. There are two distributing reservoirs, one situated a short distance east of the upper village, and the other south on Pleasant Street. From eight to ten miles of pipe are laid, which distributes the water through all parts of the villages. The company supplies the town with water for fire purposes from fifty hydrants, for which the towns pay \$2,500 per annum, and the water is very largely used for domestic purposes, fountains, &c. Robert Wiley, president; Solon S. Wiley, treasurer; Joseph B. Cardany, superintendent.

Gas was introduced into Athol in 1874, when the Athol Gas Light Company was organized with a capital of \$40,000. Their works were constructed and pipes laid during the summer of that year. Adin H. Smith is president, and Solon L. Wiley, clerk and treasurer.

Probably no town in the State, of the size, has as many miles of sidewalks as Athol. They are well constructed of brick and concrete. There is a continuous walk of about two miles, uniting the two villages through School Street.

In the spring of 1871 the citizens had a controversy upon the subject of fire-steamers, and an unusual degree of feeling was manifested. Several town meetings were held, and at one meeting, immediately after the choice of moderator, an adjournment *sine die* was moved and carried. The majority of the voters of the town were with the citizens of the upper village (for the two villages were in opposition similar to that which existed upon the subject of the high school house), and their wishes were triumphant. But among the firemen there was always a zealous, hearty and cordial co-operation in case of an alarm. The introduction of the pure, cool spring water from Phillipston, has removed forever any sectional feeling upon the subject referred to above.

The subject which aroused the deepest intensity of feeling of any local matter which has agitated the town of late years was that in regard to the change of the names of the post-offices, Athol and Athol Depot, in the two villages. Space forbids giving a detailed history of the controversy. The first order changing the name was revoked, but, finally, on the fifteenth day of April, 1876, an order was issued by the postmaster-general that the change of names, Athol to Athol Centre, and Athol Depot to Athol, would go into effect upon the first day of July succeeding. It was fortunate for the town that the two postmasters, Thomas H. Goodspeed and Lucien Lord, who still hold

their offices, were men of unquestioned integrity, and possessed the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens.

There are five principal localities where the people of Athol have buried their dead. The most ancient of these is what is known as the "Old Burying Ground," situated on Mill Brook, about sixty rods south-east of the railroad station; this was set apart for a burying-ground in 1741. This was used for nearly forty years, and here were laid to rest the first settlers of Athol. Nearly a century passed away, and the place where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep" became almost unknown by their descendants. This was rescued from the oblivion to which it was fast hastening, by the town, and was reconsecrated July 4, 1859, when a granite monument was erected and appropriate exercises held. The second cemetery in point of antiquity, is the one near the covered bridge on the Orange Road, where rest the remains of the unfortunate Wallingford. This was probably used as early as 1746, and was given as a burying-ground by Samuel Morton, one of the first five settlers. The old burying-ground in the upper village is sacred as the burial-place of the venerable pastors of the First Church in Athol; the earliest date engraven in that yard is Nov. 29, 1773. The first interments in the cemetery now used in the upper village were made May 25, 1843; it contains several fine monuments. The Catholics also have a consecrated cemetery located in the upper village. Silver Lake Cemetery, the latest and largest of the cemeteries, was purchased by the town in 1873. It contains twenty-nine acres, is laid out in the landscape-gardening style, and is beautifully situated, bordering on the lake from which it derives its name; diversified with shady dells and elevations, and intersected with avenues and winding paths, it forms one of the most beautiful sleeping-places of the dead to be found in the county. It was dedicated May 10, 1877.

According to the census of 1875, the population of the town was 4,134; consisting of 1,062 families, living in 809 dwelling-houses. There were 936 persons employed in 70 manufacturing establishments; the products of manufactured goods amounting to \$1,387,955. There were 85 farms, valued at \$308,380, the productions of which amounted to \$103,885. The population of the town: 1776, 848; 1790, 848; 1800, 993; 1810, 1,041; 1820, 1,211; 1830, 1,325; 1840, 1,591; 1850, 2,034; 1855, 2,395; 1860, 2,604; 1865, 2,814; 1870, 3,517; 1875, 4,134. The valuation of the town, as returned by the assessors for 1879, is \$2,200,090. Real estate, \$1,941,860; personal estate, \$528,301; polls, 1,163; dwellings, 846; horses, 439; cows, 455; sheep, 50.

It is conceded that Athol has the best roads and bridges in this part of the State, and expends large sums of money annually to keep them in repair. There is one fine iron bridge spanning Miller's River.

In the year 1857 Mrs. Sally Fish generously conveyed a tract of land containing about four acres to school district No. 7, for a public common, on

condition that the district fit it up and take care of it. The condition has been complied with. It is surrounded by a fence with stone posts, and ornamented by numerous shade-trees. Mrs. Fish lives to see her broad acres, which, not many years ago, were divided into meadow, tillage and woodland, now covered with dwelling-houses, shops and stores, and crossed by streets and avenues.

On the eighteenth day of December, 1827, the first newspaper was printed in this town by Alonzo Rawson, on a sheet 18 by 26, twenty columns, subscription price \$2 per year, \$1.50 in advance. It was called "Freedom's Sentinel," and continued in existence for two years. On the seventh day of September, 1850, "The White Flag," a 24-column weekly paper, printed on a sheet 23 by 30, was flung to the breeze, D. J. Mandell, editor and proprietor. "The White Flag" was soon furled, as Mr. Mandell states it had accomplished its mission. The Worcester West "Chronicle" was the next paper published in this town, the first number being issued on the twenty-eighth day of November, 1866, R. William Waterman, publisher and proprietor. It is now a paper of forty-eight columns, having been enlarged twice. Its motto is, "Open to all, influenced by none." No change has ever taken place in its ownership or management. The proprietor, a practical printer, has, by his persistency and great industry, achieved success in all the departments of his business. The Athol "Transcript," Republican in politics, was first published on the thirty-first day of January, 1871, by E. F. Jones & Co.; Dr. V. O. Taylor, editor. Afterwards Col. George H. Hoyt became part owner, and chief editor. The present proprietors are Smith, Hill & Co. Its editorials often attract the attention of the leading journals of New England, and extracts are frequently republished from its columns. Wells L. Hill, editor.

George H. Hoyt, a native of Athol, was born Nov. 25, 1837, a son of Dr. George Hoyt. He was one of old John Brown's counsel in Virginia in 1859. Early in 1861 he enlisted in John Brown, Jr.'s company of sharpshooters, in Ohio; afterward in the seventh Kansas cavalry, of which he was second lieutenant and captain. Subsequently he assisted in raising the fifteenth Kansas cavalry, of which he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel. After the war he was appointed brigadier-general by brevet, by President Andrew Johnson, for bravery at the battle of Newtonia. In 1868 he was attorney-general of Kansas, residing at Topeka. He returned to his native town in 1870 to reside permanently, and resumed the practice of law; took a very active and aggressive part in politics, and represented his district two consecutive years in the legislature; possessed personal courage, and had many warm friends. He died Feb. 2, 1877.

Charles H. Sweetser was born in Athol, Aug. 25, 1841; grandson of Samuel Sweetser, brother-in-law of Ex-Gov. Washburn; a graduate of Amherst College; an able editor, of fine culture and brilliant intellect; author of "The History of Amherst College"; founder of the "Round Table" in New

York, one of the best monthlies of the times; started the "Daily Mail"; in fact, did an immense amount of literary work during his short life, and died in Pilatka, Fla., January, 1871.

Hon. Benjamin Estabrook was born Nov. 23, 1803; died on the old Estabrook place, Oct. 19, 1872, aged sixty-eight years ten months and twenty-six days. He was the youngest son of Rev. Joseph Estabrook, who had seven children, — four boys and three girls. All the boys, excepting Benjamin, the youngest child, had a college education, and all the girls married: Lucy Cushing Estabrook to Col. Abner Young, a near neighbor of the family; Marcia Estabrook married Theodore Jones, Esq., and she still lives, the proud and happy mother of a large family, the youngest of whom is Jerome Jones, Esq., of Brookline; and Fidelia Estabrook, who married Rev. Preserved Smith, who, although nearly ninety years old, still survives. The boys were named Turner Estabrook, Esq., who went South, and died early; Gen. Nathaniel C. Estabrook, who died at a good old age at Leominster; Joseph H. Estabrook, M. D., now living in Rockland, Me., upwards of eighty years of age; and Benjamin. He was the worthy son of so distinguished a father. In all the offices he held, there never was a question raised as to his faithfulness, honesty and capability. His advice and counsel were constantly sought by his fellow-citizens, as was his father's before him. He loved his town, his state, and his country, and was true as steel to his friends. His father used to be somewhat proud of his English origin entire, and the son was a good representative of the best New England type of the old school. In politics, he was a Democrat. A beautiful monument of Scotch granite has been erected over his grave. *Requiescat in pace.*

Calvin Kelton was born in Athol in 1806, and died Nov. 21, 1868, aged sixty-two years. He was honored and beloved by his fellow-townsmen. His executive ability as a town officer was remarkable. He was chairman of the board of selectmen many years, and represented his town in the legislature. His character was unspotted, his influence for good extensive, and, when he died, the whole town was in mourning for the great loss.

Capt. Francis Twichell, always overflowing with wit and good nature, was the founder of a distinguished family. Sylvanus E. and Simeon F. deceased, and the Hon. Ginery Twichell of Brookline, distinguished as mail-carrier, projector of lines of staging, manager of railroads, agriculturist and member of Congress, belong to his family.

Rev. Geo. F. Humphrey is a lineal descendant of the first pastor of Athol.

Space forbids us to continue our biographies. Athol has within its limits the descendants of nearly all the old families, and each limb is connected to the original trunk by fibres of historic interest.

The following physicians are found among us: — James P. Lynde, senior physician, who holds the office of medical examiner; Henry A. Deane, appointed examining surgeon for United States pensions; James Oliver, Jr.,

brigade surgeon in the war of the Rebellion; and Hervey O. Dunbar (allopathists); S. H. Colburn (homœopathist). William F. Whitman, who has a medical institute, is widely known throughout all this section of country as a clairvoyant.

Among those born in Athol who have graduated from college are Jesse Stratton (1814, Williams), died, 1870, aged seventy-six; William La Roy Haven (1864, Williams); Joel Drury Miller (1864, Williams); Frederic Eugene Stratton (1871, Williams); Henry H. Sprague (1864, Harvard); George A. Black (1879, Harvard); John Wiswell Humphrey (1823, Williams), died 1845, aged 44; John Drury, Jr., (Williams).

Town Officers for 1879. — William W. Fish, Gilbert Southard and Wilson D. Smith, selectmen; Enoch T. Lewis, treasurer; J. Sumner Parmenter, clerk.

Trial Justices, Samuel M. Osgood and Enoch T. Lewis.

Deputy Sheriff, Gardiner Lord.

Athol is constantly receiving, from the surrounding towns, business men in the prime of life, with capital, who contribute to the growth and prosperity of the town. The public buildings are not as costly as in many towns. Pitts C. Tyler has lately constructed a fine hall, opposite the depot. The dwellings are good, and several new and elegant residences have been built within the few years last past. Lee's Block and Masonic Block are substantially constructed of brick. Among those who have been constant, in season and out of season, to promote the growth of Athol are: John C. Hill, manufacturer; Ethan Lord, large land-holder and miller; Addison M. Sawyer, inventor; Albert G. Moulton, railroad director; Jonathan Drury, lumber dealer, who has built many dwelling-houses between the villages; Charles M. Lee, manufacturer; James M. Lee, livery; Charles W. Woodward, builder; Charles W. Davenport, Joseph B. Cardany, and numerous other residents and many non-residents. Athol has three hotels, one bearing the historic name of Pequig.

The author is indebted to the Centennial address of Rev. S. F. Clark for many facts of historic interest. He also thanks Mr. Waterman for his kindness in permitting him to make extracts from the Centennial history written by the author for the columns of the "Chronicle." L. B. Caswell has also rendered very valuable aid in the collection of facts and preparation of manuscript. And to all who have taken an interest in the history of Athol, and furnished information, the author extends cordial thanks.

AUBURN.

BY GEORGE A. STOCKWELL, A. M.

CHAPTER I.

LOCATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES — POLL-PARISH AND TOWN — THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE town of Auburn lies hard by the heart of the Commonwealth. The northern point of its territorial figure — a hexagon — is within a mile of the densely populated parts of the southern ward of Worcester. The town of Leicester, high among the hills, with its sentinel church-spire, is on the west; Oxford embraces the southern angle; and the eastern boundary is the western limit of the town of Millbury. The distance from Worcester is six miles, and from Boston, fifty-one. The land surface is varied and picturesque; hill succeeds hill, here abrupt and there gradual in descent, wood-capped, pastured or tilled, with valleys between, broad, brook-fed and fertile. On the north, extending into Worcester, is Pakachoag Hill; the most extensive as well as the most fertile elevation in the township; known to early history as the residence of Sagamore John, and as the place of one of the larger settlements of the Nipmucks. The inhabitants of this Indian village, incited by King Philip, who visited Pakachoag in 1675, and led by Sagamore John, participated in the attack on Quaboag, now Brookfield, in 1675. On this hill, also, near its northern limit, in a house now standing, lived Peter Slater, "one of ye loyal men," who took an active part in the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. The plain on the summit of Pakachoag, and its northern and southern slopes, are well adapted to the prosecution of agriculture, but its south-western descent is less productive and less tilled.

In the western part of the town, now without an inhabitant, is Crowl Hill, so called from Capt. John Crowl, an early, and perhaps the original settler on that site; who reared, it is said, a family of giants. Farther south, filling the south-eastern angle, and swelling the territory of Oxford is Prospect Hill, from the summit of which the view of the surrounding country is extensive and interesting. On this hill, on the farm formerly owned by Jesse Eddy, was a wind grist-mill, in operation previous to 1812, on which the farmers in that

neighborhood depended for the grinding of their grain. The stones used in this mill were brought from Cape Cod, and in 1812 were taken by Joseph Stone for his grist-mill on the Maanexit [French] River in North Oxford.

Good farming land is found on Prospect Hill, and to its cultivation and improvement, the dwellers thereon are chiefly devoted. The eastern and southern parts of the town, where are prominent landmarks and elevations not specially named, differ little from the rest of the township in respect to irregularity of surface and beauty of natural scenery.

The water supply is abundant. The outlets of the various ponds, either alone or by confluence, furnish more power than is improved. The Blackstone River, rising in West Millbury on the east, flows northerly through Auburn and here begins its great work as a motor. Eddy Pond, in the southern territory, in the flush of spring sends a brook to the south that joins the French River in Oxford; also a perennial stream to the north, called Dark Brook, that unites with the Blackstone in Drury's Pond near the railway station. Dark Brook, although formerly supplying power for a card-mill, a scythe-mill, and a bathing-mill, now runs idly away, playing with broken dikes and dilapidated sluiceways, and with the exception of toying with a puny grist-mill, escapes the town unmolested. Kettle Brook, fed by a stream rising in the western part of the town, and by another that has its rise in Leicester, flows southerly through Stoneville — a village in the west — and joins the Blackstone in the valley below. The French River does not touch the territory of Auburn. Besides Smith's Reservoir, a storage basin on the west, there are several natural ponds, and, although small, yet the aggregate gives the town its full complement of water surface.

This "most excellent tract of land," as a certain writer terms the township of Auburn, belonged, previous to 1773, to the towns of Worcester, Leicester, Oxford and Sutton, respectively; and the part taken from Worcester was in the limits of Leicester until June 2, 1758. On June 23, 1773, what is now Auburn was "erected into" a poll-parish, and was called the South Parish of Worcester. This precinct, measured from the site chosen for the new meeting-house — the present common — and "along the roads then traveled, extended three miles into Worcester, three into Leicester, three into Oxford, and one and a half into Sutton."

The warrant for the first parish meeting was addressed to David Bancroft, Benjamin Carter, John Hart, Samuel Eddy, and Thomas Drury; and was signed by John Chandler, a justice of the peace under George III. The meeting called by this warrant was held at the house of Thomas Drury, innholder, (where all parish meetings were held until the house of worship was built,) on July 6, 1773. Jacob Stevens was chosen precinct clerk: Comfort Rice, Alexander Nichols, Benjamin Carter, John Hart, precinct committee and assessors; Jonathan Stone, treasurer, and Thomas Baird, collector. The first warrant issued by the parish committee reads thus:—

"July 27 1773 Worcester s.s. to Mr. Jacob Stevens Parish Clark You are hearby required to notifi and warn the Inhabiteence of a Parish lutly Set of from Worcester Sutton oxford lestor qualified by law to vot in Parish Affairs to meat atthe hous of thomas Drury gunyour inholder in Worcester in said Parish tuesday ye 27 Day of August to Act on the following articals 1 to chues A moderator for said meeting. 2 to See what method Said Parish will com into to provide preaching for the present. 3 to See what said Parish will towards bulding a meting hous or to act there on as said Parish se fit. Hear of feail not and make due return of your doings here in to us the subscribers on or before the said 27 Day of August witness our hands and seals this 27 Day of July 1773.

COMFORT RICE.

ALEXANDER NICHOLS,

BENJAMIN CARTER,

JOHN HART,

Parish Committee.

Worcester s.s. August the 27 1773 in obedience to the within Worent I have notified and warnel the votebel inhabiteence of said parish to meat at time and plais to act on said articals per me Jacob Stevens, Parish Clark."

Of the first parish meeting after the election of officers the following is the record: —

"August ye 27 at a legal meting 1 chose Mr. David Baineroft moderator for said meting. 2 voted to begin Preaching as soon as may be. 3 voted to chues a committy to provide preaching. 4 voted to chues five chos Mr Jonathan Stone, alexander Nichols, Benjamin Cartor, Andrew Croul, David Baineroft artical 3 voted to build A meting house. voted to chues A committy to draw a plan. voted to chues Seven. chos mr. Charles Richardson oliver Curtis Jonathan Stone timothy Cartor John Croul Samuel Eddy Peter Hardy. voted agounn this meting to the last day of this month. upon Agourment voted to except the report of the committy for Bulding A meting house 50 by 40 and 24 feet posts. voted to chues a committy to lot out the timbor and See the same to the spot. voted to chues five. first chose mr. Charles Richardson John Croul Jonathan Stone Samuel Eddy Peter Boyden A Committy. The foregoing vots pased at said meting. Atest David Baneroft moderator."

In March of the following year it was voted "to byeld one Porch to the Parish Meting hous"; in March of the next year — 1775 — the lot immediately south of the church was chosen for a "buring yard."

On March 29, 1777, it was voted in parish meeting "to petition the General Cort to be Sett off as a Town," and a committee consisting of David Bancroft, Benjamin Carter, Captain John Crowl, Charles Richardson and John Crowl, Jr., was chosen to present the petition to the General Court and to appear in its behalf. It was also voted, probably on account of the expense, that only three of the committee should "wait upon the Court at a time."

The petition was granted and the South Parish of Worcester, having the requisite number of families — thirty or more — was incorporated as a town, April 10, 1778, and named WARD, in honor of Artemas Ward, the "first major general of the army of the Revolution."

The incorporation of the town, as well as the erection of the precinct, met with much opposition, especially on the Worcester side, and the separation was effected only by persistent and continued effort. The boundaries of the new town were nearly coincident with those of the parish; but in the survey for the township several families were included in the former that were not in the latter, and *vice versa*. The act of incorporation provided that these families might retain their relations to the towns of their original settlement until they petitioned in writing to be joined to the new town. The families, or persons thus provided for were: Samuel Curtis, David Bigelow, William Elder, Benjamin Carter, Levi Chapin, John Elder, Joseph Clark, Moses Bancroft, John Savery, Lewis Stone, Abel Holman, Samuel Traft, Jabez Stockwell, Joseph Pratt, the widow Mary Bigelow, Stephen Holman, and the widow of Johnson Watson. In 1826, ten persons living in the northern part petitioned the General Court to be re-annexed to Worcester. The petitioners were given leave to withdraw, and until 1850 (although, by virtue of this provision in the act of incorporation they were citizens of Worcester, and exercised rights there) were subject to duties in this town; and at the present time, by the same provision, persons living in the limits of Oxford, vote and pay taxes in Auburn.

When the town of Ward was vested with the powers, privileges, and immunities of other municipalities, the American Colonies were contending with the English foe; the contest for liberty had only begun: independence had been declared, but it had yet to be made good and to be maintained. Five years of fighting followed; and, during this time the town of Ward, as will be seen, endured to the utmost, and was not lacking in patriotism and more substantial tokens of its sympathy in and with the common cause. The names, or number of all, either of parish or town, who served in the war, cannot be ascertained. Jonathan Stone was a member of Timothy Bigelow's company of minute-men that marched from Worcester on April 19, 1775; and his son, Jonathan Stone, Jr., afterwards made lieutenant, marched at the same time with Benjamin Flagg's company.

The first call for a town meeting was addressed to Edward Davis, justice of the peace, who was empowered to issue his warrant directed to "some principal inhabitant," who should warn those qualified to vote to assemble and choose officers. Thomas Drury, "yeoman," was, it appears, a "principal inhabitant," and from his warning the first meeting was held on May 4, 1778, and the following officers elected: Moderator, Edward Davis; Selectmen, Charles Richardson, Samuel Eddy, Nathan Patch, John Hart, Jonathan Cutler; Assessors, Nathaniel Scott, Daniel Griffith, Comfort Rice; Clerk, John Prentice; Treasurer, Jonathan Stone; Highway Surveyors, Jonas Nichols, Israel Phillips, Thomas Scott, Timothy Carter; Tything-men, Peter Hardy, John Prentice; Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, David Bancroft, William Phipps, Thomas Baird; Hog-reeves, Daniel Fitts, Jacob

Stevens : Fence-viewers, Jonas Bancroft, Darius Boyden : Field-drivers, Oliver Curtis, Jonathan Stone, Jr.

At this time the swine ran at large, sometimes yoked and ringed, and hence the necessity of reeves, drivers and fence-viewers. The common red deer, (*Cervus Virginianus*,) abounded to such an extent that deer-reeves were appointed, and, although such officers were not chosen at the first meeting, they were elected at different times subsequently. The duties of the committee of inspection and safety were the same as those of similar committees appointed in other towns at the beginning of the war; namely, to keep the town informed of the doings of Congress, State government and of other towns; also, to keep a strict watch of suspected Tories, and to report their names to a "Vigilance Committee" of the State, that they might be proceeded against if their conduct was worthy of notice"; also, after the passage of the Bill of Rights, to see that no British goods, especially tea and molasses, were used by the inhabitants; and, again, to take or devise any measures necessary for the safety of the town.

At the first meeting of the town the only business transacted was the election of officers. At the second, held on May 21, 1778, the warrant contained this article: "To see what sums of money the Town will grant to support preaching in s'd Town. For reparation of highways. And defraying other Town charges for the Courant year. Also what money the Town will raise to apply to the purpose of hiring men to serve in the army in behalf of s'd Town." It was voted to raise £125 to support preaching; also £100 for repairing highways, and £500 for hiring men "into the army." Thus it will be seen that at the first meeting the first grant was to provide for the standing order, and that the largest grant was in behalf of the Revolution.

On Aug. 26, 1779, Capt. Samuel Eddy was chosen a delegate to the Cambridge Convention to assist in framing a Bill of Rights and Constitution.

In October, 1779, Captain John Crowl, of the committee for hiring men into the public service, "exhibited an account for Expenditures in s'd Trust, namely: For 2 men to Rhode Island, £120; for 3 men for 9 months, at 90 bush. of corn each, £972; for 2 men to Rhode Island, £90." At the same meeting it was voted to raise £1,064 for hiring soldiers.

At a meeting held on May 1, 1780, a committee "appointed by the town of Ward to set forth and exhibit ye sentiments of s'd town respecting a proposed Constitution and form of government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," reported thus:

"Voted, That we cordially approve of s'd Constitution as to the substance thereof as what appears to us to be Salutary and well adapted.

"2nd. We beg leave however (with due deference to the Convention) to Suggest that we look upon ye great disproportion proposed in the matter of representation between greater and lesser Towns merely on ye account of numbers to be pregnant with dangerous Consequences with respect to some very important matters therefore

we could heartily wish that representation might be weighed by ye number of polls, which would be similar to ye proceedings of ye Hon'ble Congress and some neighboring well regulated States that have been attended with very wholesome effects, and that we are greatly dissatisfied with the long term of 15 years proposed for the run of a constitution previous to any revision, amendment, or alteration for that we conceive the most wise and wholesome Sistem of Gov't supposable must be likely to need some alteration, or amendment, at least as to certain appendages in less than half ye No. of 15 years; and we pray the matter may be duly Considered and we hope to be pardoned in thus freely opening our thots in these affairs. Respectfully submitting these matters therefore to the wisdom and candor of that venerable body we shall rejoice to see the happyfying Establishment of Gov't completed as soon as may be."

At the first election of state officers in 1780 the town gave thirty-four votes for John Hancock for governor, and twenty-nine for Artemas Ward for lieutenant-governor.

On October 12, 1780, the town voted to "raise the sum of £4,215 to be assessed and collected forthwith to purchase the Quantity of Beef for ye army"; and in December following £8,094 was appropriated for the same purpose. In August, 1781, the committee on hiring soldiers reported having "Engaged one man for Rhode Island for five months for fifty Bush. of Ric and three men elsewhere for three months at 45 dollars specie."

In the spring of 1781, when the town, like many or all others, was struggling with an inflated currency and a depleted treasury, and when, apparently, the last farthing of public money had been demanded and obtained by the State, the General Court called upon the town to furnish five men for the public service; and in this strait, sore pressed as they were, the inhabitants grumbled not, but renewed their exertions with "willing minds," as the following will show: The committee for furnishing recruits reported that, "Considering the importance of the present requisition from Authority for recruiting the Continental Army *which we desire ever to Keep in View as an Object of the Most interesting of any Affair that respects things of Temporary Consideration,*" it was expedient to offer to "any man to the number of five £100 hard money, or 18 calves of middling value, and those calves keep free of charge to them during the term of three years service, and 50 silver dollars to each man on his march to supply him with pocket money, and that at the expiration of such term of service to deliver those calves at what age they may have arrived." Phineas Parsons and Timothy Buxton immediately accepted the cash offer, and John Todd that of the calves; later two other men were secured, and the quota was full again.

In the same year the town passed the following resolutions "respecting the non-admittance of those persons Commonly Called Absentees, or Refugees, alias Tories into these American States," in consequence of similar resolves passed by the town of Boston and sent to the town of Ward: "And therefore resolved that the town doth highly approve of the sentiments contained in those

Resolves and do expect and enjoin it upon the committee of correspondence inspection and safety of this town and their successors to use their utmost vigilance to detect any of those miscreants who may presume to re-enter this land of freedom and mingle with the children of Liberty contrary to the laws thereof. Resolved that on every principle, moral, natural, civil, and social, the prohibition of their becoming Denizens of these states must and ought to be absolute and perpetual. And even the softer passions of pity and compassion forbid their return to this country since should they be found thereon we have the greatest reason to expect many of the citizens would feel themselves impelled from a remembrance of the wanton cruelty and barbarity which they have experienced immediately at their hands, or by their chicanery and instigation, to retaliate even to the Death of the object of their resentment, so that on the one hand our Land thereby might again become the theatre of bloodshed and on the other, those miserable wretches would make their sudden exit to the world of spirits for which we have reason to fear, they are but illy prepared; therefore avault; ye ingrates, we say! Begone, and abide the consequences of your own choosing. Resolved the town clerk be and hereby is directed to enroll a fair copy of these resolutions with the records of the town, there to abide a standing remembrance of the Sentiments of this town on the subject."

In the insurrection of 1787 Capt. Jonah Goulding, afterwards colonel in the State militia, led his company to Worcester, surrounded the court house and prevented Judge Artemas Ward opening court. For this he was imprisoned according to his own account, "forty days and forty nights," and in addition, was threatened with hanging.

In 1837 the name of the town, owing to its similarity to "Ware" and the consequent confusion in the transmission of letters, was changed to AUBURN.

CHAPTER II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY — SCHOOLS AND LIBRARY — MANUFACTURING INTERESTS — THE CIVIL WAR — EMINENT MEN.

As already given, the first act of the incorporate town was to grant money for religious purposes. The church edifice was begun in 1773, and, although occupied in 1776, was not completed as late as 1786; owing, doubtless, to the "unfurnished condition" of the treasury. Many of the town warrants contained articles in regard to the completion of the house, and that for March 2, 1779, this: "To see if the town will give order to have the meeting-house fully finished with convenient speed, or forthwith."

The original house of worship had neither belfry nor steeple; these have



C. W. & J. E. SMITH'S MILL, AUBURN, MASS.



MANUFACTORY OF C. W. & J. E. SMITH, BARRE, MASS.

been added, and the edifice now is of the prevailing Congregational type. It stands, facing the common, a few rods west of its first site. The church was organized on January 25, 1776, and a committee appointed to secure a gospel minister. Mr. Josiah Allen declined the call of the town and society, and Mr. James Reed also, although the latter was offered one thousand bushels of corn and thirty cords of wood, annually, for his support during his continuance in the pastoral office. On December 30, 1782, it was voted "to have a Weekly Contribution on each Lord's Day we shall have public Worship, for the purpose of supplying the pulpit; and that said committee collect and apply the same accordingly. And that such money as may be enclosed in paper and marked with ye sum and Contributor's name to be allowed and discounted to the amount thereof on the Ministerial tax of Such Contributor." This was the first step in this town towards the separation of Church and State.

There was no settled pastor till 1784, when, on October 11, the town concurred with the church in ordaining Mr. Isaac Bailey, on November 3. Mr. Bailey was given "£60 in settlement and £60 annually, including twenty-five cords of wood," which was "put up at vendue," at town meeting. Mr. Bailey remained until his death in 1814. His successors were: Enoch Pond, 1815 to 1828; Minor G. Pratt, 1828 to 1848; Charles Chamberlin, 1851 to 1853; L. I. Hoadley, 1854 to 1858; Darwin Adams, 1858 to 1860; Charles Kendall, 1860 to 1866; D. W. Richardson, 1866 to 1868; George French, 1868 to 1869; Elnathan Davis, 1869 to 1879. The hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Congregational Church was celebrated on Jan. 26, 1876.

In 1815, on February 9, a Baptist Church was organized in the western part of the town, at a place called Warrenville. The letters-missive, inviting the churches in Thompson, Conn., Sturbridge, Charlton, Worcester and Sutton to meet at the house of Jonah Goulding to fellowship a number of their faith and order in Ward and Oxford, were issued by the church in Sutton. Jonah Goulding and Samuel Warren were leaders in this movement, gave the communion service and the land for the house of worship, which they built. At the death of the former, the church received a legacy of \$158.47. Dr. Jonathan Going of Worcester often supplied the pulpit, either in person or by young men then preparing for the ministry under his tuition. The pastors of this church were: Elders Isaac Dwinell, Elias McGregory and John Paine. The latter served the society for ten years till 1837, when it was disbanded, the majority of the members uniting with others to form the North Oxford Baptist Church. The house of worship, which stood where the burial-yard now is, was removed, used for a tannery, and afterwards burnt.

In 1870, a Catholic mission was established, and a chapel built at Stoneville, by the St. John's Society of Worcester.

The educational interests of the town received early attention. On March 29, 1779, £200 was appropriated for school purposes, and, in the same year, the town was divided into five school squadrons or districts. Later, there was

an article in the town warrant "to see if the town will hold a school about the centre, specially and particularly for instruction of ye youth in writing, ciphering and spelling orthographically." The first school committee was appointed on May 4, 1780, and consisted of Jonathan Stone, Darius Boyden, Jesse Stone, John Prentice and Andrew Cowl. The town is now divided into six districts; the number of pupils is about one hundred; the school buildings and property are valued at six thousand five hundred dollars, and the last appropriation for schools was one thousand five hundred dollars.

A public library was founded in 1872 by William Craig, who bequeathed to the town one thousand dollars for a library, on condition that a like amount, for the same purpose, was appropriated by the town. The library contains about eight hundred volumes, and is supported by the increase of the fund, and by town grants.

At the settlement of the town, and indeed for many years thereafter, the only cluster of houses was near the church and common, on the summit of a hill near the centre of the township; and, with respect to the number of dwellings and inhabitants at this centre, there has been little change in a hundred years. It is, however, a neat and trim, well-shaded village, and its appearance betokens thrift and comfort. Fifty years ago, there were two classes in town; namely, the aristocracy and the yeomanry. Only the farmer class exists at the present time.

From the centre radiate four roads, — north, east, south and west; and on these and their branches, despite the frequent cropping out of Merimac schist and gneiss, are the farms and tilled lands that make Auburn what it claims to be, — a producing, agricultural district. The adjacent hills were occupied at the incorporation of the town, and to-day some are held by the lineal male descendants of the first settlers. The soil is a dark, strong loam, growing lighter in the southern part of the town, and produces abundantly.

North of the centre, distant two miles, on the eastern slope of the highlands, is Stoneville, a neat manufacturing village on Kettle Brook. Here, for many years previous to 1835, was a fulling-mill, built and operated by Samuel Clark, where cloth, made on hand-loom, was dressed. In 1835, or thereabouts, Jeremy Stone built, a few rods below the old mill on Kettle Brook, the present stone structure, now used for a cotton-mill. This was intended for a woolen-mill, but contained at first only fulling machinery. After the death of Jeremy Stone, the property was sold to Loring F. Perry, on Sept. 14, 1839. Rufus Hastings was the next owner, and on Feb. 2, 1842, the Stoneville Manufacturing Company, of which Rufus Hastings was president and A. L. Ackley agent, bought the mill and village. John C. Farnum & Co. were in possession in 1857, and then failed. On June 4, 1859, John Smith of Barre bought the entire property, and his sons, C. W. & J. E. Smith of Worcester, are now owners and operators. Cotton sheeting is made here, and one hundred and twenty thousand yards are produced per month, with the aid of

four thousand eight hundred spindles and seventy-five operatives. In the same village, owned by the same firm and operated by H. M. Witter & Co., is a worsted-mill, employing two thousand five hundred warps, seventy-five operatives, and making one hundred and fifty thousand yards of tape and trimmings a day.

In the eastern part of the town, on the Blackstone, is Larnedville, built and owned by B. F. Larned, a resident of Auburn. This privilege was occupied, a hundred or more years ago, by Charles Richardson, who had a saw and grist mill here. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph Richardson, of whom Leonard Rice bought the property on Dec. 29, 1837. Anson Sanborn was afterward in possession, and sold to John Densmore, who rebuilt, improved and enlarged both dam and buildings. Otis N. Pond was the next owner, and was succeeded by Philander Pond. Afterward the firm-name was Pond & Larned; then Baker & Rhodes, W. Baker & Co., and Baker & Larned. B. F. Larned is now sole proprietor of mill and village, and manufactures satinets and union cassimeres, of which thirty-five thousand yards a month are produced by means of sixty operatives, and four sets of machinery.

At Drury's Pond one mile north of the centre of the town was formerly a flour and grist mill, and, later, a shoddy and saw mill. This is not now improved. Near this place is the station of the Norwich and Worcester branch of the Hartford and Erie Railroad, opened March 14, 1838. The track enters the town on the north, at the foot of Pakachoag Hill and skirts it to the south. The Boston and Albany Railroad enters the western territory of the town, but has no station within it.

In the western part of the town, at Warrenville, is a tannery, established over a hundred years ago, now operated by John Warren, a descendant of the original founder.

Auburn was a post-town in 1825, and at that time the post-office was at the centre, in the store of Zebulon Cary, who was postmaster. He was followed in this office by Lyman Gale, Minor G. Pratt, E. M. Knowles, William Bunce and Alvin Howe, the present postmaster. In 1842, the office was removed to the railroad station, and is now near it in a dwelling-house.

In the war of the Rebellion, Auburn contributed ninety-seven men; five more than required by the State. The first town meeting held to consider war measures, was called on May 6, 1861, when one thousand dollars was voted on behalf of the war. On June 6, of the same year, the town voted to send five dollars to each volunteer then in service. On July 26, 1862, a bounty of one hundred and fifty dollars was offered by the town, and increased by private subscription to one hundred and seventy-five dollars. At the same meeting a committee of six, one in each school district, was chosen to "encourage enlistments." On Aug. 23, 1862, the town offered one hundred dollars to those who entered the service for nine months, and to this amount was added five dollars from private purses. In 1864, the bounty voted was one hundred

and twenty-five dollars, and so remained till the close of the war. The total war expenses amounted to four thousand five hundred and thirty-five dollars, besides three thousand six hundred and eighty dollars raised by private subscription. A granite shaft was erected in 1870, in the lower cemetery, to the memory of those who lost their lives in the service of the United States. It bears these names : B. B. Jennison, Rhodes Stafford, William Hart, William H. Legg, E. D. Stowell, Daniel L. Hewett, Edward B. Stowell, George F. Newton, George S. Williams, George D. Rice, Henry G. Newton, James Dolligan, Joseph Delany, John G. Bean, M. M. Lovering.

Auburn has been represented in the General Court by Capt. Samuel Eddy, in 1787 ; Joseph Stone, 1788, 1806 ; Jonah Goulding, 1810, 1811 ; Recompense Cary, 1814, 1816 ; Samuel Boyden, 1829 ; Daniel Green, 1832, 1833 ; Minor G. Pratt, 1834 ; Edward Rice, 1835 ; Isaac Stone, 1836 ; Israel Stone, 1837 ; Samuel Eddy and Lewis Eddy, 1838 ; William Emerson, 1841 ; Hervey Bancroft, 1842 ; Thomas Merriam, 1843 ; William Craig, Nathaniel Stone ; A. L. Ackley, 1850, 1851 ; John Warren, 1853 ; Emory Stone, 1854 ; Marcus Barrett, 1858 ; Elbridge G. Warren, 1862 ; Ezra Rice, 1868 ; Warren Sibley, 1873.

Jacob Whitman Bailey, son of the first pastor, was an eminent naturalist, inventor of Bailey's Indicator, and of improvements in the microscope. He was graduated at West Point in 1838, and, later in life, was president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He was called the "father of microscopical science." He died at West Point, where he was professor, on Feb. 6, 1857.

Enoch Pond, D. D., the second pastor of the Auburn Congregational church, was the founder of Bangor (Maine) Theological Seminary, and for many years its senior professor. He is now living.

Thomas Green, brother of Daniel Green, physician to the town for fifty years, was a surgeon in the Revolutionary army. He attained eminence in his profession, and died March 12, 1812.

Jonah Goulding Warren, was born in Auburn on Sept. 11, 1812 ; was graduated at Brown University in 1835, and at Newton Theological Seminary in 1838 ; was pastor of the Central Baptist Church in Chicago, Ill., until 1849, and pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church of Troy, N. Y., until 1855, when he became corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Union, and held that position until 1872. In 1857, the honorary degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by the University of Rochester, N. Y. He is still living, and resides in Newton, Mass.

A few of the more important statistics of the place, derived from the census and other sources are given in conclusion : Area, 8,997 acres ; dwellings, 198 ; families, 254 ; polls, 290 ; voters, 219 ; farms, 78 ; acreage of same, 6,545 acres ; do. of cultivated lands, 2,084 acres ; horses, 139 ; cows, 372. Value farm property, \$494,634 ; do. farm products, \$120,689.

B A R R E.

BY FREDERICK CLIFTON PIERCE.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGINAL CONNECTION OF THE TOWN — INDIAN PURCHASE — EARLY VOTES —
PETITION FOR INCORPORATION — CHANGE OF CORPORATE NAME — FIRST SET-
TLERS — ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY — EARLY AND LATER DENOMINATIONS —
EDUCATIONAL MATTERS — STATISTICS — TEACHERS OF LIBERAL EDUCATION.

This town was originally a part of Rutland, and as such was known as the "North-west Quarter." This tract of land was included in the purchase made on the twenty-second of December, 1686, by Henry Willard, Joseph Rowlandson, Joseph Foster, Benjamin Willard and Cyprian Stevens, of Joseph Trask, alias Paagushen, of Pennicooke; and Job, alias Pompomany, of Natick; and Simon Pitteum, alias Wananacompom, of Wamisick; and Sosowannow of Natick; and James Wiser, alias Qualapunit, of Natick; — these five Indians dwelling in His Majesty's territory in America — for "twenty-three pounds in hand paid," the said "Indians for themselves and all their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, did freely, fully, and absolutely, give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoffee, make over, and confirm unto the above-named Willard, Rowlandson, Foster, Benjamin Willard, and Stevens, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, a certain tract of land, containing twelve miles square, according to the butts and bounds as described in the indenture." This instrument is dated "*Anno Regni Regis Jacob. Secund. 1686,*" and is duly signed and acknowledged March 15, 1686. Nearly thirty years elapsed after this date before any further action was taken regarding the ownership or the settlement of this territory. But not far from the end of that interval, to wit, Feb. 23, 1713, an act was obtained from the Great and General Court confirming to the heirs of the Willards the Indian title of 1686, "provided that within seven years sixty families be settled in the territory." In order to effect such a settlement, the owners who were of small means, associated with them several gentlemen of substance, who together constituted a Proprietors' Company. Their associates were: Hon. William Taylor, Esq., of Dorchester; Penn Townsend, Paul Dudley, Addington Davenport, Adam Winthrop, Thomas Hutchinson, Esquires; Thomas Fitch, merchant; John White, gentleman, all of

Boston; Thomas How, Esq., of Marlborough; John Chandler, Esq., of Woodstock; William Dudley, Esq., of Roxbury; John Farnsworth of Groton, yeoman; the children and heirs of Peter Bulkely, late of Concord, deceased, and in right of said Peter; Moses Parker of Chelmsford, yeoman; and Jacob Stevens of Stow, yeoman. When the seven years were completed it was found that the condition had been fulfilled. Several of the sixty families of Rutland had their residence in this part of the town, and others were added to them from time to time till the proprietors, at a meeting held Nov. 7, 1733, passed several votes having reference to the formation here of a new town. They voted:—

First. That some spot as near the centre of the North-west Quarter as convenience allows, be found and pitched upon for setting the meeting-house, in the midst of some considerable quantity of good land fit for settlement.

Second. That one lot for the minister ordained there, and another lot for the school forever, each of fifty acres of good land, be laid out in a convenient place near said spot pitched upon for the meeting-house.

Third. That sixty-six other lots of good land, of fifty acres each, as near as may be to the said spot for the meeting-house, be laid out for homesteads; and when any of the said sixty-six lots fall short in quality, to be made up in quantity.

The other articles acted upon at this meeting assessed a tax, laid out highways, appointed collectors and a treasurer. The next thing necessary was to have the whole tract surveyed into lots and farms. When the survey was completed, its plans bore the signature of Samuel Willard, contractor, and Henry Lee, surveyor. The proprietors held a meeting at the Light House Tavern in Boston, Dec. 5, 1748, at which a large number were present. In pursuance of votes passed at this meeting the proprietors' committee presented a petition "to set off & Erect the sd North-Western Quarter with all the Inhabitants into a Town or otherwise into a separate District with all the privileges & powers of a Town."

To His Excellency, Wm. Shirley, Esq. Capt. General & Governour in Chief in & over His Majestys Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England and Vice Admiral of the same & to the Honorable His Majestys Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled.

"The petition of the committee of the Proprietors of the Township of Rutland (the original settlers part excepted) in the County of Worcester in sd Province in behalf of themselves & sd Proprietors & according to their votes & Directions, Humbly sheweth. That the sd Proprietors have been for above these fifteen Years at great & Constant Pains & Expense of time and many hundred Pounds in Running the Bounds, surveying Dividing & Laying Out Lots, finding out & clearing Roads, Building of Bridges, settling Inhabitants & paying for Preaching in the North Western Quarter of the Township of Rutland. That the sd North Westerly Quarter is a bounte the Quantity of six miles Square more or less according to the plan herewith^{with} exhibited bounded East North

Easterly about six miles on the North Easterly Quarter of said Township, South South Easterly about six miles, partly on the original settlers Quarters & partly on the West wing of sd Township. West South Westerly about six miles partly on Brantree Grant & partly on Hardwick, North North Westerly on Nichaway so called. That there are now Settled on sd Quarter near Thirty families consisting of above one hundred souls who stand in need of a Settled Gospel Ministry & Ordinances and the Adult are Earnestly Desirous of them, but cannot obtain them without a proper Encouragement by your excellency & Honours. That the sd proprietors in view of sd Quarter being erected into a Town have given Laid out & set apart a fifty acre lot of Choice Good Land & another Farm of Two Hundred Forty Seven Acres for the first Orthodox Minister that shall be ordained there, and a fifty acre Lot for the use of a School there forever. And therefore your petitioners Earnestly Desire That yr Excellency and Honours would in your Great Wisdom Set off & Erect the sd North Western Quarter with all the Inhabitants into a Town or otherwise into a Separate District with all the privileges & Powers of a Town so far as to Chuse All Sorts of Town Officers among themselves & make all kinds of Rules on the Inhabitants of sd District for building houses for Publick worship settling & maintaining ministers laying out & making roads and f'r all other Services of a Public Nature which any Towns in the Province are by Law Enabled to do. Only reserving to themselves the Liberty allowed by Charter and the Laws of joining in Common with the other freeholders of sd Township in chusing and being Chosen Representatives to Serve in the Genl Assembly as also Desiring the Power of assessing Leveling & Raising a Tax of Sixpence Old Tenor upon every Standard acre in sd District for the first five Years next Ensuing annually f'r the purposes above sd Excepting only sd land granted to sd ministers and school wh. sd Tax in their present Infant & feeble State of less than Thirty Families is of absolute necessity for them. And your Petitioners might humbly offer the following among other Weighty Reasons 1 — The sd Quarter is nearly a Square body of generally good Land suitable & sufficient for such a Town or District. 2 — The Center of sd Quarter is about Ten miles Distant from the place of worship of the Original settlers and some parts of sd Quarter about fourteen miles off. A very heavy Inconvenience either to be warned to their common Town Meetings or to attend them or to serve as Town Officers for so great an Extent. & 3 — The Inhabitants of the Original Settlers part are so sensible of this hardship as they have expressed their Willingness above four years and nine months ago of the sd North Westerly Quarter being detached from them, as appears by their attested vote herewith offered. 4 & Lastly. Upon your Excellency & Honors now granting the sd District there are so many people straightened in other places ready to move into this as afford a most rational prospect that in case of another war the sd Quarter will grow so full of people as, instead of needing soldiers stationed among them at the Publick charge for their Defense, they will not only be sufficiently able with the Divine help to Defend themselves but also have numbers to spare for the Defense of other places above them. And your Petitioners shall ever pray as Bound, &c.

THOMAS PRINCE,
JONAS CLARK,
THOMAS HUBBARD,
CORNELIUS WALDO,

Propriets Committee."

This petition was signed by the proprietors' committee and twenty-eight inhabitants, and duly presented to the governor and council. In the follow-

ing June, 1749, the north-west quarter was incorporated by the name of Rutland District. The inhabitants acquired a legal corporate existence, with all the rights belonging to a town, save only that of being represented in the General Court. The grave questions which agitated the Colony prior to the Revolution made it important to the district to be represented in the General Court. Its population had been more than doubled since its incorporation, and it was, therefore, entitled to all the rights of a town. Accordingly, in a warrant issued March 15, 1773, the article numbered eight reads: "To see if the District will petition the Great and General Court to be set off as a town, or to act anything relative thereto." The meeting was held in April, when the proposition was adopted unanimously, and a committee chosen to present the petition. Between the action of the legislature in February and that in June, Gov. Hutchinson had been succeeded in office by Gage, who, it is believed, caused the name of his predecessor to be inserted in the bill instead of Barre, as petitioned. Thus it will be seen that Hutchinson came into existence as a town amid the birth-throes of the Revolution, in the last days of the existence of a House of Representatives under the Provincial Charter. The District did not assume the functions of a town until the January following its incorporation. But in August previous it voted to "pay the town's proportion for support of the Congress to be holden at Philadelphia," and also chose a "Committee of Safety." And on the 12th of September, eight days before the assembling of Congress, a movement was made for the reorganization of the militia. The first legal town meeting of Hutchinson was held Jan. 10, 1778, when it was voted to "accept the Continental Congress Resolves in full," and Deacon John Mason was chosen delegate to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge. This town bore, since its full incorporation, June 17, 1774, the name of Hutchinson. The public course of Gov. Hutchinson had made it an odious name to all earnest patriots. The people of this town could not patiently endure to date their letters, or subscribe their names, or anywhere report themselves as belonging to Hutchinson; after bearing the reproach as long as they could, they resolved to take the necessary steps to have it changed, and for this purpose a town meeting was called, and a petition to the legislature was adopted. The phraseology of the petition was sufficiently emphatic to express the feeling of the people. The petition took the usual course; and on the 7th of November—four months and three days after the Declaration of Independence—an act was passed, entitled, "An Act for discontinuing the name of a Town in the County of Worcester, lately incorporated by the name of Hutchinson, and calling the same Barre." The petitioners suggested the name of Wilkes. At whose instance the name of Barre* was given to the town is not known. In October, 1776, the town

* This name was given in honor of Col. Isaac Barré, a distinguished member of Parliament and friend of the Colonies. He was born in Dublin about 1726, the son of Peter Barré, a refugee from France. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of fourteen, and shortly afterwards

voted "to authorize the present House of Representatives to frame a Constitution of Government for the State." But when the Constitution had been framed, and the vote was taken on its acceptance eighteen months later, April 27, 1778, the town, acting with a great majority of the people of the State, rejected it. Not long after a Constitution had been adopted, to wit, May 1, 1781, arose the famous "Barre Slave Case," a detailed account of which, from the learned and accurate pen of Professor Emory Washburn, was published a few years ago in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society."

Of the first settlers, Henry Lee of Worcester was an earnest and efficient promoter of the prosperity of the incipient town. He was the father of five sons, all of whom settled here. He was born in Ipswich, May 16, 1686, and died in Concord, Feb. 25, 1745. He was a man of considerable note in his day, as is evident from his having been one of the justices of the sessions of the county, and one of the selectmen of the town of Worcester.

James Caldwell, an early settler, was the eldest son of William and Sarah (Morrison) Caldwell, who came to this country from Ireland in 1718-19, and settled in Worcester. He remained there, however, not many years, for prior to the year 1730 he had removed to the "North-west Quarter." James Caldwell, tradition says, came before his father William, "and lived alone all one winter under a shelving rock"; then erected his house, the first frame-house in the place. He is said to have acquired the ownership of sixteen hundred acres of land.

But there were settlers here before the Lees and Caldwells. The earliest, it is believed, was Joshua Osgood, born in Andover, Sept. 2, 1694, who purchased a farm in the "North-west Quarter" in 1726. He is represented to have been a substantial and excellent citizen. Both he and his wife lived to a very great age, faithful in the discharge of their duties to God and man; especially heedful of that most ancient command, "Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth,"—their posterity numbering, it is computed, not less than twelve hundred souls. A little later came two important and influential settlers from Worcester, — Jotham Rice and James Holden; and these were followed in a few years (1753) by Jonas Rice from the same town. The latter was a son of Jonas Rice, the "first settler" of Worcester, known in its history as the "father of the town." He filled many town offices, some of them to the close of his life. In 1753, when eighty years old, he was appointed one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester County, in which office he died during the same year. Jonas, the son, who came to this town, was for many years a deacon of the church, and died in 1793, at the age of eighty-six years. On the same farm which he tilled now resides his great-grandson, — Hon. Henry E. Rice, — a member of the board of county com-

entered the army as ensign; he became lieutenant, a major of brigade, and finally adjutant-general. During his political career Barré was First Lord of the Board of Trade, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Clerk of the Pells. He died aged seventy-six.

missioners. Jotham Rice was of another family, though from the same town; a man of great energy, whom no hardships could daunt, no dangers alarm. When he came, there were no roads, and he picked his way through the woods, between here and Rutland, guided by marked trees. It is a family tradition that he brought on his horse before him a little boy but four years old, and that they spent the first night in the woods, the father placing the saddle over the boy to protect him from the rain, and kindling a fire to frighten away the wild beasts. Cyrus Rice, who resided in Worcester, removed to this place; he subsequently removed to Conway, where he was the first settler. Here he was soon joined by Israel Gates and Robert Hamilton of this town, and the descendants of these three men have been among the most influential and respected inhabitants of Conway. Of those who came here about the time of the Rices was the above-named James Holden. He was evidently a man of character and weight, since he was one of the selectmen of Worcester before his removal to the "North-west Quarter." His descendants have been highly respectable. Josiah, his son, was father of James and Moses, who were active and energetic citizens. It would be impossible to do justice to the early settlers; to tell of the Cunninghams, Davises, Heatons, Stevenses and Hills, or of Marmaduke Black, commonly known as "the old Duke," by birth a Scotchman, who lived a short time at Noddle's Island, and thence removed to this place, where he purchased what is now known as the "Bemis Farm," and became a man of much influence; or of the Wallises, Forbushes, Nourses and Metcalfs, all men of substance; or of the two brothers Jonathan and Nehemiah Allen, the former of whom set out the first orchard in the place, having brought from Lexington forty apple-trees and his young wife on the back of his horse. All these heads of families, and others to the number of thirty, were here before or near 1750. They were for the most part a God-fearing people, and highly prized the ordinances of religion, which were the strength and glory of New England.

Associated with those already mentioned were Deacon John Mason, Nathan Sparhawk, Asa Hapgood and Deacon Andrew Parker. The last named came from Lexington, and possessed many of the traits exhibited by his blood-relation of Revolutionary fame, Capt. John Parker, and also the late distinguished reformer and preacher, Theodore Parker. Under the management of these men, with the industrious co-operation of their constituents, the district advanced rapidly in population and prosperity. Forests were felled, roads were opened, streams were spanned by bridges, saw-mills turned out lumber, houses went up, harvests ripened, and on every hand were signs of thrift which made all hearts glad. Each year the district was re-inforced by immigrations. Those who came were strong men, the greater part in the prime of manhood, full of grit, willing to endure hardness, and bent on making cheerful homes for themselves where land was cheaper and more productive than in the towns which they had left. These additions kept

things lively. There was exhilaration in every step of progress towards comfort ; in every house-raising and house-warming ; in the sight of every new field ploughed and planted ; of every fleece carded, spun and woven ; and of every addition to herd or flock. Amongst those who came about the middle of the last century, and who were important accessions, were Benjamin Jenkins, with three adult sons, from Barnstable County ; Seth Perry from Martha's Vineyard ; William Buckminster from Framingham ; Launcelot Oliver from Georgetown ; William Robinson from Newton. There were also here, at this period, two brothers Bullard and two brothers Bent ; of the latter, one was magistrate, town clerk and town treasurer.

The Jenkins family, before mentioned, was large and influential. The first of the name had three sons, Benjamin, Jr., Southworth and Timothy. The father came first, and then returned to bring the others. He purchased of Nathaniel Jennison about three hundred acres of land in the western part of the district, where he lived, and where, at fourscore years of age, he died, having first divided the estate into three equal farms, constructed commodious buildings, and settled his three sons, who all lived, died and were buried on the paternal acres. Benjamin, Jr., the "old squire," was a man of strong and vigorous understanding, quite distinguished as a magistrate, and left, it is said, the best farm and farm-buildings in western Worcester. Southworth, a name traceable to the "first comers" of Plymouth Colony, left six sons. One of these became a clergyman of eminence, and was settled first at Greenfield, then at Portland, Me., the honored father of the Rev. John L. Jenkins, now a highly-respected minister of Amherst. Timothy married a sister of Seth Perry, and had nine children. Among the settlers who came later, were the Harwoods, Sibleys, Hollands, Howlands, Breads, Hardings, Robinsons, Adamases and others whose coming was for strength and honor. To that part of Shrewsbury now Boylston, we are indebted for the Hollands, who "have made a mark in the community as straightforward, honorable men, prompt and energetic in discharge of all public duties, and truly valuable citizens." Certainly, their record of official service is most creditable to them, some one of the family having filled important posts in the town for more than sixty years. Daniel Harwood came from Sutton, and brought with him ten children, remarkable for longevity. The father died at the age of eighty-seven years, and the aggregate age of the ten children was seven hundred and ninety-nine ; making an average of a fraction less than eighty years. The sons all settled here, possessing themselves of some of the best land in town, and becoming foremost among its agriculturists. One of them — Daniel Harwood, M. D., of Boston — reflects particular honor upon his native town by the eminence he has attained in his profession, having stood for years confessedly at the head of it in his chosen department. When a chair of instruction in it was established at Harvard University, he was selected by the government to fill the professorship, but felt compelled to decline the honor and service. Samuel

and Job Sibley also came from Sutton, and settled in the easterly part of the town. The former brought with him four sons, all remarkable for muscular development and strength. One of the sons, Capt. Lyman, born May 18, 1784, began early to take an active part in town affairs. More than forty years he was the accurate and popular town clerk. Those of the generation now passing away will recall the interest with which, after the benediction at the close of the afternoon service on Sunday, his clear, ringing voice proclaimed, above the clatter of the pew seats as they came down, "the intention of marriage" between sundry parties about to enter the bands of wedlock. In winter, for many years, he was a successful teacher. He was the father of a numerous family. Into the same section of the town where the Sibleys lived had come, somewhat earlier, from Holliston, David Underwood. Of him was Joseph, and of him Gen. Orison, who has long been a prominent citizen of Milford, and, till lately, the head of a large mercantile house in Boston. His career from the smallest beginnings has been highly successful, and he has received many marks of consideration from the political party to which he belongs. But that which is regarded as his chief distinction is his being the father of another Gen. Underwood, the hero of no sham fight of a holiday muster, but the intrepid commander and leader of the Massachusetts thirty-third in the storming of Lookout Mountain, whence he was borne with loss of a leg and his body riddled with bullets. For his conduct and bravery in the battle, he was promoted brigadier-general by Hooker on the spot; and subsequently, by Secretary Stanton, in person, was breveted major-general.

The first vote passed at the proprietors' meeting, in November, 1733, had reference to the location of the meeting-house. The locality having been selected, the work of building the same went forward rather slowly; but in the year 1753 the citizens had the satisfaction of seeing it completed. The meeting-house completed, they proceeded, with the help of neighboring ministers, to organize a church. This was accomplished July 29, 1753, and in the month of October following the Rev. Thomas Fink was installed pastor over "The Congregational Church and Society in Rutland District." He was born in Sudbury, and was graduated at Harvard University in 1722. Of his ministry here not much is known to his advantage. The notices of him are few and meagre; nevertheless, they are sufficient to indicate that he was a man of more than ordinary abilities and great strength of will, which, combined with an irascible temper, made him self-asserting and imperious. He was dismissed in 1766, after a pastorate of thirteen years, by a council composed of eminent men, both clerical and lay, all from distant churches, which was in session six days. Rev. Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church in Boston was moderator. He died in Rutland, Aug. 21, 1777. The church was without a pastor for nearly a year, at the end of which time, July 9, 1767, Mr. Josiah Dana of Pomfret, Conn., accepted a call. His ordination took place the 7th of October following. He was a graduate of Harvard, of the class of 1763.

During the thirty years preceding peace with England, little or nothing had been done in the way of repairing and preserving the meeting-house, and it was beginning to show signs of decay. A committee was chosen to take the matter in charge; they reported: "Taking into consideration the intimations we have of late of a peace which, if we are favored with so great a blessing, will make a very considerable alteration in the circumstances of men and things, we recommend a postponement till September, 1783." Nothing more was done until two years later, when the business was taken up in earnest, and an addition was made, by purchase, to the common or meeting-house lot. The meeting-house was completed, and at a meeting it was voted "to meet, the Sunday after next, it being the seventh day of November, 1790, for the public worship of God, in the new meeting-house, for the time to come."

Not far from the meeting-house, and in every remote neighborhood, was a burying-ground; and whenever a death occurred the remains were borne on a bier to their final resting-place. Often the distance was long, and the service of the bearers wearisome. For greater ease and convenience the town voted, March, 1789, "to procure a carriage to carry the corpse from any distressed house to the burying-ground." The location of the first meeting-house was nearly opposite the present post-office; that of the second at the east side of the park; while the meeting-house lot in the proprietors' plan was a little south of the house of Samuel Hamilton.

Rev. Josiah Dana died Oct. 1, 1801, after a ministry of thirty-four years. The vacancy caused by his decease was filled, two years later, by a candidate, who began to preach on the first Sunday of October, 1803. November 28 of this year it was voted to invite Mr. James Thompson to the pastoral charge of this church and people. Some time in the year 1806 it was voted by the society to "build a handsome and beautiful steeple, cupola or belfry, provided there be raised by subscription sufficient to purchase a bell and clock." The work was entered upon without delay, and, when completed, the church, with its large, shapely pillars, and finely proportioned steeple, was regarded as the handsomest in the county.

The first indications of a change in the religious feelings of the citizens occurred in 1813, when seventeen certificates of membership in the Baptist Society were filed with the town clerk. In the year 1818 there was a complaint made by some of the citizens against the method of raising money for support of the ministry. In 1821 was filed a certificate of membership in the Universalist Society; and in 1827 a certificate of thirty-four members of the Evangelical Congregational Society was filed. Up to this time the whole people of the town had been united in one religious society of the Congregational order, with the exception of a small body of Baptists living on the easterly border, and a small organization of Universalists at Barre Plains. The portion of the Congregational Society which withdrew were organized by an Ecclesiastical Council, convened for the purpose, Aug. 15, 1827, as

"The Evangelical Congregational Church in Barre." Dr. Thompson reported to the Council: "That the aggrieved brethren had applied to the church under his care for a dismission, that they might be organized into a new church, and that the request was not granted; that a further request for a mutual council was desired; that their proceedings, so far as he knew, had been regular; that they were under no ecclesiastical censure, and that the church had no communication to make to the Council." In November, 1828, the newly-formed church and society extended an invitation to Rev. John Storrs to settle, which he accepted, and was ordained Jan. 29, 1829, a church having been in the meantime erected. He was dismissed in 1832. His successors have been Rev. Moses G. Grosvenor, Rev. John F. Stone, Rev. Samuel A. Fay, Rev. E. D. Moore, Rev. Amos Bullard, Rev. C. M. Nickels, Rev. George Denham, Rev. David Peck, and Rev. Edwin Smith.

Through a large number of the pastorates of the Orthodox church, and through another secession and formation from this, the old church, of a considerable number, who constituted a Universalist Society and erected a meeting-house, the ministry of Rev. Dr. Thompson continued uninterrupted. At his request a supply was obtained, and Rev. Mr. Wellington preached a year or thereabouts, but the first colleague, Rev. Henry F. Bond, was ordained Jan. 7, 1846. The third pastor of the original church died on the 14th of May, 1854. Dr. Thompson was born in Halifax, Plymouth County, Mass., on the 13th of April, 1780; he was graduated with high honors at Brown University, in Providence, R. I., in 1799; read divinity with the Rev. Jonathan French of Andover. He acquired a high reputation as a preacher and orator in the part of the Commonwealth in which he was situated. By nature and culture he possessed a combination of extraordinary qualifications for the ministry. A noble form, a commanding presence, a full, rich and musical voice, a quick and clear apprehension of truth, a strong good sense, deep sensibility, a fervid, earnest manner and unmistakable sincerity were his. He was very greatly respected, and died much lamented. The second colleague of Dr. Thompson was the Rev. Charles E. Hodges, who was ordained June 11, 1851. The succeeding pastors have been Rev. William A. Fuller, Rev. Henry Westcott, Rev. J. B. Beach, Rev. Henry R. Smith, and Rev. Alvin F. Bailey, the present pastor. The successive pastors of the Universalist Society were Rev. Samuel Brimblecom, Rev. Benjamin V. Stevenson, and Rev. J. J. Locke. This society sold their edifice to the Methodists. Their successive pastors have been: Revs. Messrs. Wallingford, Kilburn, Gordon, Bigelow, Andrews, Braman, Middleton, Olds, Clark, Morey, Eastman, Parkhurst, Noyes, Woods, McCurdy, Lansing, George, Bent, Hudson, Baird, Jones and Noon; while over a society of independent thinkers or free worshippers, who convened in the Town Hall, Rev. Moses Kimball was pastor. The character of these workers in the moral vineyard, and the nature of the influence each one exerted, are well known. In

1849 the old church of sixty years was sold, its steeple taken down, and the main building moved across the Common to the corner of Broad Street, where the handsome columns of its steeple in front made the colonnade, where a varied form of enterprise was carried on until 1862, when it was destroyed by fire, and Smith's block rose upon its ruins. A new and beautiful design for a church was adopted by the Unitarian Society, and strikes the visitor as a unique and pleasant feature of our town. In the same year the Orthodox Society built a new and tasteful church, facing the Common, which had been enlarged by the liberality of the first parish, and the generosity of the owners of the land acquired.

The proprietors of the township, with that forecast and fidelity to their convictions of duty characteristic of the founders of the Colony, amongst their first acts, made provision for the *church* and *school*, the two great educators of society in religion and knowledge; and thus offered new inducements to those who were inclined to come and make their homes here. At the proprietors' meeting in 1733 a lot of land containing fifty acres was laid out for the school forever. Before school-houses could be erected the settlers opened rooms in their own houses, where the children could be gathered for instruction, and whenever money was appropriated for the support of religion, the same was done for the schools. The annual appropriations were liberal for their circumstances; and all through the Revolutionary war they were continued without material diminution. At first the selectmen were instructed to engage suitable teachers and establish them at their discretion; then the places where schools should be kept, were voted at each successive annual town meeting. In the year 1790, it was voted "to assess the inhabitants £100 to build eight school-houses," having previously divided the town into eight school districts. The first school committee, chosen in 1799, were Rev. Josiah Dana, Major Caldwell, and Deacon Jonas Eaton.

These school districts became organized corporations, and though the town at first built a school-house in each, yet afterwards the care of the school, its repair and management, and the general oversight, was managed in these neighborhood meetings. Though for a number of years the agent or executive of the district was appointed by the town, he was the agent of the district and the acknowledged head. He was instructed by the town as to the length of the school, and the time for its commencement and close, and when it became apparent that the money was not wisely expended, it was the district and not the agent that decided to close the school. It is gratifying to observe that education has received increasing attention here during the progress of the present century. This increase is partially shown by the following figures:—

In 1810, the population was	1,971
" the valuation was	\$659,600
" the appropriation for schools was	\$800

In 1870, the population was	2,572
" the valuation was	\$1,832,888
" the appropriation for schools was	\$4,220

This gives the praiseworthy result that, while the population in sixty years increased only thirty-four per cent., and the valuation not quite two hundred per cent., the appropriations for schools advanced to four hundred and twenty-five per cent! *

The germs of our public high school are found in our annals far back in our history, when the town voted to instruct the selectmen to employ a teacher qualified to instruct in the higher branches of English education, who should teach in the several districts in succession: and still later in the effort to establish an academy, which, although it proved a failure, turned ambition in the right direction. In the year 1834, a private high school or academy was established here by Mr. Moses Mandell; who continued to serve as teacher in our public schools for a number of years, and succeeded in inspiring in his scholars an enthusiasm in their work, and a respect for their teacher that terminated only with his life. When Horace Mann was stirring up public sentiment on the subject of education throughout the Commonwealth, considerable interest was manifested here. A convention of the friends of education was held in the Unitarian Church, in which its minister, and Mr. Fay, the Rev. Josiah Clark of Rutland, Rev. Luther Willson of Petersham, and many others actively participated. The result was that the second of the State Normal Schools of Massachusetts was established in this town in 1839, notwithstanding there were many competitors for the honor. The town labored under the disadvantage of having no access by railroad, yet, in consequence of the educational interest here manifested, as well as the beauty and healthfulness of the place, it was finally accorded to Barre. The Rev. S. P. Newman, a professor in Bowdoin College, was appointed its principal. It flourished for a few years; but the inconvenience of the location was found to be too great, and to the regret of the people of the town it was discontinued; but its influence was a lasting benefit.

Our public schools have been taught by such men as Gen. Crawford, Col. Samuel Mixter, Alpheus Harding, Gen. Lee, Seth Lee, Samuel Caldwell, Pitt Grosvenor, James W. Thompson, Capt. Sibley, David Lee, David Rice, Otis and Horatio Allen, James W. Jenkins, and Capt. Tenny. In 1852 the high school was permanently established here, and its usefulness and general beneficial influence, as well as the advantage it affords to all for a sufficient English education to meet the ordinary duties of life, without the expense and the hazard of a residence away from home guardianship and care, are obvious and are appreciated. Its teachers have served with varied success, and will be cherished in the memory of the young men and women of this generation, as faithful instructors and warmly remembered friends.

* Rev. Dr. Thompson's Centennial Discourse.

As belonging to the general subject of education, we add a list of all college graduates:—

NAME.	COLLEGE.	DATE OF GRADUATION.
William Caldwell,	Harvard.	1773
Ezra Ripley, D. D.,	"	1776
Rev. Lincoln Ripley,	Dartmouth.	1796
Rev. Alpheus Harding,	"	1805
Rev. Charles Jenkins,	Williams.	1813
Rev. Seth E. Winslow,	Brown	1814
Samuel Caldwell,	Harvard.	1818
George Brooks James,	"	1821
David O. Allen, D. D.,	Amherst.	1823
Charles Wadsworth,	Brown.	1827
James W. Thompson, D. D.,	"	1827
Henry L. Plummer, M. D.,	Union.	1829
Charles Eames,	Harvard.	1831
Brig. Gen. Daniel Ruggles,	West Point.	1833
Rev. Robert T. Conant,	Amherst	1836
Rev. Abraham Jenkins, Jr.,	"	1838
Rev. Reuben T. Robinson,	Harvard.	1841
Maj. Gen. Joseph P. Plummer,	West Point	1841
J. Martin Gorham,	Harvard.	1851
Adj. Samuel F. Woods,	Yale.	1856
Rev. William Crawford,	Amherst	1857
Joseph W. Grosvenor, M. D.,	Dartmouth.	1859
Rev. Sidney Crawford,	Amherst	1861
Charles L. Bixby,	Harvard.	1861
William B. Durant, LL. B.,	"	1865
Rev. James T. Bixby,	"	1864
Frederick Holland,	Amherst.	1865
George F. Babbitt,	Harvard.	1872
Charles H. Bixby,	West Point.	1873
Emory A. Ellsworth,	Amherst Agl.	1871
P. Mirick Harwood,	" "	1875
J. Frank Barrett,	" "	1875
Frank H. Rice,	" "	1875
J. Edward Root,	" "	1876
Charles Babbitt,	Dartmouth	1879
John L. Smith,	Amherst Agl.	-

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY HISTORY — REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT — SHAYS' REBELLION — LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY — COMMANDERS — ATTITUDE IN THE REBELLION — BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURES — PROFESSIONAL MEN — TOPOGRAPHY, PHYSICAL FEATURES AND SCENERY — NATURAL PRODUCTIONS — TOWN HALL AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS — SOCIETIES.

As the series of events that preceded the American Revolution gave token of the approaching storm, and that the question was soon to be decided whether the Colonies would tamely submit to the denial of the rights of English subjects, it may be that the men who had been learning for a quarter of a century to govern themselves became dissatisfied with their relation to the government. A circular letter from the town of Boston concerning the state and rights of this Province was considered in open town meeting, and a committee of leading citizens reported a series of spirited resolutions endorsing the views of Boston and thanking them for the zeal displayed, were unanimously adopted March 1, 1773, and on the next 15th day of March a warrant for a town meeting "to see if the District will petition the Great and General Court to be set off as a town, or act anything relative thereunto." It is needless to repeat the story of the result of this vote. June 10, 1776, the town voted "to abide by the Continental Congress if they should declare us an Independant State and that we will defend the same with our lives and fortunes." When a requisition was made upon the town for soldiers a feeling came into existence that this cause concerned all alike, and that justice demanded that all should contribute alike to meet the expense. And a committee was raised to estimate the proportion that each should pay according to his property and the amount in money and service that each had paid, to the end that those who had overpaid should be reimbursed, while those who had fallen short should make up the deficiency. This was the stern demand of justice for an equalizing of public burdens. The minute-men from this town in the Continental army did their proportion of service, being led by their brother farmer, the cool, brave Buckminster, who was our principal hero in the war. He was born in Framingham, Dec. 15, 1736, son of Joseph, and grandson of Joseph, of Muddy River. In 1757, he removed to this town and devoted himself to agriculture. Of recognized character and ability, he soon became a leading and influential citizen. The minute-men raised here were commanded by him. At Cambridge, where he had marched his company, the militia was reorganized, and from a captaincy, he was promoted to the office of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment commanded by Col. Jonathan Brewer of Waltham. In the battle of Bunker Hill he acquired a

reputation for prudence and bravery. Just before the retreat of the Americans, he received a severe and dangerous wound from a musket-shot, which prevented his performing further military service, though his name was continued on the army list until the close of the war. He died here June 22, 1786, much respected.

Gen. Samuel Lee was also distinguished. Born here in 1767, he enlisted as a soldier in the army in 1780; joining the army at West Point about the time of Arnold's treason, he was transferred to a flying regiment under Col. Alexander Scommel in New Jersey, and was engaged in many severe actions, Yorktown being the most important. Returning home at the end of the war he was subsequently chosen a brigadier-general of militia, representative, state senator, and presidential elector. He was a man of unquestioned integrity and public spirit, of sound judgment and manly presence, and was one of the most honored fathers of the town. He died Oct. 17, 1839, aged seventy-two years.

The taxes during the Revolution were so high that one year they made no appropriation for paying debts, or for roads, and their debt and credit meetings seemed to have been trials of patriotism. But through the whole struggle I find no evidence of a disposition to retreat or to give up the fight. I find on one occasion when money was scarce, the town appropriated beef; and again when citizens procured new suits of clothing for the soldiers they paid a man his expenses to go and carry them, in repeated instances. I think that a spirit of justice and sympathy characterized the leading men in our town during the Revolutionary war. They proved themselves equal to the situation, mindful of the duties incumbent upon them; and, though but a young town, they made a record which favorably compares with the other towns of the Commonwealth.

Our men were in some of the distinguished battles of the Revolution. The services of Buckminster and Lee were not solitary instances of bravery and efficiency, though they secured a more distinct recognition. Forty-five Barre men went with Buckminster to Cambridge after the Concord fight. Capts. Benjamin Nye and Benjamin Gates and Lieuts. Aaron Holden, Andrew Parker, John Patrick and James Black were commissioned officers from Barre. From the adoption of the Constitution to the Treaty of Peace, in 1783, the town was busily and anxiously engaged in providing men, clothing, and money for the prosecution of the war. It was a period of depression and difficulty.

In that unfortunate uprising, Shays' Rebellion, were many of the worthy citizens of Barre, and when their cause was lost and their army dispersed at Petersham, the town took towards them and the outraged government the position of mediator. The petition to the Governor and Legislature for clemency and pardon to these misguided men is a fine tribute to the generous character of the town. After the Revolution, for many years, it was a part of the duty of towns to keep on hand a stock of powder and balls against any emergency that might

arise. The stock of Barre was kept in the barn of Maj. David Fisk. About the time of Shays' Rebellion its loss occasioned quite a commotion and many town meetings were held and much research made for its recovery. It was finally found in the barn of Capt. Joseph Smith, where it was undoubtedly transferred in secret by the town authorities or some person or persons in their employ, to prevent its being seized by the insurgents.

The battalion of artillery raised in 1791 was commanded from its organization until 1797 by Maj. Seth Caldwell, when he was succeeded by Maj. William Caldwell, who was the first captain of the company raised in this town. His successors as captain were: Nathaniel Jones, John Allen, Jonas Eaton, Joel Rice, Abner Harwood, Nathan Patridge, Nathaniel Holland, Wileut Harwood, Joshua Browning, Ephraim Holland, John Holland, Nathan Hammond, George W. Reid, Hiram S. Harwood and Silas O. Harding, who commanded the company when it disbanded in 1837.

The Barre Light Infantry, in the Third Regiment, Second Brigade, and Sixth Division of the Massachusetts Militia was first commanded by Warren Sibley, subsequently by Charles Sibley, John Fisk, Henry Brigham, Jonathan Sibley, Benjamin Felton, James Holland, Hooper Holland, Sardius Sibley, Jr., Charles Kimball, Marshall D. Eaton, William Robinson, Jr., and Haskell S. McCulloch. This company attained a high degree of proficiency in its drill, and was very popular with the citizens. A cavalry company flourished here and its commanders were: James Holden, Skelton Felton, Seth Caldwell, Seth Holden, Joseph Robinson and Alanson O. Green. All the able-bodied men in town not belonging to either of the above companies, and not exempt by law from military duty, were enrolled in one company that was called "the Standing Company," "the Slam-bangs" or "the Floodwoods." Its commanders were: Micah Hamilton, James W. Jenkins, David Lee, Harding Allen, Larkin Smith and Bliss Bacon.

May 1, 1861, a legal town meeting was held to see what action the town would take "to render aid and encouragement to a volunteer company now forming in this town" for the war of the late Rebellion. It was voted, to appropriate four thousand dollars to increase the pay of those who may be called into the military service of the United States to eighteen dollars a month, "and to assist the families of such soldiers and officers as may need assistance." A thousand dollars were also appropriated to pay to each member of the company fifty cents for every half-day he may be engaged in drilling. July 12th, the town voted to appropriate eight hundred dollars "to uniform a volunteer company now forming in the town."

July 17, 1862, the town voted that the treasurer be directed to pay, under the order of the selectmen, to each and every inhabitant who shall have been or may hereafter be mustered into the service of the United States, as a part of the quota of the town, the sum of one hundred dollars "as an additional bounty." August 27th, the town voted to pay a bounty of one hundred dol-

lars to each volunteer who should enlist to the credit of the town for nine months' service, and appropriated two thousand dollars to provide State aid for the families of volunteers.

In the year 1863, little was done but recruiting.

On the 28th of March, 1864, the town voted, "to raise the sum of four thousand dollars for the purpose of filling the quota of the town on the recent call of the President for more men." April 18th, voted to appropriate thirty-five hundred dollars to aid the families of volunteers. June 10th, voted to raise five thousand dollars to recruit volunteers to fill the quota of the town "under any call or order of the President of United States." And again, March 6, 1865, to raise three thousand dollars to pay State aid to the families of soldiers.

This town furnished three hundred and nineteen men for the war, which was a surplus of twenty-four over and above all demands. Eleven were commissioned officers. The total sum of money raised and spent by the town for war purposes, exclusive of State aid, was \$24,356. The amount of money paid by the town during the war for State aid to soldiers' families, and repaid by the Commonwealth, was as follows: 1861, \$319.49; 1862, \$2,137.05; 1863, \$4,053.90; 1864, \$3,019.60; 1865, \$1,700; total, \$11,230.04.

As the selectmen during these years took a prominent part, I add the list: 1861, David Rice, Stephen Heald, Silas Rawson, James F. Davis, Franklin Smith; 1862, Franklin Smith, James F. Davis, Warren Mandell, Stephen Heald, A. H. Holland; 1863, David Rice, Ezekiel L. Pierce, Willard Broad, Henry Ellsworth, Caleb Harwood; 1864, A. H. Holland, James F. Davis, Henry E. Rice, Austin Hawes, Wilent Harwood, Jr.; 1865, A. H. Holland, James F. Davis, Henry E. Rice, Wilent Harwood, Jr., Austin Hawes.

On the Common, the eye is attracted by a finely proportioned marble monument, erected to commemorate the patriotism and valor of fifty-nine brave sons of the town, who fell in the late war of the Rebellion.

During the first fifty years of this century, the local ambition which had existed from the start became a marked feature. The leading men were public-spirited. They could tolerate no narrow policy in matters pertaining to the interests of the town. They were not men to be satisfied with anything short of the best attainable, whether in their crops, their horses, their breeds of cattle, their barns, their schools, or their preaching. Everything projected by them was on a larger scale than in the other towns adjacent. With such men as Hon. Nathaniel Jones, James Holland, Samuel Lee, Harding P. and Edwin Woods, Willard Broad, David and Charles Lee, James W. Jenkins, Moses Holden, Dr. George Brown, Seth Holden, Benjamin Clark *et als.* for administrators of its affairs, it is not strange that the town flourished.

Until about the close of the first quarter of this century, the business here was almost exclusively agricultural. There were a few tanneries, one or two fulling-mills for finishing homespuns, and grist and saw mills sufficient for the

uses of the town. There were also mechanics' shops for such work as was indispensable in farming; stores, three or four, which drove a flourishing trade; and generally two good taverns or inns for the accommodation of travelers — and other purposes! In 1805, Capt. Seth Pratt, formerly of Shrewsbury, built a dam on Ware River, and dug a canal through a hill; and then, on a water-power thus made, several mills were erected, one of which, built and owned by Mr. Phineas Heywood, was a factory for making woolen frocking of a superior quality; and near this establishment there grew up a pleasant village of considerable trade, known as Barre Plains. But with these, and perhaps a few other minor exceptions, the all-engrossing pursuit was agriculture. The following is an estimate furnished by a gentleman who was engaged in vending cheese and pork (besides other products) for the years 1846 to 1850: Cheese, 2,754,664 pounds, bringing into market (all transported in wagons), \$220,373.12; pork, 539,998 pounds, bringing \$37,799.86; total, \$258,172.98. And this exhibits only a small portion of the agricultural products. In 1825, a new enterprise was projected by Mr. Benjamin Clark in the erection of a cotton factory on Ware River, near Coldbrook. This property finally passed into the hands of the Smiths, the present owners. The village is known by the name of Smithville. In 1865, there were manufactured here palm-leaf hats of the value of \$47,941, and Shaker hoods of the value of \$158,583. In the twenty years ending with 1873, one concern — Desper, Rogers & Co. — finished 1,929,040 dozen hats.

This town has had seventeen lawyers and an equal number of doctors. Of the lawyers, eight were graduates of colleges; namely, four of Harvard University, two of Yale, one of Dartmouth, one of Brown University. Of the doctors, four are collegiate graduates; namely, three of Harvard University, and one of Dartmouth College. In the legal profession, of those now living, one, the Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, after reaching an eminent position at the bar of the county, was appointed a justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, and has already attained a high rank as judge. Of the deceased, Eleazer James was the first to open an office here in 1793. He was born in Cohasset, and was graduated at Harvard in 1767. During a period of eight years, he was tutor in Harvard College, and whilst here he studied for the ministry, and preached a few Sundays; but an insufficient voice and hesitating manner soon discouraged him, and he abandoned the profession. Entering the law office of Levi Lincoln, Sr., of Worcester, he was admitted, in due time, to the bar of this county, and opened an office in Rutland; here he remained only a year, and then removed to this town, where he married a daughter of Dr. Brooks. His scholastic attainments were probably not excelled by those of any man in this part of the State. He was a gentleman of taste, refinement and general culture, and greatly respected.

A very different man was Seth Lee, born in 1770, and a lawyer by reputation. He began life a farmer, with only the scant education of our common

schools, and not until he was married and had a family did he enter on a course of study for his profession. This was pursued under many embarrassments; but he had great perseverance, and in August, 1809, was admitted an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas, and at once opened an office in this town. An inhabitant by birth, nearly everybody was personally acquainted with him, and his practice soon became considerable.

Contemporary with Gen. Lee was Nathaniel Houghton, Esq., a native of Sterling, who came here, in the first decade of the century, a young man of prepossessing appearance and pleasing address. His practice, after a few years, became quite lucrative. In politics, he was a Republican, and an ardent supporter of this party, of which, when in the ascendancy, he was often chosen representative, several times senator of the State, and twice a member of the Executive Council. There are other names in the legal profession, such as Christopher C. Baldwin and Walter A. Bryant, men of eminent gifts and brilliant accomplishments, who for thirty years attained to the foremost rank of counsellors and advocates in the "Heart of the Commonwealth."

The first physician was Dr. Brooks. He was followed by Dr. Ebenezer Rice, who was characterized by Dr. Thompson, in his half-century sermon, as "a ripe scholar," "an accomplished man," "a sound Christian," "dignified and urbane in manners," and "highly respected in all the relations of life." Dr. Asa Walker was here in full practice before the end of the last century, and continued to be a popular physician till his retirement at an advanced age. Dr. Anson Bates, a young man from Fairhaven, after a course of professional study at Hanover, N. H., established himself in this town, and, in a short time, proved to be a man of much skill, both in medicine and surgery. Of fine personal appearance, of great energy and power of endurance, cheerful and hearty in social relations, he easily gained the confidence and attachment of his patients. Dr. Bates was a man of marked points, entertaining in conversation, decided in opinion, attached by early education and the convictions of his mature life to that branch of the church known as "Orthodox," and lending to its support the whole weight of his character and influence. He died greatly lamented, in the peace of the Christian faith, July 14, 1836. He was the father of Drs. George and Joseph N. Bates, now residing in Worcester, where they have attained a high rank in the medical profession, being well known throughout the county and State. In June, 1848, Dr. Hervey G. Wilbur established an institution here for the care, comfort, training and hygienic treatment of children and youth of defective mental organization. The first private asylum of the kind in America, it soon became widely known; and under the direction of its original organizer and his accomplished successor, Dr. George Brown, has been sustained and commended by a large patronage from almost every State in the Union. The situation of the several buildings on Broad Street, the grounds and appointments of every kind, present one of the most, if not the most, attractive feature of our town.

The town of Barre is large in extent, being more than six miles square. It is one of the best townships of land in the county, the soil being exceedingly rich and strong. The land in general is very hilly and uneven. The hills, though not so high, are very steep and rocky, as is the case in most towns where the soil is excellent and moist. The town is well watered by numerous springs and rivulets, and the people enjoy great advantages for turning and conveying the water over their grass land. The soil is peculiarly adapted to mowing and pasturage. Here great numbers of cattle are fattened, which make the best of beef; and here, also, are many and large dairies from which butter and cheese are shipped in abundance. The soil bears Indian corn well, but is not so well adapted to English grain as some other places, though large quantities are raised here. As the town is uneven and hilly, it affords no broad and commanding view of itself; but, from the hills, there is an extensive prospect into other towns. The pleasantness of Barre consists in the richness and fertility of the soil, and the large, handsome, well-finished buildings of all kinds. The farms are large and very productive; the people are industrious, and have great encouragement to labor. Their modes of husbandry are good, and there are sure indications of industry and opulence all over the town. In 1800, it was one of the foremost towns in the county; there were but three which paid more of a State tax. About this time, the population increased so that, when the census was taken, there were nearly two thousand inhabitants.

The general growth of wood is plentiful, including oak of all kinds, especially white oak, considerable chestnut and pine, some walnut, birch, beech, ash and hemlock. The town is bounded north-west by Petersham; north-east by Hubbardston; south-east by Oakham and Rutland; and south-west by Hardwick and New Braintree. Its postal villages are Barre Centre, Barre Plains and Smithville; the latter lying in the south and south-west. The principal rock is calcareous gneiss, in which occur specimens of rutile, pyrites, beryl and garnet. A huge bowlder, called "Rocking Stone," in the north-western part of the town, is a natural curiosity. The prominent elevations are Mt. Pleasant in the north-eastern; Stonehouse Hill in the south-eastern; Prospect, Allen and Farrow hills in the central; together with Ridge and Bascom hills in the north-western sections of the town.

Ware River, receiving as its tributaries Burn-Shirt and Cannestow rivers, runs through the southerly part of the town, and affords valuable hydraulic power. Prince River, having a reservoir of two hundred acres, waters the central, and Moose and Pine Hill brooks the westerly part of the town. Silver Brook flows northerly into Swift River. Barre has a good town hall and library; two hotels, — the Massasoit and Naquag houses; a farmer's club; a Masonic lodge, established in 1810; an excellent public journal, called the "Barre Gazette," established in 1834; a good high school and seventeen district schools, — all of which indicate a well-ordered and prosperous condition of society.

B E R L I N.

BY REV ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

ORIGIN OF THE TOWN — TOPOGRAPHY AND SCENERY — ROADS — CHURCH HISTORY — BUSINESS — RAILROADS — SCHOOLS — MILITARY RECORD — DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS OF THE TOWN.

THE south-east part of the old town of Lancaster was cut off and erected into the town of Bolton, in 1738. The south parish of Bolton was incorporated April 13, 1778. On the 16th of March, 1784, this precinct, with an addition from Marlborough, was erected into a district by the name of Berlin. The district had all the powers and privileges of a town except that of being represented in the General Court by its own separate delegate; but the people were authorized to unite with Bolton in the choice of a representative. This continued till Feb. 10, 1812, at which time it was incorporated as a town. It was enlarged by an addition from Lancaster, in 1791, and from Northborough in 1806. Thus Berlin is the first grandchild of Lancaster. These are the boundaries: On the north by Bolton; east by Marlborough; south by Northborough, and west by Boylston and Clinton. The township is on the eastern border of Worcester County, with a gentle slope to the east, inasmuch that nearly all the streams, even those which rise on the western border, flow easterly to the Assabet. The centre is an elevated basin, with a broken rim of hills around it. There are several high hills in different sections. Towards the east side is Sawyer's Hill, a long ridge running north and south. On its western slope is Madam Rudersdorf's residence, which in July, 1879, was rudely shaken by the great tempest. Barnes' Hill is in the south west corner, and Wheeler's Hill is in the north. On the west side the land rises sheer upwards from the Nashua River, in Clinton, so that the land sheds its water, not into the river near by, but across the township, into the Assabet. The surface generally is uneven, with not more than average fertility, but yields good crops to judicious cultivation. Iron ore is found, but not enough to be profitable.

The streams are small, except the Assabet, which flows through the south-east border, and receive affluents from other towns. The water-power is not great. The principal pond is Gates', at the easterly foot of Sawyer's Hill.

This is a fine sheet of water by nature, and has been raised and enlarged by a dam at the southern end. It has been stocked with fish. On the east border is a pleasant grove of evergreen and other trees. There is a pavilion on the eastern bank, and boats are provided for guests. This place is much resorted to for picnics and other parties.

The facilities of travel are good. The roads are kept in good repair, and the bottom is hard and permanent. Bridges cost but little in comparison, as there are no great and violent streams, with soft bottoms, to cross.

As the town was formerly within the limits of Lancaster, and afterwards of Bolton, its history is included in them for more than a hundred years after the first settlers struck their axes into the primeval forest. This accounts for the fact that Lancaster names abound in the town, though an admixture of others has come in during the last half century. The proprietors of the mother town settled their children on their divisions of land in the towns that were formed from her broad domain. Hence we find Sawyers, Carters, Wilders and some of the Fairbanks race, as well as of others, in her records. It will be convenient for the reader to remember that the region between Sudbury and the Nashua Valley was left almost without inhabitants for a long period. Those who were hardy enough to move west from the west line of Sudbury, passed over the height of land, and settled in the beautiful valley beyond, and thus Lancaster became a radiating centre, which sent out settlers in every direction. Lancaster as a settlement was nearly one hundred years old before there were people enough in Bolton to form a town. The part which is now Berlin, became a society or district, about forty-six years later. The original inhabitants were generally of the old stock. Those who came up from the lower towns in after years, were similar in race, religion and habits. The whole people were homogeneous. They owned the farms which they cultivated, which is very much the case to the present day. Hence the people have an independent and self-respecting character.

The origin of the church was peculiar, and, in some respects, unpleasant. When the Rev. Mr. Goss of Bolton was dismissed by his own people, without the orderly advice of an ecclesiastical council, the ministers and some of the churches in the neighboring towns regarded their action as schismatical; and when they proceeded to settle the Rev. Mr. Walley, were slow to recognize him or his church as in good standing. It so happened that most of those who proposed to form the new church in the south part of Bolton, were Walleyites, and opposed to Mr. Goss. On this account the council deliberated two days before proceeding to the service of recognizing the new religious organization. The council advised the church to abstain from fellowship with the Walleyites. This led to another council, which took the same ground. These proceedings were in the spring of 1779. As the church was composed of both Gossites and Walleyites, it was difficult to suit all parties. However, the church was finally formed, and, in 1781, the Rev. Reuben Puffer was ordained their min-

ister. This was three years before the district or precinct of Berlin was authorized by law. Notwithstanding the troubles which attended the birth of the church, it seems to have had a peaceable life and a healthy growth during the pastorate of Dr. Puffer. The ordination services were held under a tree, not far from the spot where the Orthodox church now stands. As there was no meeting-house, Capt. Samuel Jones opened his tavern for the holding of meetings. The church consisted of fifty members, and the pastor was received as a member on the day of his ordination. When the meeting-house was raised, rum and cider were provided, according to the ancient custom. Twelve years later, the house was painted. The military stock of the town was kept in the garret, or attic, in modern phrase. Mr. Puffer, when ordained, was twenty-five years old, and was considered a handsome man. He continued in the pastorate till 1829, a period of forty-eight years, and died at the ripe age of seventy-six years. He had followed nearly all who welcomed him to the town to the grave, and also many of their children and grandchildren. He is said to have been an earnest, friendly man, who set a good example to his flock. In 1829 there were seventy members in the church. He had admitted one hundred and ten by profession, sixteen by letter, and one hundred and eight on the half-way covenant plan. His pastorate was fairly prosperous, considering the size of his parish. He loved peace, and during his life the controversy which was rising between the Orthodox and the Unitarians in other places, was kept comparatively quiet. The struggle came in choosing a new minister. Previous to 1824, all the town belonged to the first parish unless they joined some other religious society. From this, it followed, that often a church was in connection with a town, the great majority of which was not in religious sympathy with it. Men of all sorts of belief and unbelief had a legal right to go into the town-meeting, which was a parish meeting, and vote for a minister whom the church could not vote for or listen to as a religious teacher. The town, in 1830, chose the Rev. Robert F. Walcutt. The church voted against his settlement. The decision of the Supreme Court in the Dedham case gave the meeting-house to the parish, and recognized the remnant of church members who retained their connection with it, as the church. But seven-eighths of the church did not want Mr. Walcutt, and all, except seven, withdrew. The Unitarian party retained the house, and the Orthodox worshipped in private houses, for a time, and had Dr. Puffer's manuscript sermons read to them. In the course of a year, they had a house of their own, and thus closed an unhappy period of town and church history. Leaving ecclesiastical matters for the present, we will attend to other things of interest.

The business of the people of Berlin, in all generations, has been principally in the agricultural line. There are about seven thousand acres of land within the present limits of the town. What proportion was under cultivation in former times in comparison with the present, cannot be known with certainty, but it is not probable that much that was once under the plow has become

waste land, though some may have grown up to wood after the first growth was cut. In 1875, there were six thousand nine hundred and eighteen acres of land under crops, orchards, woodland, "unimproved land, and unimprovable land." Only one hundred ten and a half acres are counted as "unimprovable." There are in the town two hundred and nine dwelling houses, and nine hundred and eighty-seven inhabitants. The houses connected with farms number one hundred and seventeen. The barns, sheds, shops, cider-mills and other buildings belonging to farms, are two hundred and seventeen. The number of fruit trees and vines is about fourteen thousand, of which about eleven and a half thousand are apple trees. The value of domestic animals was nearly forty-two thousand dollars. The value of manufactured articles under the head of "value of goods made and work done," in 1875, was one hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars. The value of shoes covers nearly the whole of this amount, being one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The value of agricultural products was nearly ninety-one thousand, and the value of all products about two hundred and sixty-three thousand dollars. The valuation of the town was four hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars. The income of the inhabitants is much larger than the value of the products of their labor, as their money is invested in stocks, or in business carried on elsewhere.

The railway connections of the town are superior. The Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg (now the Old Colony) road crosses diagonally from Northborough to Clinton, and the Massachusetts Central, now in process of building, forms a junction at West Berlin. There are four small villages in the town; viz., Berlin Centre, West Berlin, South Berlin and Carterville. The two first have post-offices. There is a hotel and a memorial hall in the centre. A farmers' club, and a debating society furnish instruction and amusement in the autumn and winter. There is an average degree of intellectual activity and literary taste.

Owing to the limited extent of the town, the districts or divisions for schools have always been few. At present, there are five schools. The average length of the schools is six months and seven days. All the teachers are females, and their average pay is thirty-three dollars per month. This is according to the returns of 1877-8. The appropriation for schools was eleven hundred dollars, and the expense for superintendence and printing was seventy-five dollars in addition. There is a local school fund of a little over two thousand dollars, which gives an income of one hundred and forty-one dollars. The number of school children was one hundred and eighty-three, and the sum raised for each child was six dollars and fifty-seven cents. The rank of the town was, in this regard, the fifty-first in the list of fifty-eight towns. In the matter of average attendance, the town ranks as the twenty-fourth.

Berlin has no Indian history distinct from that of the towns from which it was derived. That there were Indians within the limits is shown by the imple-

ments which have been formerly discovered, such as mortars, arrow-heads and tomahawks; but there is no tradition that they had a fixed settlement here like that at Washacum Pond; nor is there any evidence that any persons were killed on its territory in the numerous raids made on Lancaster. The men, however, were out in the French and Indian wars in fair proportion.

The same is true of the Revolution; and, as Bolton included Berlin at that time, its heroes are to be found on the rolls of her company or companies. That they heard the news from Lexington and Concord on the 19th of April, 1775, before many hours had passed after the fight at the North Bridge in Concord, is certain; and equally certain that they responded to the call of their countrymen.

The records in relation to the part taken by the town in suppressing the Rebellion in 1861-65 are more full and explicit. Though the population is small, yet the number of soldiers supplied was one hundred and thirty. The money raised to carry on the war was over fourteen thousand, and the State aid was eleven thousand two hundred and thirty-three dollars. But in this case, as in that of all the towns, the cost of the war was far greater. All the internal revenue tax, and all the customs duties, nearly, were spent in maintaining the government, and the people of Berlin paid their part in these forms of taxation. The first meeting in relation to the Rebellion was held as early as May 6, 1861, when spirited resolutions were passed. These are some of the sentiments: "The time has come for action, — resolute, determined, decisive action. Liberty imperiled, the laws defied, the Constitution trampled upon, and the old flag trailed in the dust by traitorous hands, call in tones of thunder to every patriot to arm and strike a blow at once for liberty and law, for God and justice." Again: "We cheerfully accept the situation, and will resolutely stand on our country's defence, and, in proportion to our means and numbers, will contribute of the same to the support of the Government until the old flag shall wave over the whole land as the emblem of equality, liberty and law." The town raised two thousand dollars at once for "fitting out volunteers for the defence of the Government." And in 1862, it was voted to "pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each volunteer who shall enlist for three years, and be credited to the quota of the town." Nine men over and above all demands were furnished. Three were commissioned officers. The ladies of the town formed a "Soldiers' Aid Society," and did "soldiers' work" for the sanitary commission. They also collected over seven hundred dollars to purchase materials to make into under-clothing, socks and other garments for the soldiers. The average attendance at their meetings was about fifty. Twenty-three men fell in the war by various casualties.

Returning to church affairs, a few items pertaining to more recent history here find a place. The successor of Mr. Walcutt in the old parish was Rev. David R. Lamson, who was settled in 1834, and received eleven into the church. Service seems to have been omitted for a series of years; but a Unitarian

Society was formed in 1872, and Rev. George W. Green was the pastor. The present minister of this society is Rev. Selden C. Clark.

The first successor of Dr. Puffer as pastor of the Orthodox Church was Rev. Abraham C. Baldwin, who was settled Oct. 26, 1830. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, and had studied theology under Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, and Rev. Dr. Taylor of New Haven. As a pulpit orator, he possessed uncommon power. After a ministry of about two years, during which forty-six were added to the church, he was dismissed, to the great regret of his people. Rev. Michael Burdett and Rev. Eber L. Clark occupied the pulpit as pastors during the next five years. The latter was an able and useful man in other parishes. The Rev. Robert Carver was pastor during the five years preceding 1843, in which fifty-three were added to the church. Rev. Henry Adams was received Oct. 25, 1843; the two parishes were united, and he was the minister of the united congregation. Forty-seven were added during his pastorate. He was followed by the Rev. William A. Houghton, a graduate of Yale College and Seminary, who was installed Oct. 26, 1853. His connection still continues, though the Rev. A. B. Christy was ordained pastor of the church and parish, July 3, 1879, with his hearty concurrence. The centennial of the church was held the next day, July 4, when Mr. Houghton gave an able and most interesting historical discourse. In the afternoon, there was a collation in a grove, and addresses were made by citizens and friends from adjoining towns and churches. There was Methodist preaching in the town at one time, but there is no established church of that order. Several families of Friends or Quakers have lived here a long time. Their house of worship is in Bolton.

Among the noted men born or residing in Berlin, the following may be mentioned, without slighting others of honorable reputation. The Hon. Samuel Baker filled a large place in the politics of the county soon after the Constitution was formed, and many years later he was the leading senator from the county in the State senate, nearly every year from 1780 to 1794. His farm was in the northerly part of the town, where he built a "handsome, large mansion house." Says the former historian of the county, there is here "found a quarry of most valuable stone, of a light gray color. The stones are remarkable for an excellent quality which resisteth the effects of fire."

The Rev. Dr. Puffer is still remembered with respect and affection. His sermons, in manuscript, are still kept and exhibited by the children of those who sat under his ministry. Though living in a retired country parish, and not courting notoriety, he was called to preach on several public occasions. One was the election sermon in 1803, another the Dudleian lecture in 1808, and a third, the convention sermon, as it was called, in 1811. Besides he published an address, delivered on the fourth of July, 1810, and two discourses on leaving the old and entering the new meeting-house in 1826. There is a pleasant anecdote connected with the Dudleian lecture. It excited great atten-

tion at the time, and was printed by request of the students. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Allen, late of Northborough, who was then in college, gives an interesting account of the occurrence. It appears that the students had not heard of the preacher as a man of ability, and went to the service simply as a matter of college routine, but as he entered with the president, and took his seat, "we were struck at once by his whole appearance, so dignified, and yet so modest and unassuming. And when he arose to address that silent audience, his serious aspect, his distinct and manly utterance, the music of his voice, and the ease and grace of his gestures, at once arrested and enchained our attention." He then speaks of the patience and interest with which all, even to the youngest, listened to the whole lecture, and proceeds :—"I well remember how, on leaving the chapel, we began to express one to another our admiration of the discourse, and our interest in the man whose persuasive words had so touched our hearts." Learning that he was in straitened circumstances, with a family of ten children, "class-meetings were called, and a committee was appointed to solicit a copy for publication." An extra price was charged, and some of the more wealthy students took a large number of copies. In this way a "very handsome sum was collected," which was increased by fifty dollars from the Duddleian fund. Dr. Puffer was a very industrious man, and, what can be said of few, always had several sermons in advance. At his decease there were over fifty which had not been preached. It is related that when Dr. Puffer preached the election sermon before the General Court the following incident occurred. The member from Berlin was proud of his minister, and had often spoken of him in high terms to the member from Westborough, who sat beside him in the house. The Doctor in accordance with the usage of those invited to preach the election sermon, had written his prayer, which preceded the discourse, and committed it to memory. But as this was contrary to his usual way, he soon forgot what was written, and became embarrassed in the effort to remember. He was near breaking down in the midst of his devotions. The member from Westborough nudged his friend, and said, "That's your minister, eh?" But soon the Doctor left his written prayer, and gave himself to the spontaneous utterance of his heart, when his petition became so pertinent, copious and earnest that the whole assembly was held in rapt attention. At the close the member from Berlin turned to his friend, and said, "That's my minister."

The records remain of a temporary difference which arose between Dr. Puffer, and the Rev. Peter Whitney, then of Northborough, and the historian of the county. The story should be told, in brief, as illustrating a state of things which was once a matter of importance, but which has entirely passed away. A family in Northborough lost a member, and Dr. Puffer was invited to officiate at the funeral. He complied, whereupon Mr. Whitney was offended, and wrote that unless the matter was satisfactorily explained, all ministerial intercourse must cease. This was founded on the fact that the old parishes

had territorial limits, beyond which a minister was regarded as an interloper. Dr. Puffer recognized this claim, but explained his action in this case in such a way that Mr. Whitney was satisfied, and amicable relations were restored. The correspondence is a fine specimen of precise, dignified and courteous composition. But what a change! No one would now think of restricting a family in the choice of a minister on the sad occasion of a funeral.

The late Hon. Solomon Henry Howe of Bolton, who was suddenly stricken down in the midst of his days, the present year, was a native of Bolton, and felt a deep interest in its prosperity and good name. His place of worship was in the church where his brother-in-law, Mr. Houghton, was the pastor. As a merchant in Boston, an active railroad manager, a prominent actor in political life, a president of the Worcester County Agricultural Society, and a successful farmer, he filled a large place in the circles in which he moved. William A. Howe, an elder brother, was a successful merchant in Boston. He was the first president of the Eliot Insurance Company, and also of the Eliot Bank. His death occurred in 1863. Among the physicians of the town in former and present times, are these: Drs. Daniel Brigham, Samuel Griggs, J. L. S. Thompson, Edward Hartshorn, now in Somerville, and Lemuel Gott. Rev. Barnabas M. Fay, Rev. Winthrop Bailey, and Rev. Winthrop S. Bailey, and Joshua J. Johnson, M. D. were natives of the town.

The centre of the town is eleven and one-half miles from the court-house in Worcester, and about thirty-two miles from Boston.

Madame Rudersdorf, the celebrated vocalist and teacher of music, has a permanent residence in the town, and receives musical pupils.

BLACKSTONE.

BY JUDGE ARTHUR A. PUTNAM.

CHAPTER I.

TERRITORY AND SURFACE — REASON OF NAME — CIRCUMSTANCES OF SEPARATION — LOCAL DIVISIONS AND VILLAGES — EARLY SETTLERS — CHURCHES — QUAKERS — BAPTISTS — METHODISTS — EPISCOPALIANS — CATHOLICS — MILLS AND MANUFACTURES.

OF the six towns formed, in whole or part, out of the original precinct of Mendon, Blackstone, incorporated March 25, 1845, was the last, in area the least, and in population the largest. The south-easternmost town of the county, its territory a rectangle of twelve square miles, well diversified by hill, vale, woodland and stream, too rocky and sandy-soiled for profitable farming, but exceptionally favored with water-power and railway facilities — few towns of the State are more admirable in situation for the purposes of business. Diagonally through the south-western portion flows in ample sweep the river which two centuries and more ago took its name from the first white settler upon its banks, William Blackstone, the non-conformist. For him, too, after warm debate, the town was named, those favoring the municipal name of South Mendon being overborne by the ardor of others, headed by Mr. Dan Hill, who urged the historical fitness of thus recognizing the liberty-loving man of letters whose name was imperishably associated with the valley of the Great River. The home of this famous man, however, called "Study Hall," after he sold out the peninsula of Shawmut to the Puritans at Boston, and migrated westward in 1635, was in the neighborhood of Lonsdale, R.I., where he lived till 1675, "neere Master Roger Williams, but far from his opinions."

Anomalous, in the division of towns, is the circumstance that the petition for the incorporation of Blackstone originated, not with the people who were to form the new town, but with citizens of the old municipality, which would thus lose three-fifths of its population, and over half its valuation. By a majority of the former, the proposition was strenuously opposed; and so did the opposition hold over after the incorporation, that in the first election of

town officers the issue was, "Who favored incorporation?" and the officers elected were all men who had opposed it.

The principal localities that guide the speech of the inhabitants are the villages of Blackstone, Waterford, Millville, Chestnut Hill, Coverdale Place, Five Corners and East Blackstone. Blackstone and Waterford, though merged now by growth into one village, are names still used to distinguish the eastern from the western portion. This duplex village contains about two-thirds of the population, is located along the southern border, and so laps over into Rhode Island, with its factories and dwellings, that the State line passes embarrassingly through an eastern fragment of it. Midway of the village, in its quarter-mile stretch along the valley, is the important junction of the Providence and Worcester, and New York and New England railways, and nearly equidistant from it, some two and a half miles, are the other localities above named. Through Millville, at the north-west, pass both the railways, and near East Blackstone runs the Woonsocket branch of the New York and New England road. The proximity of the bulk of its population to a very populous section of the border State, is to be remarked as an eccentric influence upon the social and business life of the town.

The town territory includes what, by the Act of 1766, was established as the South Precinct of Mendon. It is believed that no settlements were here made before the year 1700. Between 1705 and about 1725 the flow of settlers hither appears to have been quite constant and considerable. Among the earliest land-owners to be named are Josiah Thayer and Eleazer Daniels, who settled in the neighborhood of the Coverdale place; Benoni Benson, David Thompson and Ebenezer Thayer, whose vicinity was Chestnut Hill; and Samuel Thompson and John and Daniel Darling, who first improved land in the region of Millville; Samuel Thompson had a "corn mill" at the latter place, in about 1727, and it is believed was the first man above Woonsocket to use the water-power of the Blackstone. Descendants of these early settlers form a strong element of the present population.

The meeting-house first erected within the town limits, is the quaint structure now standing in the little hamlet of Chestnut Hill. Built in 1769, it is, with its adjoining church-yard, "where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap," a point of much historic interest to the immediate community. Of settled pastors since the organization of the church there seem to have been but two—Rev. Benjamin Balch, who, ordained in 1768, "left in an abrupt and clandestine manner" in 1773; and Rev. Preserved Smith, whose ministry, from 1805 till about 1812, left a gracious memory. As long ago, perhaps, as 1830, the church proper became extinct; but with varying intervals of interruption, the meeting-house has been used for preaching, stated or occasional, down to the present day. Doubtless, the walls of no other church edifice in New England have resounded to such a variety of doctrine and discussion. Scarcely a sect but has here been heard, scarcely a reform but has here been

agitated. The famous Dr. Emmons here inculcated the Hopkinsian theology, and here, more than once, the eccentric Lorenzo Dow electrified his audience. Beneath the same sounding-board that still depends from its place stood some of the earliest advocates of the cause of the Revolution, of anti-slavery, of temperance, and of the Union against secession.

Hardly less remembered is the Old House as the place of many a town meeting, especially the exciting ones that debated, what seemed to so many a deplorable piece of progress, the incorporation of Blackstone. As the venerable structure neared its hundredth year, it was in disuse and much dilapidated. Through the timely exertions of Caleb Thayer, John Darling, Hiram Daniels, Horace A. Benson, Alvin C. Robbins and others, near \$1,000 was raised and expended in repairing and improving it, and on Wednesday, Oct. 6, 1869, its centennial was celebrated with appropriate exercises, the Rev. Adin Ballou of Hopedale preaching an historical discourse. Since that time there has been afternoon preaching in the summer time by ministers of various denominations from far and near.

From a very early date the Friends were a growing sect in the northerly section of the town. Samuel Smith, in 1799, conveyed to trustees for the society a lot of land, on which the present meeting-house there was built in 1812, at a cost of \$525. The house has generally been kept in good condition and is still used for weekly meetings.

The Mendon Free-Will Baptist Church of Christ, organized Oct. 30, 1822, took the name of the Free-Will Baptist Church of Waterford, Aug. 9, 1845. Prior to building the present meeting-house in 1841, the church worshipped in private houses, in the Blackstone school-house, and during the years 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840 in the meeting-house belonging to the Blackstone Company. The first nine years of its existence the church was without a stated preacher; the principal ministers officiating in this interval being Elders Reuben Allen, David Swett, Joseph White, Ahab Read and D. Williams. Elder Maxey W. Burlingame became pastor in 1831, and served till 1846. Since his time it should appear from the imperfect records that the church has been under the pastoral charge of ministers, as follows: Benjamin D. Peck, from 1846 to 1848; Thomas Brown, 1848 to 1849; Martin J. Steere, 1850 to 1853; Edmund M. Tappan, 1854 to 1857; Justus Erskine, 1858 to 1859; William H. Bowen, 1859 to 1862; J. A. Howe, 1862 to 1864; E. W. Porter, 1864 to 1868; M. E. Phetteplace, 1868 to 1869; James Rand, 1870 to 1872; Samuel D. Church, 1872 to 1876. The present pastor, Rev. Theodore G. Wilder, was installed December, 1876. For many years the church received annually a liberal contribution from the proprietors of the Waterford Mills, but has been less fortunate in this regard the past year or two.

The Blackstone Congregational Church, organized April 15, 1841, called as its first pastor, Rev. Michael Burdett, who was dismissed Feb. 10, 1852. His successor, Rev. Joseph W. Backus, ordained Sept. 29, 1852, resigned his min-



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE OLD CHESTNUT HILL MEETING-HOUSE, BLACKSTONE, MASS.
(Built in 1769.)

istry March 18, 1855. From September, 1855, to November, 1861, Rev. T. E. Bliss was the acting pastor; and from June, 1862, to June, 1872, Rev. John E. Edwards. Rev. Albert W. Moore, ordained Jan. 22, 1873, and resigning Jan. 7, 1874, was succeeded, May 21, 1876, by the present pastor, Rev. George F. Walker. This church has been singularly fortunate in the liberal support it has uniformly received from the Blackstone Manufacturing Company. The meeting-house was built in 1836 by the company, who still own and keep it in excellent condition, and allow the church its use free of charge.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of Millville was organized March 3, 1850. Rev. Daniel Fillmore was minister in 1849, '50; Nelson Goodrich, 1851, '52; John E. Gifford, 1852, '53; Charles Nason, 1853, '54, '55; John A. M. Chapman, 1855, '56; Asa U. Swinerton, 1856, '57; William N. Morrison, 1857, '58, '59; Charles A. Merrill, 1859, '60, '61; George M. Hamlin, 1861, '62, '63; Lewis B. Bates, 1863, '64, '65, '66; William Kellen, 1866, '67; Henry W. Conant, 1867, '68; Frederick C. Newell, 1868, '69, '70; Thomas S. Thomas, 1870, '71; Samuel E. Evans, 1871, '72; Walter J. Yates, 1872, '73, '74, '75; Edwin G. Babcock, 1875, '76; William H. Turkington, 1876, '77; R. D. Dyson, 1877, '78; who was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. John H. Sherman.

Until this church was organized, its original members, in part, were associated with the Methodist Reformed Church, worshipping in the meeting-house built in 1833, and now owned by Remington Southwick. The presiding elder, having appointed in 1849 a minister for the Reformed Methodist Church, a disagreement arose regarding the application of "pew rents" in support of the preaching. This led to the withdrawal of the Methodist Episcopal Church members, who proceeded to worship in the then unoccupied meeting-house (built in 1838) of the "Presbyterian Orthodox," of whom the church, organized as above stated, afterwards purchased it.

The St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church at Millville, was organized May 14, 1849. The corner-stone of the church edifice was laid by Bishop Eastburn, July 16, 1850. The church was opened for worship at Easter, 1851, and consecrated Dec. 7, 1854. Of the \$12,000 expended for the church property, about \$7,000 was contributed by Edward S. Hall, to whose Christian zeal the organization of the church was mainly due, and whose munificence is a cherished memory in the parish. Until the completion of the meeting-house services were held in the hall of Newton Darling. Rev. John W. Birchmore was minister from May 14, 1849, till Easter, 1852. Rev. Spencer M. Rice was called to the rectorship May 17, 1852, and resigned Jan. 1, 1855. Rev. Alfred B. Goodrich, called April 1, 1855, left Aug. 16, 1859, and was succeeded, Feb. 22, 1860, by Rev. John V. Lewis, who resigned October, 1862. Rev. George Rumney was called Dec. 10, 1862, and remained till Feb. 7, 1872, when Rev. Edward H. True became rector. After him Rev. John D.

McConkey, Oct. 14, 1876, assumed the charge, and was rector till Jan. 25, 1878. The present pastor, Rev. J. C. Heald, became rector July 1, 1878.

In 1847 a Methodist Society was formed at Waterford, and supported preaching for about two years, in what was then called "Odd Fellows' Hall," now a dwelling-house of James Campbell, close upon Fox Brook. Jeremiah Hanaford was the minister.

The Methodist Episcopal Society of East Blackstone was organized April 24, 1869. The meeting-house was built the same year at a cost of \$3,500. For two years previous, meetings were held in the school-house of the village. Rev. T. B. Gurney was the minister from 1868 to 1870; Rev. James H. Cooley from 1870 to 1872, and Rev. E. N. Maynard from 1872 to 1874. Rev. William R. Mays and Rev. N. G. Axtell, then preached until the spring of 1877, when the present pastor, Rev. Charles Nason, was assigned to the charge.

The Methodist Episcopal Society of Waterford was organized April, 1878. Rev. Alfred A. Presbury was the first appointed minister. The present preacher is Rev. J. H. Sherman, who also preaches at Millville.

The church of St. Paul was founded in 1850. Years prior to the erection of the church edifice, the more faithful of the growing Catholic population assembled, as the missionary could visit them, in private houses. The first mass ever offered in town was in 1834, at the house of a devout Catholic, Edward McCabe. The church is a plain Gothic structure, of stone, commenced in the autumn of 1850, and dedicated by Bishop Fitzpatrick in 1852. In 1872 it was enlarged, adorned by a tower, and supplied with a bell. It now seats about 900. The parish numbers some 3,000 souls. The first priest, Rev. Charles O'Reilly, held his trust till his decease in September, 1857. His successor, Rev. E. J. Sheridan, officiated till transferred to Boston, in 1867. Rev. T. H. Bannon was then appointed, but ill-health compelled his resignation in 1870, and in October of that year Rev. William A. Power, the present devoted pastor, was installed. Institute Hall, used for the Sunday-school and other parish purposes, is a fine building, erected in 1874, at a cost of \$9,000. Another church is in process of erection at Millville, to meet the wants of the numerous parish. Until its completion, the Catholics of the village occupy, under a lease, the old Methodist Reformed Church owned by Remington Southwick.

The first of the notable pile of stone buildings which form the establishment of the Blackstone Manufacturing Company was erected, perhaps, in 1809. The figures "1808," on the "Old Mill," date more truly the conception of the enterprise. Samuel Butler, Seth Wheaton, Cyrus Butler, Nicholas Brown and Thomas P. Ives, all of Providence, were the original proprietors. Prior to their purchase of the land for the purpose, but one building, a mere hovel, stood in all the vicinity now covered by Blackstone and Waterford villages. Save a small patch or two of clear ground, the scene was of wood, rock, swamp and thicket, through which the "Great River" poured over its winding way in

lonely waste of power. The erection of the mill wrought a speedy change. A village sprang up, whose growth kept pace with the successive enlargements of the factory. These were made in 1841, '45, '47 and '54. The original mill is known in the yard as No. 1, and the enlargements, in the order of their construction, as Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5. The company, under the above name, and composed of the persons named, was formed Sept. 11, 1809, under articles of agreement, with a capital stock of \$200,000, of \$1,000 each. It was subsequently incorporated by law of Rhode Island, and by special legislative act, Feb. 22, 1841, of this State, authorized to hold real estate in Mendon (Blackstone) not exceeding \$300,000 in value. The capital stock now is \$500,000. Besides the mill itself, the company's other property in and adjacent to the town includes nearly the whole of the Blackstone village, and 264 acres of land, much of it in a fine state of cultivation. Its share of the tax assessed by the town is quite one-third part. In the last 25 years it has employed annually about 800 hands in the mill, and from 50 to 100 outside. Its business is done with a system that falls little short of perfection, and the entire premises of the establishment, including the village streets and tenement-houses, are observable for their tidiness and thrifty condition. Order, convenience and cleanliness are the features of the place. The mill-yard in summer time, shaded by beautiful trees, and picturesque by its combination of lawn, mall and trench, presents an attractive scene, admired by travelers passing it on the railway.

The privilege of this mill is, doubtless, of the very best in the land. The situation is altogether peculiar. A semi-circular sweep of the river, for a full mile, forms a cape of land, athwart which, in a half-mile curve, is the stretch of reservoir and trench. Upon the down-stream extremity of the island thus made is the mill, whose huge wheels are turned by a waterfall of 32 feet. The arrangement seems sufficiently simple, but it has been remarked that the mind only of genius, in a survey of the unwrought premises, could have conceived the plan. The company's local agent, from 1834 to 1853, was Silas H. Kimball. He was succeeded by his son, Henry C. Kimball, Esq., who still holds the position. The manufactures of the mill are print-cloths and sheetings, and the extent of its business is indicated by the following figures :

	1855.	1865.	1875.	1878.
Cotton used, pounds,	1,675,000	1,175,000	2,014,000	2,550,000
Coal " tons,	1,000	650	1,700	1,200
Oil " gallons,	4,860	3,200	4,000	6,000
Starch " pounds,	45,000	25,000	41,000	50,000
Gas " feet,	1,650,000	900,000	1,445,000	1,650,000
Hands employed,	825	617	800	765
Cloth made, pounds,	1,247,000	860,000	1,605,000	2,060,000
" " yards,	7,115,000	5,772,000	9,500,000	9,880,000

The water-power at Millville has been more or less utilized by grist and saw mills since 1820. Alexander Wilson made axes for a few years from 1808, and then was a manufacturer of scythes, until his decease in 1842. His son-in-law, Euclid Chadey, continued the business a short time, and was succeeded by Newton Darling, who carried it on several years. For years preceeding woolen manufacture here, a "clothier's mill" and falling-mill were in operation. Esek Pitts commenced making cloth in about 1812, "doing his carding and spinning in an old building near Capron's grist-mill, and his weaving by hand, in a shop up on his farm." In 1814 he built his woolen-mill, believed to be the first on the Blackstone. This he ran till 1823, when he formed a partnership with his son-in-law, Moses Buffum. Thayer & Fairbanks leased the "Island" in 1835, and built the mill there. In 1825 Collins Capron built the stone mill burnt in the conflagration of 1874. In 1845 W. Farnum bought out the entire privilege, including the several mills, tenement-houses and other buildings then appurtenant, and at once built a large mill below the stone mill. The premises thus improved he subsequently leased to E. S. & C. E. Hall, who, following Mr. Farnum's failure in 1854, became the owners. They suffered an accumulating mortgage on the property, which, in 1871, was foreclosed by the mortgagee, A. T. Stewart of New York, and in 1872 the whole estate was conveyed to Harrison Bliss and others of Worcester, who, in 1877, sold to the present proprietors, the Lawrence Felting Company. The same year the company erected its large and elegant factory for the manufacture of felt. The scythe factory, built by H. S. Mansfield in 1871, was in operation till 1875. It was purchased by Messrs. Booth & Kidd in 1877, who enlarged and converted it into a woolen-mill, with four sets of machinery.

The Millville privilege is among the very best, but owing to frequent reverses, through failures and fires, the village has never attained a prosperity proportionate to its manufacturing facilities. Its future, however, seems now better assured by the new establishment there of the Felting Company, added to four other mills in successful operation, and various improvements recently made, of a permanent and growth-promising character.

At East Blackstone the water-power is derived from Mill River and its tributary, Quick Stream. The river takes a southerly course from the Mendon line through the town. The power of this river was used at a very early date by a grist-mill, for many years the only one in all the country round about, and which is still run by Andrew Kelly, a descendant of the ancient proprietor. In about 1790 Congress and Benjamin Thayer established a forge upon the river, which was in quite successful operation for some twenty years. Just below the forge, in 1809, Seth Kelly and James Paine built a cotton-mill which was used as such till burned in 1864. Near the grist-mill, John, David and Daniel Kelly built a cotton-mill, in about 1817. It was made into a woolen-mill in 1863, with two sets of machinery, and burnt in 1874, while run by John C. Scott. "Squat Mill," built in 1816 by Joseph Ray, was torn down a few

years ago. The brick mill, now dilapidated, just above it, was built by Caleb Colvin in 1818. This has been in disuse since 1840. In 1815 a machine-shop upon Quick Stream was built by Joseph Ray. It was occupied for the manufacture of mill machinery till about 1840, when it became a cotton-yarn mill. As such it was run for a time by Emory Scott; was bought in 1866 by Elias S. Ballou, and passed into the hands of the present proprietors, Smith & Ballou, in 1876. The woolen-mill now standing near the site of the old forge, was built in 1865, by Andrew Aldrich.

Until 1825 the site of Waterford village was for the most part a waste, combining bog, swale and sand-lot. That year W. & D. D. Farnum built the first mill; the second was built in 1828, and the third in 1835. They were numbered one, two and three, in order inverse to the time of erection. No. 1 was in part burnt in 1843, and immediately rebuilt with an additional story. Partially burnt again in 1864, it was rebuilt in substantially the same proportions. This mill, though standing just over the State line, is so associated with Blackstone as to be properly included in any mention of the industry of the village of which it forms a part. No. 3, the oldest mill, was burnt in 1877 and has not been rebuilt. Satinets were for the first fifteen years manufactured with great success in this mill. It is said that in the year 1829 its proprietors made \$80,000 in the business. No. 2 was used for the manufacture of cotton warps till 1837, but since 1840 only woolen goods have been made in the three mills. No. 1 has 25 sets of machinery; No. 2, 12; and No. 3 had 12.

Exhibit of Manufactures and related Occupations, Derived from the State Census of 1875.

MANUFACTURES.	Number of Establishments.	Capital invested	Value of goods made and work done.
Beer, spruce,	2	\$600 00	\$2,420 00
Boots and shoes,	3	665 00	1,350 00
Carriages,	1	3,700 00	5,000 00
Cassimeres,	2	-	661,206 00
Clothing,	2	26,000 00	16,000 00
Cotton sheetings and print cloths,	1	500,000 00	625,274 00
Cotton yarn,	2	19,500 00	16,000 00
Cutlery,	1	5,400 00	22,000 00
Lumber and meal,	1	500 00	2,080 00
" sawed,	1	2,000 00	12,000 00
Meal,	1	1,000 00	18,000 00
Satinets,	1	15,000 00	12,000 00
Shoddy,	1	8,000 00	30,000 00
Spindles, bolsters, step caps, &c.,	1	3,000 00	1,000 00
Toy furniture,	1	300 00	800 00
Woolen flocks,	1	10,000 00	50,000 00
Woolen goods,	2	200,000 00	661,000 00
<i>Occupations.</i>			
Blacksmithing,	1	3,325 00	4,900 00
Butchering,	2	17,500 00	60,600 00
Cobbling,	3	450 00	750 00

Exhibit of Manufactures, &c.—Continued.

MANUFACTURERS.	Number of Est-lish- ments.	Capital invested.	Value of goods made and work done.
Dress-making,	7	\$595 00	\$1,400 00
Millinery,	2	1,500 00	900 00
Tinsmithing,	1	250 00	600 00
Upholstering,	1	200 00	800 00
Wheelwrighting,	1	50 00	500 00
<i>Aggregates.</i>			
Manufactures (goods made),	24	795,265 00	2,199,130 00
Occupations (work done),	18	23,870 00	70,450 00

By the same census the agricultural interest of the town is thus reflected:—

	ACRES.	VALUE.		NUMBER.	VALUE.
Land under crops,	1,910	\$151,466 00	Milch cows,	259	\$13,413 00
Orchards,	61	4,825 00	Oxen,	42	3,415 00
Unimproved land,	2,150	54,370 00	Horses,	106	10,265 00
Unimprovable land,	202	410 00	Lime,	111	1,335 00
Woodland,	3,636	98,869 00	Houses and barns,	212	} 121,135
Total,	7,960	309,940 00	Other farm buildings,	114	

The town, when incorporated, had a population of about 3,000, and a valuation of about \$1,070,000.

POPULATION.		VALUE.	POPULATION.		VALUE.
1850,	4,391	\$1,705,166 00	1865,	4,857	\$1,993,024 00
1855,	5,316	2,089,506 00	1870,	5,421	2,528,155 00
1860,	5,453	1,817,911 00	1875,	4,640	2,143,923 00

The foreign element, dominantly Irish, with a growing admixture of French and English, forms about two-thirds of the population. In 1875 there were 1,677 foreign-born inhabitants, of whom 1,246 were Irish, 258 French, 130 English, 24 Scotch and 19 German.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION — LIBRARIES — POLITICAL HISTORY — MUNICIPAL NOTES
— NEWSPAPER — LEGAL MATTERS — PHYSICIANS — WAR RECORD — BANKS AND
SOCIETIES — NOTED CITIZENS — REMARKABLE SCENERY.

THE first school-house was built at Chestnut Hill in 1796; it was succeeded by a brick one in 1822. The present house there was built in 1848. The town, after incorporation, was divided into eleven school districts, which were reduced to eight in 1865. Districts were abolished in 1867. Within a few years after the abolishment three of the old school-houses were replaced by new and commodious structures, and the large school-house built in 1855 at Blackstone village, by the Blackstone Manufacturing Company, was bought by the town. The high school was established in 1865, and a handsome house built for it in 1867. In three years the town expended some \$45,000 for school-houses. During the school-year, 1878-9, nineteen schools were taught, and 848 scholars were in attendance out of the 976 children returned between the ages of five and fifteen. At present the schools are under the superintendence of Adrian Scott, a cultured and devoted friend of education.

The Blackstone Library Association was formed in 1855. The first thousand volumes of the library were selected with special pains, under the direction mainly of Mrs. Welcome Farnum, a sister of the historian, George Bancroft. Valuable contributions were made by her distinguished brother, as also by Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, H. W. Longfellow, Theodore Parker and others of her literary friends.

The Blackstone Athenæum was incorporated Feb. 26, 1856, "for the purpose of instituting and maintaining a library and reading-room, and promoting public instruction." For a number of years an unhealthy rivalry existed between these two institutions, which, however, ended May 5, 1871, when they were united under the corporate name of the Blackstone Athenæum and Library Association. The library now contains somewhat over three thousand volumes.

The Young Men's Catholic Union is a literary club, formed in 1875, having a library of two hundred volumes. They hold weekly meetings for debate and other improvement.

There are seven Sunday-school libraries whose aggregate number of volumes is three thousand six hundred and thirty-one.

The Millville Agricultural Library had about two hundred volumes. The association that gathered this library became disorganized some fifteen years ago, and the books are mostly scattered.

By the act of incorporation Blackstone remained a part of Mendon for the purpose of electing representatives to the General Court until the decennial

census of 1850. Since that date citizens of the town have held seats in the legislature as follows:—

Senators.

Moses D. Southwick, . . .	1865-66	Jeremiah Gatchell, . . .	1874-75
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Representatives.

Caleb Thayer, . . .	1851	Channing Smith, . . .	1863
Laban Bates, . . .	1852	James K. Comstock, . . .	1864
Martin J. Steere, . . .	1853	John S. Needham, . . .	1865-67
John S. Haradon, . . .	1855	Hiram Daniels, . . .	1866
Henry S. Mansfield, . . .	1856	Moses Farnum, . . .	1868
Emanuel N. Paine, . . .	1857	Lyman Paine, . . .	1871
Samuel Thayer, Jr., . . .	1858	John C. Scott, . . .	1873
John B. White, . . .	1859	Albert Smith, . . .	1874-75
Joseph G. Ray, . . .	1860	Patrick Kennedy, . . .	1876
Charles H. Fletcher, . . .	1861	Francis N. Thayer, . . .	1877
William A. Northup, . . .	1862	Frederick Thayer, . . .	1879

Chairman of Selectmen.—Emory Scott, 1845-47; Dan Hill, 1847-49; Millens Taft, 1849-50; Emory Scott, 1850-51; Laban Bates, 1851-53; Millens Taft, 1853-55; John C. Scott, 1855-6; Lyman Paine, 1856-7; John C. Scott, 1857-8; Richard Battey, 1858-9; E. N. Paine, 1859-60; Emory Scott, 1860-61; John C. Scott, 1862-3; James P. Hayward, 1863-4; Sylvanus H. Benson, 1864-5; Andrew Kelly, 1865-6; Millens Taft, 1866-7; H. K. Merrifield, 1867-8; George E. Bullard, 1868-70; Darius Bennett, 1870-72; H. S. Mansfield, 1872-3; Jeremiah Gatchell, 1873-75; Samuel S. White, 1875-6; Americus Welch, 1876-79.

Of Assessors.—Jared Benson, Jr., 1845-6; Preserved S. Thayer, 1846-7; John Cady, 1847-8; Arthur Cook, 1848-51; E. N. Paine, 1851-2; Richard Battey, 1852-3; Willard Wilson, 1853-4; Wm. Cook, 1854-56; James B. Hall, 1856-7; Arthur Cook, 1857-61; Millens Taft, 1861-2; Emory Scott, 1862-3; Wm. A. Northup, 1863-4; Silas A. Burgess, 1864-5; Arthur Cook, 1865-6; Estes Burdon, 1866-68; Lewis R. Daniels, 1868-9; Jeremiah Gatchell, 1869-70; Maurice Carey, 1870-71; J. Gatchell, 1871-73; Americus Welch, 1873-79.

Of Overseers of the Poor.—Willard Wilson, 1845-47; Dan Hill, 1847-8; Millens Taft, 1848-9; Whiting Alexander, 1849-50; Caleb Thayer, 1850-51; Whiting Alexander, 1851-2; Laban Bates, 1852-3; Richard Battey, 1853-4; James P. Hayward, 1854-5; Willard Wilson, 1855-58; James P. Hayward, 1858-9; John B. Salisbury, 1859-60; Wm. A. Kelly, 1860-61; John C. Scott, 1861-2; Hiram Daniels, 1863-66; Clovis L. Southwick, 1866-68; Willard Wilson, 1858-9; John G. Gatchell, 1869-72; Darius Bennett, 1872-3; Micajah Fuller, 1873-79; Francis N. Thayer, 1879.

Of School Committee—Lewis Cook, 1845-6; Arthur Cook, 1846-48; Benj. D. Peck, 1848-9; Thomas Davis, 1849-50; M. D. Southwick, 1850-52;

Martin J. Steere, 1852-3; Spencer M. Rice, 1853-4; Joseph W. Backus, 1854-5; Edmund M. Tappan, 1855-58; Arthur Cook, 1858-9; H. C. Kimball, 1860-61; H. S. Mansfield, 1861-2; Frank Kelly, 1862-3; LeRoy Chilson, 1863-4; J. E. Edwards, 1864-66; M. D. Southwick, 1866-7; Wm. A. Cole, 1867-8; Samuel Thayer, Jr., 1868-70; Wm. A. Cole, 1870-73; John S. Needham, 1873-75; S. D. Church, 1876-7; Alvin C. Robbins, 1876-78; Adrian Scott, 1878-9.

Town Clerks.—James P. Hayward, 1845 to 1860; Geo. E. Bullard, 1860 to '63; James K. Comstock, 1863 to '69; Jeremiah Gatchell, 1869 to '71; Junius Bates, 1871 to '73; Aaron S. Esty, 1873 to '75; Junius Bates, 1875 to '76; John Nugent, 1876 to '79; Daniel Wheelock, 1879.

Treasurers.—James P. Hayward, 1845-51; Alex. Ballou, 1851-53; Andrew Comstock, 1853-4; Moses Farnum, 1854-5; E. W. Barrows, 1855-6; Walter Thorp, 1856-7; Chas. W. Baker, 1857-8; Moses Farnum, 1858-61; R. K. Randolph, 1861-63; Moses Farnum, 1863-65; R. K. Randolph, 1865-6; Moses Farnum, 1866-71; Lawrence Boylan, 1871-2; R. K. Randolph, 1872-3; Austin A. Wheelock, 1873-75; Daniel Wheelock, 1875-6; Horatio Stockbridge, 1876-7; Joel Hervey, 1877-8; Austin A. Wheelock, 1878-9; Leonard T. Gaskill, 1879.

Postmasters.—At Blackstone, Daniel Kelley, 1825-31; James S. Warner, 1831-37; John Cady, 1837-53; Darius Bennett, 1853-61; Sylvanus H. Benson, 1861-65; James K. Comstock, 1865-67; Jeremiah Gatchell, 1867-69; Junius Bates, since March 31, 1869.

At Waterford, James Wilson, Jr., 1831-33; Darius D. Farnum, 1833-41; Welcome Farnum, 1841 to discontinuance of the office, in 1850.

At Millville, Willard Wilson, 1827-42; Preston Warfield, 1842-3; George Staples, 1843-45; Willard Wilson, 1845-49; Preserved L. Thayer, 1849-53; Willard Wilson, 1853-61; Preserved L. Thayer, 1861-73; Lyman Legg, since 1873.

The South Mendon post-office was established in 1822. It was located successively at Five Corners, Upper Canada, and in the house of Elbridge G. Daniels, with Samuel Allen, Daniel Kelly and E. G. Daniels as postmasters. After the incorporation of the town it was called the North Blackstone post-office, and in 1850 it was removed to Lower Canada, so called. In 1870 the name of the office was changed to that of East Blackstone. Moses Kelly, E. N. Paine, Lyman Paine, T. B. Gurney, Americus Welch and Caleb W. Colvin held the office prior to the appointment, in 1875, of Myron Daniels, the present postmaster.

The first number of the "Blackstone Chronicle" was published Feb. 26, 1848. It was a good-sized, well-printed, and, during its brief career, a very readable paper. The editor and proprietor was the well-known journalist, Oliver Johnson. In aid of the undertaking the town loaned seven hundred dollars of the "surplus revenue," and took a mortgage on the printing-press. The paper

wound up in less than a year, and the town took possession of the mortgaged press.

At one period Blackstone enjoyed rare reputation as a litigious centre. The lawyer first on the ground was Paul P. Todd. He came in 1847. He was an attorney of extraordinary activity. He had a voluminous docket and a vast clientage. On return days in the Justice Court, parties and witnesses, from far and near, blocked the streets of the village, and other business measurably paused. His exploits within and without the pale of court are among the choice traditions of the towns-people. Mr Todd removed to Boston in 1861, and litigation in the region at once materially declined. Yet the seed-sown soil long sufficed to attract, and for terms, longer or shorter, to hold representatives of the cloth in number quite out of proportion to the denizens. As thus :—

Napoleon J. Smith, . . .	1849-51	Jerome B. Bolster, . . .	1865-66
William L. Southwick, . .	1851-65	Charles G. Keyes, . . .	1865-66
Silas A. Burgess, . . .	1854-77	Arthur A. Putnam, . . .	1866-77
William F. Engley, . . .	1860-61	Theodore S. Johnson, . .	1868-71
Joseph B. Cook, . . .	1861-63	John L. Utley, . . .	1875
Henry K. Merrifield, . . .	1864-68	Francis N. Thayer, . . .	1876

The Blackstone Police Court was established in 1854. It was the occasion of various exciting town meetings and was abolished April 1, 1856. Willard Wilson was the resident trial justice from 1858-63; Charles A. Wight, 1863-64; Arthur Cook, 1864-67; Henry K. Merrifield, 1867; Theodore S. Johnson, 1867-71; and Silas A. Burgess, 1871-72.

The Second District Court of Southern Worcester, which went into operation Aug. 1, 1872, has since held here alternate daily sessions.

Dr. Abel Wilder was a resident physician at Blackstone village from 1823 till a few weeks preceding his death in New York, February, 1864; Dr. M. D. Southwick at Millville from 1834 till his decease, June 9, 1875; Dr. B. Booth at Blackstone from 1865 to 1874. The settlement of Dr. Wm. M. Kimball dates from 1840, and that of Dr. Geo. E. Bullard from 1855. Dr. D. McCaffrey took his office Dec. 14, 1874, and Dr. Frank J. King, August, 1877.

In the war for the Union, the record of Blackstone vies in patriotic devotion with that of any other town. With a population of less than 6,000 in 1860, the town appears to have furnished (without counting 61 re-enlistments) 652 men for the military and naval service. Of these five only were drafted. Sixty enlisted in the navy; 96 in company K, fifteenth regiment; 66 in company K, fifty-first (nine months) regiment; and the rest served in some seventy-three other regiments and batteries raised in nine different States. The commissioned officers were Capt. Moses W. Gatchell, company K, fifteenth regiment, killed in the battle of Ball's Bluff; Capt. Daniel W. Kimball, company K, fifty-first regiment, afterwards captain in the fourth cavalry; First

Lieut. Edwin B. Staples, company K, fifteenth regiment, afterwards first lieutenant, captain and major in the fourth cavalry; Second Lieut. Melville Howland, and Caleb H. Arnold and George W. Bolster, fifteenth regiment; the last two promoted from the ranks successively to second and first lieutenants. Lieut. Howland died in hospital at Poolsville, and Lieut. Arnold died of wounds received in the memorable battle of Gettysburg. The town records, no doubt, quite incomplete in this particular, show that twenty-seven died in hospital from wounds or disease, and that nineteen were killed in battle.

The Worcester County Bank, located at Blackstone village, was incorporated May 1, 1849. Capital, \$100,000. The corporators were Welcome Farnum, Silas H. Kimball and Dan Hill. It was made a national bank July, 1865, and removed to Franklin, August, 1873. Until its removal, Henry S. Mansfield was president, and, except the first year, Moses Farnum was cashier.

An act passed March 30, 1853, made Edward S. Hall, Chas. E. Hall, and Spencer M. Rice a corporation by the name of the Blackstone River Bank, to be located at Millville, with a capital of \$100,000, but the bank was never organized.

The Blackstone Savings Bank, incorporated April 20, 1849, failed to go into operation, as also did a bank incorporated under the same name June 12, 1874.

The Blackstone River Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons organized under dispensation, Jan. 1, 1856, and under its charter Jan. 1, 1857. Its number of members is ninety-five. The Masonic building, the property of the Lodge, was built in 1870. Cost \$8,000.

The Blackstone River Lodge of Odd Fellows, No. 106, organized in 1846, surrendered its charter after a few years' existence.

The Magnolia Lodge of Good Templars, organized at Millville under a charter from the Grand Lodge May 21, 1866, was for several years an efficient agency for the promotion of temperance. Owing to reduced membership from various causes the charter was surrendered Nov. 28, 1871.

The Blackstone Valley Lodge, chartered about January, 1866, was a vigorous organization for a while at Blackstone village. It became extinct June, 1870. Another lodge under the same name was chartered October, 1873, and continued in operation until June, 1877.

At East Blackstone March 22, 1869, was organized the Quick Stream Lodge, which is still a potent influence in the cause. Its whole life has been a very wholesome power. The weekly meetings, fully attended, are made interesting by a variety of exercises tending to the social and mental, as well as moral, culture of the neighborhood. Among its members are the most active and influential citizens of the place.

Father Power of the Catholic Church instituted Oct. 22, 1877, the Young Men's Temperance and Banking Society for boys over fifteen years of age. Members are required to take the pledge and deposit fifty cents a month, re-

ceiving from the pastor a deposit book. If the pledge is kept to the end of the year, the money is returned to the member or deposited in bank to his account. Otherwise, the sum inures to the benefit of the church. The register of the society shows a membership of ninety-seven young men thus on the path of sobriety and money-saving.

The oldest inscriptions on grave-stones are found at the ancient ground, unenclosed, at Millville. The next in age are at Chestnut Hill.—In the woods not far from John Darling's house is the remnant of an ancient cellar, near which is a good well of water, whose perfect wall is monumental of colonial skill in masonry.—The Blackstone Canal, once so prominent a feature of the town, whose candle began to burn in 1828, and twenty years later went out in the locomotive blaze of the Providence and Worcester Railroad, is now chiefly remembered by a few of its visible relics—traces of the towpath, the granite lock, moss-grown, in its shelter of woods just below Millville; a freight boat sunk in the river hard by, its outline discernable in sunlight; and the eighteenth stone mile-post of the canal that enriched the public more than its proprietors. But a few years since one of the lock-houses was extant, used as a shoemaker's shop on Canal Street.—The Millville Hotel, the Lincoln House and the Union Hotel were built respectively in 1822, 1847 and 1853. The old-time tavern-stands were at Coverdale Place and Five Corners. Later, near the town-house lot, was the Verry Tavern, and another in the "Engley House" at Waterford.—The town-house was built in 1845, the "Arcade" in 1843, and the "Blackstone Block" in 1849. It is said the latter went up as by magic, the work in part being done in night time, driven by the mandate of W. Farnum.—Gas introduced into Blackstone from Woonsocket in 1853.—Stone-dam at Waterford built in 1859 by Daniel Simmons.—Iron bridge over Providence and Worcester Railroad built in 1867.—Steam fire-engine procured in 1874.—The "Harris Road" built in 1868, and the "Hiram Daniels Road" in 1873. Both these roads were stoutly resisted by the town.—Sept. 17, 1847, first locomotive whistle heard at Blackstone of Providence and Worcester Road. May 15, 1849 first train run over Norfolk County Railroad from Walpole to Blackstone, bearing one hundred proprietors of the road.—July 30, 1854, cars run through Blackstone from Boston to New York over Norfolk County road.—June 26, 1877, President Hayes, *en route* to Boston, accompanied by Mrs. Hayes, Secretaries Evarts and Schurz, Postmaster-General Key and Attorney-General Devens, tarried twenty minutes at the Waterford Station. A committee of the towns-people, by previous arrangement, met the distinguished party on their arrival, and brief speeches were made by the President and Messrs. Schurz, Key and Devens to a crowd of some two thousand people.

Of men who have been conspicuous in the town, the name of Welcome Farnum stands foremost. His ability and enterprise were such as would have given him leading rank in any community. Of wonderful energy and organizing capacity, rapid in the operations of a mind that joined to great ambition

an imperious will, he was, in large and true sense, a character of Napoleonic mould. In an important suit he employed, as counsel, Daniel Webster, who is reported to have pronounced him the ablest client he ever had. It is quite impossible to exaggerate the profound impression this man made, not only upon the people of his community, but upon all others with whom he came in contact. Under the influence of his genius, the town took a start, and for a while so kept on in growth that the dreams of the towns-people prefigured the "city of Blackstone." He was the leading spirit in projecting and completing the Norfolk County Railroad. He may be said to have built it single-handed and alone. It was his first step in the execution of a grand and favorite plan; for the New York and New England Railroad is but the fruit of his conception. However, it was his embarkation in railway schemes that wrecked the fortune he had amassed as a manufacturer. Not that his plans were ill conceived, but that they outran the limit both of individual means and physical endurance. His lightning horseback trips into the neighboring country, his post-haste drives to Providence and Boston, and the business bustle, but clock-work action, of his factory village, are among the stirring things familiarly remembered by inhabitants of the time. An old farmer relates how he once drove past his field, reining up his horse to a moderate trot, and plying a half-dozen questions that turned an hour's business into a minute-glass. His health declined with his fortune, and for the nine years preceding his death, May 10, 1874, he was an invalid. He died at the age of seventy-seven, on Prudence Island, Narraganset Bay, where for the last few years of his life he lived. His seclusion on that lonely isle, shorn of his power, but retaining much of the vigor of his mind, was, with not a few persons who knew him in his prime and were familiar with his career, a singular reminder of Napoleon at St. Helena.

Another man of power, both in the town and county, was Dan Hill. He was active and prominent in municipal affairs, and possessed rare tact as a manager. He operated largely in matters of real estate, and, though not a professional lawyer, performed much legal work in which he displayed marked ability. He was a senator of the county in 1844-45, and specially influential in the incorporation of the town. During its existence he was justice of the Blackstone police court. He died April 14, 1864.

Esek Pitts was a man of great enterprise and force of character. He has been styled "the pioneer woolen manufacturer on the Blackstone." In the protracted struggle over the county road from Uxbridge to Rhode Island, he was, perhaps, chief of the party favoring the project. It was through his efforts that other important roads were laid out and improvements made against much opposition. He died Sept. 12, 1834.

The late Caleb Thayer was a devoted and influential townsman. He was a foremost anti-slavery man, and his political faith in that cause suffered no abatement in after years. The first representative of the town, he voted the

"twenty-five times" for Charles Sumner in the memorable contest over his election to the Senate.

Among others of the departed, deserving honorable mention for their prominence and usefulness as citizens, may be named Darius D. Farnum, Silas H. Kimball, Dr. Abel Wilder, Dr. Moses D. Southwick, John Cady, Hiram Daniels, Sylvanus H. Benson, Samuel Verry and Channing Smith.

Of places in the town attractive for their scenery we should instance Daniels Hill, High Rocks, and the Intervale. From the Hill, a commanding view is had of surrounding towns, and, in a clear day, the eye easily notes the gray summit of Wachusett at the north, and eastward catches a glimpse of the heights round Boston. The view in summer is that delightful one of New England hills, —

"Broad, round and green, that in the summer sky,
With garniture of growing grass and grain,
Orchards and beechen forests, basking lie,
While deep the sunless glens are scooped between,
Where brawl o'er shallow beds the streams unseen."

A more rock-wild and picturesque scene than that of the High Rocks is scarcely to be met with in the county. From the line of the Blackstone dam the river descends abruptly over a ledge-jutting bed through a deep gorge whose precipitous sides are walled with cliff and crag, and enshrouded and overhung with a tangle of birch, oak, maple, chestnut and hemlock. The roar of the heavy waterfall at the dam and the rumbling of the stream, dark in its very foaming, as it plunges downward through the gorge, unite with the severity of the imprisoning rock-sides and over-arching woods to form a scene of impressive solitude and grandeur.

In juxtaposition to this frowning piece of nature is the "Intervale," in scenic effect the most opposite, by whose way the gorge may be approached. The walk is along a clear, gurgling brook that skirts the hillside in graceful curves, correspondent to the majestic bend of the river, but high above its level. Undulatingly between the two, slopes the broad, woodless, lawn-like intervale, down which the brook lets here and there a cascade; while close beyond the wide-flowing Blackstone rises a background of dense forest, whose darkening shade upon the great stream is in charming contrast to the sunlit green and the sparkling rivulet at your feet. The way along this exquisite landscape ends abruptly in the whirl and wildness of the High Rocks. Two phases of nature, so contiguous yet so diverse, are exceptional in the displays of scenery anywhere.

A distressing catastrophe is associated with the place, whose mention is still frequent in the conversation of the neighborhood. A gentleman and two ladies, Walter Thorp, Frances Cady and Georgiana Brown, were boating on the mill-pond in the afternoon of May 24, 1859. Too curiously trying the limit of safe venture, they found their boat caught by the current, carried over the

dam, and with it its three luckless adventurers. With agonizing cries for help, they clung for a brief space to the boat, wedged end upright in the rocks. They then essayed to reach the shore, but were swept like chips down the rapids, the ladies to swift death, the man, sore bruised and exhausted, escaping to tell the story of his own temerity.

It should be observed of the town that, though signally fortunate in its facilities for business, — an uncommon wealth of water-power, combining with a situation centralized by its adjacency to the most populous of States, and by the junction of important railways, — it has nevertheless, notably since the decline of Welcome Farnum, uniformly suffered drawback and inertia by reason of the non-residence of the major portion of its larger manufacturers. Had it enjoyed the growth, thrift and variety of industry that assuredly would have inured to it if all its chief business men, while profiting by its situation, had improved it by their residences and other home interests, it is easily calculable that Blackstone ere now had been the foremost town, if not the second city of the county. That the town now stands the tenth, while once it ranked the fourth municipality of the county, is due, not to the indolence of its people, but to the circumstance that their industry has enriched capitalists of another State in painful disproportion to their own industrial development. Assuming a state of things quite the contrary, the words of Rufus Choate were not a mere rhetorical flourish before the railway committee, in behalf of the Norfolk County Railroad, in 1847: "Give us this road, Mr. Chairman, which we propose to locate in Blackstone, and *not* in Woonsocket, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, — give it to us, and we will build a magnificent city in that old county of Worcester. Give it to us, and we will bring into action the mighty, but sleeping energies of nature, — water enough, sir, for *two* Lowells! *not one, two!!*"

B O L T O N .

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND SURFACE — WATER SYSTEM — GEOLOGY — CIVIL ORIGIN —
FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH — CONTROVERSY WITH REV. MR. GOSS — THE
MINISTERIAL VETO — SOCIETY OF FRIENDS — OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

THIS town, formerly a part of Lancaster, and supposed to have been named in honor of the Duke of Bolton, was incorporated in 1738. The act was read in the council, concurred in, and signed by Gov. Jonathan Belcher, on the 27th of June, old style. It has lost nearly half its original territory since its formation, but is still of respectable size, being about four miles square. The south part was the basis of Berlin, and a large section from the east was joined to Hudson. The present boundaries are as follows: On the north the town is bounded by Harvard, on the east by Stow and Hudson, on the south by Berlin, and on the west by Lancaster and Clinton.

The geography of the town has some interesting features. Bolton is made up of hills and valleys, but the hills are long and broad, while the valleys are narrow. The hillsides, however, slope so gently that they are cultivated with profit, while they add greatly to the beauty of the scenery, and furnish splendid views at a distance. Rattlesnake Hill is in the north-easterly part of the town, where there is a large formation of limestone. It was formerly worked, and yielded a considerable quantity of good lime; as many as a hundred and fifty hogsheads per annum. The quarry is not exhausted, and may again be worked with profit. This property has long been in the family of Gen. John Whitcomb. The region is, in some parts, wild, but, on the whole, agreeable in its aspect. Long Hill is near the eastern border. The greatest elevation in the town is Wattoquottock Hill, which extends from about half a mile west of the centre towards the south-west to the border of Berlin. It is about three hundred feet above the valley of the Nashua, and is the highest land between Boston harbor and Wachusett. The State House can be seen in fair weather, and at the west and north an immense area of valleys, hills and distant mountains. The soil is moist and fertile on every side of the hill. There is a little pond

on the western side of the hill, about half way from base to summit, which, one hundred and twenty years ago, covered about two acres, and was supposed to be nearly forty feet deep. Eighty years since, when Whitney wrote his description, it had shrunk to one acre, and to half its former depth. Where there was grass growing then, boats and canoes formerly floated. This was known as Welch Pond. It is in a depression in the hill which extends from the Forbush estate, parallel with the range of the hill to the south end. The pond has been filling since, till it is now very small.

Wattoquottock Hill descends gradually to its northern termination, allowing the roads from Lancaster an easier passage to the centre of Bolton. A little north of this spot, the chain of hill rises again almost to the southern height, and runs north through Harvard into Middlesex County. This was sometimes called Oak Hill. Its general name is now Bare Hill, sometimes spelled Bear Hill. Indications of the precious metals which have awakened the expectations of geologists and experienced miners, are found in this grand old hill, but the "diggings" have never rewarded toil. Between the southern base of this hill and the northern base of Wattoquottock, is a narrow "bar of hard land, about fifteen rods in width." The traveled road passes on the south side, and the Lancaster railway track crosses it in part. On either side is low, swampy ground, fed by springs which fill it to overflowing. The water, on the south side, flows easterly and southerly through the centre, and into the Assabet, turning mills on its way. The water, on the north side, works its way, in a swift descending brook, to the Nashua. On the east side of Wattoquottock, on a level with Welch Pond, and nearly opposite to it, springs flow out and form a brook of never-failing water, which descends through rich fields into the plain below, and so on to the Assabet. The ponds are few and small, though some of them are sparkling gems in the landscape. One pond, or lake, or river, that was an object of curious interest and study, a hundred years ago and more, has almost disappeared. This was called "Still River," "Long Pond," or "Long Lake." The southern or upper end began about seventy or eighty rods north-east of the Centre bridge (east of the depot) in Lancaster, and, with varying breadth, extended three or four miles, through the west border of Bolton into Harvard. It had a small outlet into the Nashua, not far south from Still River bridge. This was its appearance less than a hundred years ago. Previous to that the upper end reached nearly to the base of the plateau on which the State Industrial School is situated. This end was a wide swamp, and had the romantic name of "Swan's Swamp;" across which the old road to Concord passed. North of the swamp was open water as far as and beyond the line of Harvard. It covered part of the Capt. Joseph Whitney farm, where Andrew S. Nourse now resides, and the Haynes, Howard and Woodbury intervals, farther down the river. Gradually this large space has been filled by the annual floods, till now nothing but a narrow stream can be found for two miles, when there is a widening of the water a few rods, and

reaching some distance to the north. This part is now the only real "Still River;" though many, not knowing about the former state of things, think the part of the Nashua near Still River station is what is meant. It used to be the opinion that the southern branch of the Nashua formerly kept along the eastern side of the intervale, and that it joined the northern branch from two to four miles below the present junction. This is quite probable; and it is perhaps quite as probable that the northern branch once joined the southern branch between the Centre and the Atherton bridges, and that the main stream flowed along the eastern side of the intervale from the causeway to the northern end of Pine Hill. And, finally, it is not only probable, but certain, that the river, which is the mother of the intervale, has sported all over it at its "own sweet will."

Geologically speaking, Bolton has points of interest. In it are two beds of limestone. One of these has been referred to, as producing very fine lime, nearly a century since. Forty years ago, it turned out annually from fifteen to twenty thousand bushels of lime. These limestones are magnesian, and sometimes so fetid under the hammer as to produce nausea. "The simple minerals imbedded in this limestone," says President Hitchcock, "are numerous and interesting. The most common and abundant mineral is scapolite." It is both compact and also in crystals. Some of these are transparent; some are opaque and white, others are red. Bolton yields an abundance of this beautiful variety. Augite; actinolite; pargasite; and radiated, fibrous and brown hornblende, are found in the limestone. Phosphate of lime, green and purple; petalite; serpentine forming a good verd-antique; and rhomb spar, are common. A new mineral was found, which Dr. J. L. S. Thompson called bisilicate of magnesia, from its composition, but which is commonly styled Boltonite. These are species of minerals which are numerous in the town and the region north.

The town was well-wooded when the white men first came, and notwithstanding all the waste by the first settlers, to whom forests were a nuisance, and all the removal of wood and timber in recent years, there is still much woodland, with the usual varieties of trees in this climate.

Returning to the history of the town, we find that it belonged to Lancaster ninety-five years after that place saw its first two or three cabins, in 1643, and eighty-five years after it was incorporated. Only a few had settled in the part now Bolton previous to the massacre in 1676; but there is reason for believing that one of the garrisons attacked by King Philip's party, that is, Wheeler's block-house, was on the south-west slope of Wattoquottock Hill. After the re-settlement in 1679-82, venturesome people began to take up the land in Bolton, and by the close of the century quite a number had erected their humble homes on its soil. When the dispute arose in Lancaster, in 1704-5, about the location of the third meeting-house, there were enough families in Bolton and Harvard to cause the Old Common to be selected for the site, though on the extreme east side of the mother town.

The most weighty reason given by the petitioners for a new town, was the

difficulty of attending meeting on the Sabbath. They state that many of them lived so far from the place of public worship — some of them in what is now Berlin — as to make the "Sabbath which should be a day of rest, to be a day of the hardest labor," especially to their children if they attended meeting, and they felt bound in duty to promote their future good and well-being "as well as their own. They felt kindly to the old town, while seeking for the new, and close with the words: "We may pay as we do now until we have prepared for ourselves, and have the word of God preached with us." Their first petition was a few years earlier; this, in 1736, prevailed, and the old town gave the child her benediction. Here are some of the names long familiar to the annals of Lancaster and Bolton: Wheeler, Moore, Pollard, Fairbank, Keyes, Whitney, Sawyer, Holman, Houghton, Whitecomb, Richardson. Jacob Houghton was the first town clerk, and kept his records in the beautiful chirography of the early Houghtons.

The church was not formed until 1741, and it is supposed the people "payed" at Lancaster until then, according to their promise in the petition for a new town. Probably preaching and public worship were enjoyed before the organization of the church, which took place Nov. 4, 1741, old style. On the same day, the Rev. Thomas Goss was ordained their pastor. A meeting-house was built about the same time, and located near the centre of the town. This lasted till near the year 1790, when a new house was needed; but, though the need was generally felt, the people could not be united in any plan until on a "Sunday afternoon in the dog-days, in the midst of the sermon, a tempest, which had some time been gathering, suddenly burst forth in fury; the black clouds hung low overhead, the storm pelted, the lightning flashed, the thunder growled, and a powerful gust" struck the house. "The timbers cracked and groaned: women screamed and fainted, and men and boys, glad of the chance, scuttled out at the door." This was effectual; the voice of Providence bade the people "arise and build." A new sanctuary was erected, and in 1793 was dedicated to the worship of God. This house, having been remodelled in 1844, still stands, with the original shingles on the roof. "The underpinning of this meeting-house," said Whitney in 1793, "is very beautiful, and equal to any in the county, if not in the whole State. It is a white and pure stone, easily split into any size, and was discovered just when wanted."

Mr. Goss was invited to settle, Dec. 15, 1740, and his salary voted; yet, after proceeding so far, disagreements arose, a new meeting was called, and all that had been done was annulled, and set aside as illegal. It was voted to hear the candidate further, and also two other candidates. In May, 1741, it was put to vote whether "the town would choose by lott for a minister." That was negatived, and then it was voted "that Mr. Thos. Goss should be the minister of the town by forty-four votes qualified by law." Probably there were very few other voters in the town. Mr. Goss remained the sole minister in the town about thirty years. Though sought for with so much earnestness,

and settled with so much prayer, the time came when a majority of his people looked coldly upon him. The long period of trial, suffering and crimination that ensued cannot be recited in these pages. Something can be found in other pages of this work, and more in the history of Sterling, by Mr. Goodwin, in the old "Worcester Magazine." The story, though sad in many of its aspects, is worthy of being told at length, since it throws light upon a period of ecclesiastical history which is now closed. The opposition to Mr. Goss was partly personal, and partly a matter of principle. He asserted the veto power of the clergy, and the people resisted, rightly as to the point in dispute, erroneously in the matter of form. They carried their point, and dismissed him themselves, as no council would do it for them, and thus became, in fact, an Independent, instead of a Congregational Church. The neighboring ministers would not fellowship them, and the difficulty was not healed till after the death of Mr. Goss.

To effect their point, his opponents brought charges against him, the chief of which was that he drank intoxicating liquors to excess. In those days, men of every class and profession were accustomed to drink, and those were very rare who *never* became excited. Mr. Goss denied that he ever, on any occasion, drank enough to destroy his control over his mind or body. The charge was not substantiated to the satisfaction of any council. All the ministers in the adjoining towns — and they were men of high standing — were his friends. The following is a translation of the Latin inscription on his tombstone: "Sacred to the memory of Rev. Thomas Goss, A. M., pastor of the church in Bolton, who, for upwards of thirty-nine years, having exercised the sacred office, departed this life, January 17, 1780, in the sixty-third year of his age. A man adorned with piety, hospitality, friendship and other virtues, both public and private; somewhat broken in body, but endowed with wonderful fortitude; he was the first among the clergy in these unhappy times to be grievously persecuted for boldly opposing those who were striving to overturn the prosperity of the churches, and for heroically struggling to maintain the ecclesiastical polity which was handed down by our ancestors. Friends erected this monument." He tried to maintain what was untenable; but, if his people had continued to like him, probably no such issue would have been raised. Political and personal considerations became mixed in the strife. He was dismissed by the church and town, and forbidden, through a constable, to occupy the meeting-house. His friends followed him to his own house, where he held regular service until his decease.

In the meantime, the Rev. John Walley ministered to the majority in the meeting-house, and continued in the place till his resignation, not long after the death of Mr. Goss. The ministers who followed were as follows: Rev. Phineas Wright was settled Oct. 26, 1785 (the two parties having been reunited in one body), and continued till 1803, when he died at his post; Rev. Isaac Allen, who was settled in 1804, March 14, and remained as the pastor

forty years, until March, 1844. Mr. Walley left a sum of money "as a token of his love to the church in Bolton," the income of which was to be devoted to the purchase of bibles. Mr. Wright graduated at Harvard in 1772. Mr. Allen lived and died a bachelor. He was a kind and benevolent man, combining wit and judgment. All his property, except a few small gifts, amounting to about twenty thousand dollars, was left to the parish "of which he had so long been minister." His successors have been Revs. Richard S. Edes, 1843-48; John J. Putnam, 1849-52; Thomas T. Stone, D. D., 1852-60; Nathaniel O. Chaffee, about two years; Edwin C. L. Browne, 1863-69; Ezekiel Fitzgerald, two or three years, and Nicholas P. Gilman. Mr. Edes gave considerable attention to gathering materials for the history of Bolton.

The Friends or Quakers were settled here early, and have always had a respectable society. Some notice of them may be found in the history of the First Church of Lancaster. They exercised their undoubted right to form a religious association, but were not always faithful to their covenant vows in the mode of withdrawal from the churches. The headquarters of the Friends is in the southern part of the town, and their meeting-house is convenient to those who reside in Berlin. Mr. Edes says, "They have produced some of the best material for usefulness, for promoting the general welfare and that of the rising generation, we have ever had; and have raised some of the best scholars that have adorned our schools."

The Hillside Church, which was originated by the late Sampson V. S. Wilder and a few others, had a brief, but active and efficient life. It was organized in April, 1830, with eighteen male and eighteen female members. This enterprise met a great want at the time. There was no Orthodox Church in several adjoining towns. It was designed to accommodate Christians of that way of thinking in the towns of Berlin, Bolton, Lancaster, Harvard and Stow. The effort was a great success; but the success was the real and sufficient cause of its end in a few years. The first pastor was Rev. J. W. Chickering, D. D., who was succeeded by three others in brief pastorates. The large and convenient church was thronged, and many were added to the list of communicants. The result was that the converts from the neighboring towns were soon able and willing to organize churches and erect houses of worship for the benefit of themselves and those living near them. In time, there were churches in Stow, Lancaster, Clinton; and the Baptists and Methodists were encouraged to new efforts. In about twenty years the work of the Hillside Church was done, Mr. Wilder had moved away, and the edifice was closed, except for occasional religious service. For many years it has been an appendage to a large estate, where cider, vinegar and domestic wines have been prepared. But the fruits of the effort remain in several towns and a large number of churches.

A Baptist Church was organized in 1832, and has since maintained public worship, and been supplied with the ministry of the word. Says Mr. Edes in

the address before quoted from: "Their ministers and members have been among our respected and useful citizens, doing cordially their appreciated good work for the temporal as well as spiritual welfare of our community. Their gem of a church adorns our principal thoroughfare, and their respected clergyman is the chairman of our school committee, and is active in every enterprise for the public benefit." Their ministers have been as follows: Elder Goddard, 1832-36; Levi M. Powers, 1836; Isaac C. Carpenter, 1843; John Walker, 1844; P. S. Whitman, 1846; Asaph Merriam, 1848; W. K. Davey, 1856; J. H. Giles, an Englishman, 1858; J. H. Learned, 1860; Kilburn Holt, 1863, during whose ministry the new church above spoken of was dedicated; Joseph Barber, 1868; and Benjamin A. Edwards, who served the church faithfully several years, and died greatly beloved and lamented in the year 1878.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY HISTORY — SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION — PUBLIC LIBRARY — BUSINESS
IN THE TOWN — EMINENT MEN — NOTES AND INCIDENTS.

THE military record of Bolton has been patriotic in every generation. She shared, in her measure, in the hardships from Indian depredations which fell upon Lancaster previous to the great wars in the reign of George II. In both the French and Indian wars, her quota was in the service. It was in the last war with the Indians and the French, 1755-63, that John Whitecomb won his reputation as a good soldier and officer. He went into the Revolution in the full maturity of his faculties, with the title of colonel. When the messenger from Lexington and Concord clattered through the town, on the morning after the attack, shouting out that the red-coats were on the march, Whitecomb and his able-bodied townsmen were ready "to do and die for their country." The people, with few if any exceptions, were fully prepared for the clash of arms. As early as 1770 they voted in town meeting, John Whitecomb in the chair, that they would not "purchase one single article (except in a case of absolute necessity) of any merchant or trader that had imported goods contrary to the agreement of the merchants of the town of Boston; and that we shall esteem such purchasers enemies of their country and not fit to be employed in any business of importance." They voted also to "abstain from the use of all foreign teas." This feeling grew in intensity as the time drew on when the collision came. The names of more than fifty men who were in the service are preserved in old receipts, orders for marching and for money, and other scraps of paper. Among them were several officers, as Col. John Whitecomb, Maj. Jonas Houghton, Captains Nathaniel Longley and David Nourse, Surgeon Dr. Abraham Moore.

Col. Whitecomb became a brigadier-general in the course of the war, and did honor to his rank.

There is no evidence that the last war with Great Britain, 1812-15, or the Seminole and Mexican wars awakened much enthusiasm in the town, though there were soldiers from the place in the first war above mentioned, and probably troops went to Boston when summoned to the defence of our coast in 1814. It was felt in the later cases that slavery had much to do with the origin of all those contests; and there never was much love for slavery in Bolton.

But when the wicked Rebellion showed its head in the spring of 1861, the souls of the good people of Bolton, men, women and children, were on fire. "When the warning voice of the great storm was first heard," are the words of Mr. Edes, "when the mighty struggle was about to begin, which, before it was ended, was to make four million freemen out of four million slaves, this little town, nestled among the hills, obscure and humble though it was, was not found either indifferent or asleep." The story of the war cannot be told, nor even of the part nobly done by the sons of Bolton, in these brief limits; suffice it to say that the young men enlisted; the old men encouraged; the mothers and wives cheered; the sisters and maiden friends, with falling tears but strong hearts, bound the girdle and sash round the manly forms that went forth to hazard their lives for freedom and union. While the soldiers were doing and enduring in the field, the women were working at home. They met from week to week to "put up hospital stores for the dear absent ones" exposed to the hardships of war. These soldiers numbered about one hundred and twenty-five of her own men, besides a dozen hired substitutes. Gen. Schouler credits the town with nearly one hundred and fifty men, but these included those furnished over and above the quota of the town, and who were not called into the service. Twenty-three gave their lives for their country. There are twenty-one names on the mural tablets in the town hall, but a few of these are claimed by other towns, and probably many sons of Bolton are to be found on other rolls of honor, and are worthy of a place in the home record. It is impossible to do exact justice to all without the gift of omniscience.

The schools of Bolton are among its most cherished institutions, and teachers are held in high estimation. There are seven schools in the town, besides the Houghton School. These are open seven months and six days yearly, and the amount of money raised by taxes is \$1,200 for the education of one hundred and eighty-three children, or \$6.56 for each one. It is too late to learn when the first school was held within the limits of Bolton before its incorporation, but as Lancaster kept schools open in all sections of the old town, as fast as they had scholars enough, it is not doubted that the children in the eastern part were under the care of a "school dame" in summer and a "master" in winter. As early as 1732 there were schools in Still River and Bare Hill districts, and it is quite possible that some children attended one or both of these schools, while others might have come to the Old Common. Of course, Bolton,

when it became a town, complied with the law in relation to the education of her children. It appears from the above figures that her schools are now open more than a month longer, each year, than the law requires, and the average attendance is nearly ninety per cent.

The Houghton School was endowed by the late Joseph Houghton, who died Nov. 7, 1847. He left \$12,000 in money and eighty rods of land to build a school-house. The school was "to be kept near the centre of said Bolton, in which such academical instruction shall be given as said town shall decide to be most useful." The town accepted the legacy, and the school was opened in October, 1849, in the town hall. As soon as the school-house, which was paid for in part, if not wholly, by taxation, was finished, the school was permanently established within its walls. There were two singular provisions of the will, one of which was set aside by the Supreme Judicial Court. Nine families named in the will, with their descendants for a century, were excluded from attendance. This was set aside as opposed to good morals, and the other provisions of the will were left valid. The second curious direction was that no teacher should occupy the position more than two years. Though this prevents the stay of a poor teacher, it forever prevents the possibility of obtaining the permanent services of one who is capable, and who devotes his life to the work. As a matter of fact, most of the teachers have remained but one year, but they have generally given satisfaction. Young men of education and talent get a year's experience and pass on to a more secure position. The teachers, with few exceptions, have been graduates of college. The others had received a good education.

In 1856, a public library, free to all the inhabitants, was begun, and it has increased steadily in the number and value of its books, and in their circulation. This is, in an important sense, an addition to the means of education enjoyed by the youth, and all the people of the town in common. The subject, after being discussed in private, was brought before a legal town meeting, when it was found that the public sentiment was ripe for the measure. A public library, provided for by the votes of the tax-payers, is an honor to them, while, if well selected, it will be a fountain of intellectual and spiritual life to the whole community.

• The whole business of the first generation or two was farming, and such handicrafts as were necessary to a farming community. Then came the making of pot and pearl ashes, the burning of lime, and the making of barrels, hogsheds and hoops. As long ago as 1790, these articles were made in considerable quantities. There were also "two famous brickyards," where more than two hundred thousand bricks were made annually. Later, and within the memory and personal experience of some, the comb business was carried on quite extensively by several parties: especially by the venerable Francis Haynes and his brother Silas. The value of combs made in the five factories in 1837 was nearly twenty-six thousand dollars. The boots and shoes manufactured came to over six thousand dollars.

The population of the town in 1875 was nine hundred and eighty-seven; exactly the same as that of Berlin. The number of farms was one hundred and sixty-one; the number of acres of land taxed was eleven thousand five hundred and seventy-one; and the products of agriculture were worth over one hundred and seventy thousand dollars. The dwelling-houses are about two hundred, and the houses connected with farms one hundred and fifty. Other buildings belonging to farms are two hundred and thirty-seven. The value of domestic animals was over sixty-five thousand dollars. The value of goods made and work done was thirty-one thousand six hundred and twenty-five dollars. Most of this was in lumber, cider and vinegar.

The latitude of the centre is 42° 26'. The distance to Worcester is fifteen miles, and to Boston about thirty-two miles. Formerly, the road from Lancaster to Boston, through Bolton, was a great thoroughfare, and the tavern of Gen. Amory Holman was noted far and near as one of the best, where the traveler was at home, and where the cookery was "done to a turn."

There are many fine building-sites in the town, and several spacious and convenient residences. The Holman house in the centre is good in itself and pleasant in its surroundings. The residence and grounds of the late Hon. Solomon Henry Howe are in a commanding situation. From the observatory, one can see over the intervening country to the State House, while many a village and lofty eminence is scattered in every direction to the right and left. Turning westward, the valley of the Nashua, ever beautiful, and the broader reach of rolling country between the Bolton hills and the Wachusett, form a magnificent panorama. Lofty mountains are the distant background. Here is one of the best farms in the county, which Mr. Howe took great pains, and was at great expense to bring up to a high state of cultivation.

The mansion occupied by Mr. Jonathan Forbush for a generation, on the west slope of Wattoquottock Hill, is very spacious, and has interesting associations. It was owned and occupied sixty years ago by the father of Col. Wentworth Higginson. He was followed by Mr. Sampson Wilder, who made it the home of an elegant and princely hospitality. The grounds were adorned with trees and shrubs in great variety. The woods at the south-west were threaded with sylvan roads, and a unique cottage, styled Tadmor, was secluded in the very depth of the forest. The stately Hillside Church, with its surrounding grove, opened its hospitable doors to worshippers from all the region. It was at this mansion that Mr. Wilder gave a splendid reception to Gen. Lafayette when the latter was making his tour of the country in 1824. He left Boston on the morning of September 3, and arrived at Bolton line about half-past eight in the evening, where he and his party were received by an "escort of cavalry and a large cavalcade of military officers, in full-dress uniform, in waiting, and were conducted by them" to the house of Mr. Wilder, at which place they were sumptuously entertained. This place was reached about ten at night, where the nation's guest passed under an arch inscribed: "The Great Jehovah, Wash-

ington and Lafayette." Mr. Wilder entertained the general, his son and suite, besides other guests in great number, and surrounded the mansion with an extemporized company called the "Bolton Guards." In the early morning, the guests departed, but carried the memory of a brilliant reception. Mr. Wilder had known Lafayette in France, and highly enjoyed the opportunity of giving him this proof of his admiring gratitude. But the pageant vanished, the chief actors long since passed from mortal sight, and only a faint memory of so much display remains. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

It only remains to add a few items. Nashua River cuts through the north-west corner of the town, and thus adds a long reach of fertile intervalle to the fruitful soil and charming scenery. The Old Colony Railroad comes into the south-west corner, where there is a station convenient to a portion of the town. The Lancaster Railroad traverses the town, ascending the western slope, and bending through the centre, to the eastward, towards Hudson. When put in operation, it will give the inhabitants the best facilities for travel.

Among the physicians resident in the town who are still remembered, we find the names of Amos Parker, M. D., Levi Sawyer, M. D., and J. L. S. Thompson, M. D. The only lawyer of note was a man by the name of Asa Johnson, and he was noted more for his singularity than his virtues. He was a solitary man, living almost alone. He had a daughter, whom he took pains to have well trained, but whom he disinherited because she married without his approval. His table was supplied with the flesh of all sorts of "unclean animals," as well as with food common to decent families. But withal, he was a man of intelligence, a sound lawyer, and had a fund of wit and humor. Being at Worcester at a session of the court, he was rallied by a young "limb of the law" about his articles of diet. "Do you like pollywogs?" said the rash youth. "Yes, but they would be unsafe for you," was the reply, "because pollywogs are sure death to goslings." The man, who had capacities for usefulness and respectability, was atheistic in sentiment, became a slave of his appetites, and lost all public consideration before his decease. He was an unpleasant anomaly in an orderly and religious community.

The late Rev. Richard S. Edes will long be remembered for his genial ways and public spirit. It is a matter of regret that his knowledge of the history of the town was not left as a public benefit. The Rev. Thomas T. Stone, who has resided in the town since the close of his ministry, is respected for his ability and varied learning. The late Mr. George Grassie, a native of Scotland, who is succeeded by his son George, on the homestead, raised a literary family. Two of his sons, Rev. William and Rev. Thomas Grassie, are highly respected Congregational ministers. One daughter is the wife of Rev. Dr. Pepper, professor in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Chester, Pa. The other is the wife of Rev. Joseph H. Dudley of Wisconsin.

The Farmers' Club is one of the most spirited town organizations in the county, and its annual fair is attended by great numbers from adjoining towns.

BOYLSTON.

BY AUGUSTUS FLAGG.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION AND BOUNDARIES — PONDS AND OTHER WATERS — MINERALS AND SOIL —
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS — VILLAGES — POST-OFFICES, ETC. — SETTLEMENT
AND INCORPORATION — INDIANS — AGRICULTURE AND EDUCATION — ANCIENT
CHURCH AND FIRST MINISTRY — ATTITUDE OF THE TOWN IN THE REVOLUTION
AND REBELLION — OLD FAMILIES.

THIS quiet town lies in the easterly part of Worcester County; seven miles north-east from the city of Worcester, and about forty miles from Boston. On the north it is bounded by Sterling and Clinton; on the east by Berlin and Northborough. On the south lies Shrewsbury, and on the west, West Boylston. The total area of the town, including roads and water surface, amounts to twelve thousand two hundred and forty-three acres, being nineteen and one-eighth square miles. The surface is much diversified, presenting a large share of very charming scenery. Mount Wachusett is clearly seen from the heights, as well as from the common in the centre of the town. The views to be enjoyed here are rarely surpassed for beauty, and the town has great attractions for the artist and tourist.

Four ponds of considerable size and much beauty are found here. Rocky Pond, in the east, is the largest, with a bottom wholly formed of huge boulders. It has forty-five acres of surface, by the State survey. Its outlet, on the west side, falls into Cold Harbor Brook, in Northborough. Fish abound here, especially pickerel; and from the number of Indian relics found near, it would seem to have been a favorite resort of that older people. On the east of the pond lies a rock bearing one of those curious impressions usually called "foot-prints."

The other ponds lie in the southerly section. The chief of them is a sheet of twenty-three acres, called Pout Pond; the next has eleven acres, affords plenty of fish, and is known as Sewall's Pond; while the last is a much lesser one, of five acres, named Spruce Pond. Sewall's Pond has an outlet to the northward, giving power to Banister's Mills, and passing through part of

Shrewsbury into Long Pond. Spruce Pond is of that class which are slowly filling up with vegetation; a few poor spruce trees among the encroachment give name to the pond.

No large stream appears here save the south branch of the Nashua, which, formed a mile and a half to the west, in West Boylston, by the junction of the Quinipoxet and Stillwater, runs some six miles in circuit within the lines of Boylston. This stream is everywhere bordered by rich intervalles that yield abundant crops to the cultivator. Some lesser streams are noteworthy: Muddy Brook, once called Medegaskee, rises east of the village and enters the Nashua at Seal Bridge, on its way moving a saw-mill and a box-factory: Mill Brook, which also feeds the Nashua, rises in the "East Woods," and has a westerly course. There were formerly two saw-mills on this stream also. A third brook runs southerly, falling into Sewall's Pond. This once had upon it the saw and grist mill that bore the name of Locke's Mills.

Mineral indications are not wanting: sulphuret of iron, or pyrite, is found in many parts: quartz crystals are now and then observed, and gold is believed to exist. A ledge near the meeting-house attracts attention by its brilliant crystals, like diamonds. Good clay for bricks abounds; and the best of building stone occurs in numerous quarries about the town.

All parts of Boylston are well accommodated with roads, and its many bridges are kept in good repair. One of the latter is a fine structure of iron. One hundred and fifty-nine dwellings are distributed over the territory, many of them new and all in comfortable style. Two post-offices serve the popular want,—one, and the older, at the northerly village, or Sawyer's Mills; the other at the principal one, called Boylston Centre. There is also here a substantial town house of granite, six well-kept school-houses, a church at the Centre occupied by the Congregational Society, and another by the Catholics at Sawyer's Mills. The mechanical industries appear in two saw-mills, one grist-mill, a blacksmith shop and a cotton factory, variously placed; but the principal business of the place is, and has been, agricultural.

Two notable villages, apart from the "Centre," claim some attention. The first, already mentioned, lies in the north section, and is called "Sawyer's Mills." In it is the only cotton factory in town, standing on the branch of the Nashua, and owned and operated by the Lancaster Corporation. It has 10,000 spindles, keeps 90 hands, and makes 13,000 to 14,000 pounds of yarn weekly. *Superintendent*, Edward C. Forbes; *First Overseer*, Albert Lee. The "Sawyer House," found here, is very old; a stone in the chimney bears date 1745. Here are a store, post-office, a Catholic church of seventy members, and a school with thirty-five scholars. The Massachusetts Central Railroad passes through this place, being the first railroad in the town.

The second village lies in the south-east part, and is known as "Straw Hollow." It is, substantially, the property of Hon. David T. Moore and his several sons. Mr. Moore is one of the wealthiest farmers of the region, who enjoys

great public confidence, and has held every prominent office in town affairs and in the church. He is now quite aged, but highly respected by all. This village is a model of modern agriculture: here are sixty head of cattle, and five horses, with other stock. The business here was very largely in milk till 1878, when a "Creamery" with the "Cooley" apparatus was started, and goes on with high success. In 1878, there was furnished from this place to Boston, 55,224 quarts of milk and 17,603 quarts of cream, selling for \$6,165.13. A cider and vinegar factory also here, worked in the last year 19,801 bushels of apples, giving 866 barrels of cider.

A tract of land in the northern part of the town bears the curious name of the "Six Nations." It is said to derive it from the singular fact that here once lived six families, every one of a different nationality.

Not far from this territory is another, covered with forest and known as the "East Woods." It enjoys an old-time reputation as a great haunt for rattlesnakes.

The plain habits and salubrious air of Boylston contribute much to the somewhat notable longevity of the people. Twenty-six deaths occurred in the almshouse from 1847 to 1879, most of which were of aged persons ; and the aggregate of these was two thousand and ninety-one years. The population has varied quite strikingly, as a few figures will show. Thus, it was—

[illegible]

It will thus be seen that, like all the farming towns of New England, Boylston has suffered by the desertion of her sons and daughters at majority, for more attractive pursuits elsewhere.

This town received its present name in honor of the distinguished family of Boylston, so well remembered in and about Boston. Before its incorporation as a parish (by Act of Legislature, Dec. 17, 1742), and as a town, March 1, 1786, it was, in civil and religious things, comprehended, about three-fourths in Shrewsbury and one-fourth in Lancaster. The north and north-east portions are of much antiquity, since they represent part of the original grant to Lancaster (the oldest town in the county) made by Sholan, sachem of the Nashaway Indians, in 1643, who dwelt near Waushacum Pond, now in Sterling. There was likewise another smaller tract in the northern section, conveyed by George Tahanto, nephew of Sholan, by deed dated June 26, 1701 (13th year of William III. of England). The first actual settlement was made as early as 1705, at or near Sawyer's Mills. It was done by Thomas Sawyer, a descendant of Thomas Sawyer, who was one of the first settlers of Lancaster, about 1647. Thomas the younger made his will in Boylston, in March, 1705, probably dying

soon after. Of his five surviving sons, Thomas, James, Joshua, Caleb and Nathaniel, the first, with his son Elias, was carried to Canada by the Indians the year of his father's settlement (1705). One John Bigelow was also taken. Sawyer interceded with the French governor for a ransom for the three, offering to build him a saw-mill on the Chamblay River. When the savages refused, and would have tortured Sawyer to death, a Jesuit friar came and warned them that unless they at once released him, he would send them all to purgatory, of which he held the keys. Fear did the work; they set Sawyer free, and he afterward built the mill, and then came home.

It is not, indeed, known that the Indians ever visited this town in a hostile way; but the settlers kept two houses garrisoned for some time, in the days of that anxiety, which lasted from 1705 to, perhaps, 1718. These stood near the present dwelling of Charles Andrews. Fire-arms were customarily taken into the fields and elsewhere; and we have hints of many false alarms. But no invasions appear on record; though it is as good as certain, from the quantity of arrow-heads and stone implements found here, and the large store of fish afforded by the river and ponds, both now and anciently, that this was a fixed residence for large numbers of Indians.

The agricultural disposition of the early people here still endures; and as stated, the farming interest is distinctive of the town. One hundred and twenty-four farms are found in it, generally well divided among the different forms of soil and product. Much of the more elevated land is yet very fertile; and the river bottoms and intervalles are favorable both to hay and grain. The energy and enterprising temper of the landholders is marked, and the result of this appears in the steady and constant improvement in and around the dwellings even of the humblest. They now reckon in their personal estate 483 cows and 170 horses. Other live stock abounds. The valuation for 1878, gave:—

Personal Estate,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$11,065
Real	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	424,430
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	<u>\$435,495</u>

Rate of taxation, \$11.75; Total taxes, \$6,740.90; No. polls, 227. School children between five and fifteen years of age, 180. Appropriation for schools, \$1,600. The first such appropriation was in 1786, when the town voted fifty pounds for school purposes.

Boylston has an excellent poor-farm, well kept and satisfactory; also a social library, organized in 1792, and now containing 384 volumes. As early as 1718 there were permanent settlers in both the north and south sections; and we find plentiful evidence of the great care taken by all for juvenile education, and for the institutions of the gospel. Yet for about twenty years, or till 1742, very little more than this can be learned of the general history of the town. It is rather in the more general history of the county that we trace

many things in which the people of Boylston must have been intimately concerned and interested.

As already stated, for many years the relations of the people, civil and religious, were with Shrewsbury and Lancaster. They had neither church, society, minister, nor burying-place of their own. It will not be forgotten that these were the times of the mere bridle-path through the forest, and of the log-house in the woods, never any too comfortable. Therefore, while these people were willing to travel far, if it were necessary, to meet for the worship of God, they soon came to prefer a method that would allow them to support the gospel at a point more easy of access to them.

By 1740 they began to move for the organization of a distinct position; and, as their largest connection was with Shrewsbury, they petitioned the people of that town for their approval. But Shrewsbury felt weak herself, and was not inclined to give up the help she had from the settlers in her northern woods. She opposed the idea with energy and great unanimity. Then the settlers resorted to the General Court, where they met with more encouragement; and, on Dec. 17, 1742, an Act was passed to incorporate the "North Precinct of Shrewsbury." Under the ensuing settlement, the old town purchased of the new all their interest in the meeting-house for £32 10s., to be paid when the latter had a new house erected and covered. It is no small proof of energy in those times, that the few who thus went out, undertook to build a house, as above, and have it ready by the next June, or in about three months. Yet they seem to have carried out their purpose completely. Many interesting votes appear on the records of this early day, for a few of which only we have room.

About a month after the granting of the charter, or on Jan. 19, 1743, the people first met and accepted the incorporation. They also made a simple organization; choosing Dea. John Keyes, moderator; John Bush, clerk; and John Bush, Joseph Bigelow, Dea. Cyprian Keyes, Joshua Houghton and Abner Sawyer, parish committee. At another date, February 7, following, they voted £26 8s. to pay for the preaching already had, and £50 for the future supply of the same. They also then ordered the place of the new house to be in the centre of their proper territory, and set a surveyor to find and mark the spot. It was finally located on the town common, near the old burying-ground. Near it was an old school-house, on land now owned by Mrs. Levi Hastings. In the next September, church relations were dissolved between the two parties, with no objection; and October 6, a month after, the old church was duly represented at the gathering of the new, which had then nineteen male members. Sixteen females, coming from the South Church, joined the North the next August. This made thirty-five members derived from Shrewsbury.

Rev. Ebenezer Morse was invited to settle over the new church; and this, after some bargaining as to salary, he consented to do. The details of the negotiations are very entertaining. He was installed Oct. 26, 1743, six churches assisting, when the meeting-house had neither outside finish, pulpit

nor pews, doors nor windows, nor even a permanent floor. It was mostly finished in the next year (1744). Individuals built their own pews where space was granted, as was then customary, and this continued till 1761 at least. Mr. Morse remained with the church twenty-five years very harmoniously. He was born in Medfield, March 2, 1718, graduated at Harvard in 1737; studied law with Hon. John Chandler; and was married November, 1745, to Persis, daughter of John Bush. He was settled when twenty-five years old, and when the wish to do good must have been the chief inducement. But when the disaffection of the Colonies arose and threatened revolution, Mr. Morse appeared as a royalist. No arrangement could be made, as the church were wholly patriotic, and he was finally dismissed, Nov. 10, 1755. His whole ministry covered thirty-two years and fifteen days. He remained in town, taking up the practice of medicine, and also fitting students for college. His wife died May 6, 1788, and he followed her in 1802, aged something more than eighty-three years.

After the retirement of Mr. Morse, a vacancy continued for a while, until the church successfully called Rev. Eleazer Fairbanks to their pulpit, and settled him, March 27, 1777. He was a native of Preston, Conn., and a graduate of Brown University. In the autumn of 1781 he married Sarah, daughter of Dea. Amariah Bigelow; and remained in charge of this people till 1821, when he died in Palmico, N. Y. The church at his settlement had seventy-one members; during his stay it was increased by the addition of one hundred and thirteen more.

Mr. Fairbanks was succeeded by Rev. Hezekiah Hooper, ordained March 12, 1794. A new meeting-house had then been built, finished in 1793, at a cost of about \$4,500. His ministry was prosperous, though very brief, as he died about the beginning of 1796. He was a graduate of Harvard, of the year 1789, and bore a reputation of the very best kind.

Rev. Ward Cotton followed, being ordained June 7, 1797. This gentleman was born in Plymouth, March 24, 1770, graduating at Harvard in 1793. He continued over the church twenty-eight years, in which time ninety-eight were added to its number. He was then dismissed: yet he seems to have borne an excellent character.

Rev. Samuel Russell, his successor, was a native of Bow, N. H., and a graduate of Dartmouth, 1821. He was ordained June 21, 1826, and in the winter of 1827 married Mary, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Howe of Hopkinton. Feb. 13, 1832, he asked a dismission, which was granted, and he retired April 17, following. He was a worthy man, but gentle, even to timidity. His ministry was prosperous, the additions to the church within the period being one hundred and four persons.

The next incumbent was Rev. W. H. Sanford, who was ordained Oct. 17, 1832. This gentleman found the congregation reduced, the church differing over theological questions, and the towns-people little united on any subject.

He succeeded very far in restoring harmony and promoting relations of peace among all, and valuable advancements were made in many respects. A new house of worship was built, and a new communion service obtained, partly by purchase and partly by donation. The Sabbath-school library was enlarged, and one hundred and fifty members were added to the church fellowship. Mr. Sanford was born in Belchertown, Feb. 14, 1800. He was of the Harvard class of 1827, together with Pres. Felton, Chief Justice Cushing of New Hampshire, and Bissot Lee of Delaware. He married Harriet Smith of Hopkinton, N. H., Aug. 23, 1830; and resigned his pastoral charge Sept. 15, 1857, having been with the church almost twenty-five years, and leaving as delightful a memory behind him as any minister, perhaps, ever seen in their pulpit.

A period of supply now intervened, until Oct. 17, 1861, when Rev. — Ross was ordained to the pastorate. He was a man of fine talent, and took deep interest in the people of his charge; but he chose at length to retire, and was dismissed, at his own request, Jan. 16, 1866. No settled minister has followed him; but the pulpit is now filled by Rev. Henry S. Kimball of Candia, N. H. The church now numbers one hundred and three members, and is in an active and useful state, as are the several minor organizations connected with it.

The attitude of Boylston in the Revolution was highly patriotic and faithful: and she furnished both men and money freely to the struggle. A few of her people were suspected of Tory principles, and these she dealt with vigorously. We learn of these among such: Rev. Ebenezer Morse, William Crawford, Jotham Bush, Benjamin Fisk, and Timothy Ross. Both Mr. Morse and Mr. Crawford were forbidden the possession of arms, and the first was confined to the parish limits, and the latter to his farm.

In the Rebellion this town furnished forty-one men to the army, of whom seven were lost. There is no monument yet erected to their memory; but their worth and excellence are well remembered, and their graves, every "Decoration Day," lie thick with flowers through the love of those who keep up that good observance.

In regard to the antiquity of families here, it is remarkable that none can be traced back very far, excepting that of Sawyer. The BENNETTS were probably from Watertown, and the STONES from Andover; while the BIGELOWS are descended from John, who was a captive among the Indians in 1705, and who was from Watertown. HASTINGS is a name from Newton, and TAYLOR came from Marlborough in the person of Eleazer, who settled on land now of H. V. Wood, near the Central school-house. The BALLS were early settlers, and from Watertown. The NEWTONS were from Marlborough, but are all left, and are thought to be in Shrewsbury. KEYES was an early name here, and well distinguished, coming from Marlborough in 1720. The family now are in West Boylston. TEMPLE had the same origin, and a similar reputation.

Howe is a Watertown family, and honorably connected in England. Bush is a name from Marlborough; the progenitor, John, settled near the meeting-house on land now of Charles Andrews. DAVENPORT is a family descended from Rev. John Davenport, an original settler at New Haven in 1637, and thence to Boston, 1667, where his settlement led to the founding of the Old South. The FLAGGS were early settlers here, partly from Watertown and partly from Concord. Thomas was in the former place, 1643. Gershom Flagg, living in Boylston, 1729, was his great-grandson, and a direct ancestor of the writer of this sketch.

Some brief mention of a few distinguished citizens will be proper. Capt. John Andrews has been a leading man here for many years, having kept the hotel, and represented the town in the legislature in 1851. Another prominent man is H. H. Bragdon, who was our representative in 1848. He has been town clerk for thirty years, and parish clerk for forty. John B. Gough, the well-known orator, has a splendid residence here, and will always have the gratitude of the people for his kind interest in the town. Levi L. Flagg has filled almost every town office, and is greatly respected. A. V. B. Prouty, Montraville Flagg, W. A. Moore, Charles Moore, George Lamson, William Andrews, Patrick Griffin, P. P. Lane and Deacon F. B. Willard may all be named as standing high in public esteem, deeply interested in education, and of notable usefulness in all the ways and duties of social and domestic life.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY TOWN BUSINESS — NEW TOWN HALL — THE BOYLSTON BEQUEST — THE THREE CHURCHES, OLD AND NEW — THE OLD BURYING-GROUND — THE NEW CEMETERY — INTERESTING EPITAPHS.

THE first meeting of the town, after its definite incorporation, was March 13, 1786, when Ephraim Beaman was moderator, and the following ticket, interesting from being the first, was elected, viz. :

Selectmen — Ezra Beaman, Jonas Temple, Timothy Whitney, Jonathan Fassett and John Hastings.

Assessors — Ephraim Beaman, Jonas Temple and Edmund Stiles.

Town Clerk, Aaron Sawyer. Town Treasurer, Joseph Bigelow.

This meeting was held in the old, or first meeting-house, which, as already intimated, had little of comfort about it. The present town house, its contrast in almost all respects, is of stone, sufficient in size, and two stories high. The hall for public assembly is above, the first floor serving for a commodious school-room. The corner-stone of this edifice was laid August 21, 1830, and

the building at once erected. It owes its existence to the following circumstance :

On account of the name selected for the new town, Ward N. Boylston, Esq., of Princeton, heir of Thomas Boylston, sometime of Boston, but who died in England, gave this town the sum of £40, to be kept at compound interest till it became sufficient for the erection of some public building here, as he should direct. In a visit made here in 1826 he found his fund grown to about \$1,000. Dying in the next January, he added by will \$300 more, directing that the whole should be used to build a substantial structure of stone, like that described. This was accordingly done, and a sketch embodying these facts, prepared by Rev. Mr. Cotton, was placed under the corner-stone. We add the names of the present board of town officers : Selectmen, H. V. Wood, Elmer Shaw, W. A. Moore ; Town Clerk, H. H. Brigham ; Treasurer, L. L. Flagg.

Returning to the ancient meeting-house, with its comfortless arrangements, we find that these were helped out, to some extent, by the following expedient. An old house then stood untenanted on the ledge near the present church. It was very rude ; it had only a single room, in the centre of which was the chimney, with a fire-place on each side. This was called the "Noon House," and was resorted to by all those worshippers who came too far to return between services. Here they brought their lunch, built their fires, and were comfortable through the intermission. This building stood till about forty-five years ago, when, its use being ended, it was removed, and made into a dwelling-house.

The second meeting-house, that of 1793, was a different thing from the first. It was very large (65 by 53 feet), and finished throughout. In its cupola hung the bell, cast in England, and given by one of the Boylstons. It stood west of the Common, and somewhat lower down, very near the site of the present Central school-house. A gallery ran round three sides, leaving the high pulpit on the north. A smaller gallery appeared still higher, devoted to the "people of African descent." The square pews, and seats turned upon hinges, will be noted as similar to all in New England in that day. This house had a stove, but no chimney, the funnel passing through a window instead. The house, exclusive of land, cost some \$4,000, but, on account of its location, it was always somewhat productive of ill feeling, and after the separation of West Boylston it proved too large for any congregation using it, and as cheerless, almost, as its predecessor. It was, therefore, abandoned and demolished in 1835, and a new one erected on the east, or upper side of the Common, being that now standing at that point. This is a neat modern structure, well finished, and furnished very comfortably. It was dedicated Dec. 10, 1835.

The two burying-grounds of the place are both near the Centre Village, and afford much material for local history. The "Old Yard," lying southwest of the Common, was originally sold the town by Eleazer Taylor, about 1743.

The first body interred here was of a child, as appears by the inscription on the headstone :

"Here lies the body of Turner Maynard, son of Elisha and Huldah Maynard, who died Apr. 14, 1745, aged 11 months and 11 days." And on the footstone : "This is the first body that in this burying-ground doth lie." This grave is near the entrance, on the right. Many names of good local distinction are here. Rev. Ebenezer Morse, the first minister, has a granite monument ; the Andrews family a tomb, with date, 1789. A stone erected very early bears a Latin inscription, composed by Mr. Morse. As translated by Mr. Charles A. Stearns, it reads :

"This monument was raised, among many sighs and tears, in memory of JOHN FLAGG, late of Harvard College, Cambridge, New England : who died, a citizen of Shrewsbury, the 30th day of Jan., 1785, aged twenty-four years and twenty-nine days. He was a son of Stephen Flagg, and of Judith, his wife. He was a young man who was pre-eminent in talent, untiring in studies and labor, rational in religion, strong in the Christian faith, a kinsman especially beloved by his relations. In death he was resigned to the Divine law, triumphant over all misfortunes of life, fears of death, and dread of the hereafter. Let those surviving at the home of the blessed one follow him and imitate his example. Let them remember that they too must die."

This ground enjoys a donation from James Longley, Esq., of Boston, who gave \$500, Apr. 30, 1863, to be invested, and the interest, at five per cent., to be spent in the repair and adornment of the spot.

"The New Burying-Ground" lies west of the meeting-house. The north part was a gift from Col. Jotham Bush, and the remainder was purchased of his son. The first interment was of Abel Hastings, in 1845. Here are numerous monuments of great elegance. Here, also, lie some of those who fell in the war of the Rebellion, and one soldier of the Revolution. Among the former is to be noted Ferdinand, son of the late Willard Andrews, a young man of great worth and talent. Also, we must not omit John Partridge, an eminent young man of this town. His mother was the first to decorate the soldiers' graves with flowers. And who, indeed, has a more tender heart than a loving mother? May flowers be always scattered in the paths she travels in this life, and after death let her grave be revered continually !

THE BROOKFIELDS.

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

THE close relation of the Brookfields to each other requires that they should be grouped together in this historical sketch, instead of being arranged in alphabetical order with the other towns in the county. The case is peculiar, inasmuch as the town which is most recent in date, that is, West Brookfield, is the scene of nearly all the events which give special interest to the early history of Brookfield. Moreover, that part of the old town which is now called North Brookfield became a parish before there was a church in what is now the town of Brookfield. In other words, the most ancient events in the town's history belong to the youngest of the three towns, as they now exist; and that part which bears the name of the original town is the youngest of the three in the order of settlement and parochial organization. I shall therefore give, in the first place, the history of the whole town under the name of Brookfield, down to the time of the first division, when North Brookfield was set off, noting with care the precise locality of events, so far as possible at this late day, and then continue the history of the whole remaining town until West Brookfield was incorporated in the same way. From this last date the history of Brookfield proper will be brought down to the present time. The distinct histories of North Brookfield and West Brookfield will be given from the time of their incorporation.

As the formation of the whole Brookfield territory is a section of the county by itself, it will be described as a unit. That it is peculiar is evident to the glance of the traveler, as he swiftly glides through on the express train. It becomes plainer as he rides more leisurely in an open carriage. This section is flanked on the east by the high and rocky hills of Spencer and Charlton, and on the west by the broken and almost mountainous country of Warren. Across it, south of the middle, is a broad valley, through which, by a winding course, runs the Quaboag River, from east to west. This valley, eight or ten miles long, is partly covered by water, partly by swampy land, a part is raised just enough above the water level to bear English hay, and the rest is irregular upland, gentle hills or extended plain.

The south line of the town is crossed midway by South Pond, about a mile in length, lying partly in Sturbridge and partly in Brookfield. A brook,

widened into a canal, flows from this pond to Podunk or Quaboag Pond, a fine sheet of water, equal to about a mile square, and lying at the lowest level of the valley. Smith's Pond, at the village of East Brookfield, flows into Podunk, and the united waters pass by the Quaboag River towards the west. North of East Brookfield is an upland swale. Between Smith's Pond and Podunk is a grassy swamp. West of Podunk, on the sides of the Quaboag, is another swampy formation. These swamps, so called, are filled with living water, and large sections of them are covered with grass, so as to lend a rather pleasing aspect to the landscape.

Towards the western end of the long valley, and west of the village of West Brookfield, lies the Wickaboag Pond, which extends a mile and a half, north and south, and adds an inexpressible charm to the scenery. Around this little lake and its vicinity cluster the tragic stories of early life in Brookfield. The Quaboag River runs just south of the pond, and receives its outflow through a brook that breaks from the south-west corner.

The long valley thus described determines the other features of the old township. From it the land rises to the south into a long line of hills, down whose sloping vales many brooks run perpendicularly to the Quaboag. In like manner the land rises towards the north, but into detached hills, which send their ridges and brooks southward to the larger stream in the valley. All the hills in the northern section of the Brookfields are fashioned after the same model, though greatly varying in size. These hills, with scarcely an exception, extend from north to south. A horizontal section of them would give an eccentric ellipse, the longest diameter being north and south. Some are very large, but others are placed between, of variable magnitude. They rise with great regularity on every side, from base to smooth and rounded top, and are cultivated all over the surface. They are not parallel to each other, but on parallel lines, and thus, by their size, their shape and their position, give a blending of uniformity and variety which is extremely pleasing.

There is one exception to the general formation of this "hill country," and that is the "Old Meeting-house," or "Foster's Hill," just east of the village of West Brookfield. The base and sides of this hill and the elevation, for about two hundred feet, is similar, but the top is almost a dead level. It would seem as if the upper third had been cut off, leaving the frustum of an elliptical pyramid, whose surface is from a quarter to a third of a mile in diameter. On this broad platform the original settlement was located, and here the meeting-houses stood from the beginning till the middle of the last century. From this summit, nearly the whole of the old township is in plain sight, and it seems as if formed to suit the convenience of all the people in the valley and adjacent hills during the first century of the town's history.

The soil of the township is good for all kinds of trees and vegetables common to the interior of the State. The grass-lands are clothed with a verdant herbage. The geological formation is gneissic, and the waters are impregnated

with iron. Large quantities of iron-ore have been taken from Wickaboag Pond. The crops in this summer of 1879 are luxuriant, and many kinds of fruit abound in every direction. With this mental map in mind, the reader will proceed to the history of the Brookfields.

BROOKFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGINAL CONDITION — INDIAN INHABITANTS — FIRST SETTLEMENT BY WHITES — DISTURBANCES — OUTRAGES AND MURDERS — FEMALE FORTITUDE — FIRST MEETING-HOUSE — MORE DESTRUCTION — FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR — ATTENTION TO SCHOOLS — MEETING-HOUSE FINALLY BUILT — WHITEFIELD'S VISIT.

THE old town, including a part of New Braintree, which once belonged to its territory, was a favorite haunt of the Indians. It was the only place much frequented by them between Lancaster and Worcester on the east, and Springfield on the west. The hills and valleys, the ponds and streams of this inland basin, were just suited to their needs, their convenience and their taste. Here was ample space for planting, hunting and fishing. All that the Indian craved of earthly good was here furnished to his hands. A lazy life, with intermittent exertion, obtained for him just enough for present subsistence, and he was careless of the future. His squaw could raise corn and squashes, and, when driven by hunger, he could catch fish or game to supply his immediate want. Of course he always sought for a place where game and fish abounded, and where the soil was of easy cultivation. Here, therefore, a branch of the tribe of the Nipmets, Nipmugs or Nipmucs had their home or centre of life, though often wandering outside of the valley in war or in the chase. The branch or faction of the Nipmets who lived here was called the Quaboag Indians, the head sachem of whom was Quacumquasit. Their home or headquarters was chiefly on the west and north of Wickaboag Pond, in West Brookfield. They frequented the borders of the stream that comes from New Braintree to the pond. This was the haunt of the Quaboags, and the place about four or five miles north of the pond was their "chief seat." Some writers, earlier and later, have styled this the "chief seat of the Nipmuc Indians," but it was simply the capital or chief seat of the Quaboag company, faction or tribelet. The first notice of them is in connection with the murder of three of their number in 1647, between Brookfield and Springfield, and of five others killed in 1648, about half way to Lancaster. These murders were committed by Indians.

The tribe, as we shall call this portion of the Nipmues, engaged Mr. Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, to make an appeal to the authorities in Boston to secure the punishment of the murderers; but, as these Indians were not then subject to the Colony, interference was wisely declined. Speaking of these Indians, Winthrop writes: "There are several small factions at Quaboag, and in all near places there are other small factions. No one faction doth rule all. And one of these petty factions hath made friendship with Cutshamoquin, but I believe they will stick no longer to him than the sun shines upon him."

The first year in which white men became historically connected with the place was 1660, when a "grant of land six miles square" was made to certain inhabitants of Ipswich, on condition that they would have twenty families settled there within three years, and an able minister, approved by the court, settled there within the same period, and that they should make provisions for his support. The General Court acted on the conviction that a settlement provided with such a minister would form a homogeneous town that would act in harmony with similar towns and with the whole Colony.

In what year the first settlers put in an appearance is not certain. The Rev. Dr. Fiske, who had studied the history of the town, thought it was "somewhat probable there were some small beginnings made here by the English before this grant." But of this there is no certain proof. The town historians date the first occupation by the English in the year 1660. The settlers purchased the land of the natives, and thus acquired a double title, legal and equitable. Their coming did not exclude the Indians, but both parties "lived together in friendship for some time." The purchase was made on the 10th of October, 1665, of Shattoquis, who claimed to be the "sole and proper owner." Having a grant from the General Court, the settlers felt secure against all claimants. Although it is not possible to fix the date of the first white occupation of the place, it is matter of record that there were enough inhabitants on the ground to be incorporated as a town in the year 1673. There was a condition in the act, as appears by the following words: The court judged meet to grant the request of the inhabitants of Quaboag, "and the liberty and privilege of a township, provided they divide not the whole land of the township till they be forty or fifty families: in the meantime, their dividings one to another exceed not two hundred acres to any present inhabitant." By the summer of 1675, there were at least twenty families in the town, who had a meeting-house and preaching though not a settled minister.

The enterprise, so auspiciously begun, was exposed to a speedy reverse. About the middle of July, 1675, a band of Nipmues from King Philip's neighborhood, murdered four or five people in Mendon. This was the first war-like attack of the Indians upon the people of the Colony since the landing of the Pilgrims. Other signs of hostility induced the authorities to take immediate measures of precaution. Agents were sent to the Nipmues, by whom it was made certain that they were inclined to unite with Philip. Still the Indians

expressed a desire for peace, and appointed a day for making a treaty. The 2d of August, old style, was the day for the meeting. The Indians had made such repeated protestations of friendly designs, that when Capts. Wheeler and Hutchinson came with twenty men, to make a treaty, some of the principal men of the town rode with them unarmed to the place of rendezvous. The place was on the hill at the head, or north end of Wickaboag Pond. The Indians were not there. Though this excited some fear, yet the party rode forward towards the "largest collection of Indians," at that time in the region. This was four or five miles up stream, and in the southern border of what is now New Braintree, but was then a part of Brookfield. Here was "the Nipnets' chief town." The foe was on the watch. Says Dr. Fiske, in an historical discourse: "When they came to a place called Meminimisset, a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp, they were ambushed by two or three hundred Indians, who shot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, Capt. Hutchinson being one of the number." The rest returned to their home by another path, in order to avoid a second ambush. The Indians followed them, but the people, taking alarm, flocked together in the "principal house." This house was without any doubt, a fortified house on Foster's Hill, the flat-topped elevation east of the village of West Brookfield, already described. But the precise location of this "principal house" is in dispute. The better opinion is that it stood on the north-eastern brow of the hill, or a little way down that hill-side, and not far north-west from a house which now stands on that slope, and known as "Mr. Marsh's house."

The people and the soldiers who survived the attack in the woods, being gathered into the house, were comparatively safe, though the only way in which it was "fortified" was by rolling up some logs on the sides, and the hanging up of a few feather beds to catch the bullets. The Indians soon followed and "set fire to most of the buildings." About twenty houses were burned in sight of the agonized owners. All the barns and outhouses perished in the flames, with all their contents which the savages did not secure as plunder. They next besieged the garrison, and watched every chance to pick off a man. At one time the besieged were surprised by a bright light in the midst of darkness. The Indians had placed combustibles by the side of the house, and set them on fire. The men went out, and though exposed to bullets from every available quarter, they put out the flames without the loss of a man. "Innumerable balls entered the house" during the siege, yet only one man, who was in the chamber, was killed. One day a man was wounded as he was drawing water. He was hidden from the foes by a board fence, but one of them seeing the well-pole descending, took aim at the spot where he thought the man was standing, and hit him under the chin. The wounded man, in affright, called out that he was killed, when the Indian, knowing the voice, shouted, "Me kill Maj. Wilson." The siege continued through the second, the third and to the close of the fourth day of August. At one time the Indians made a more elaborate

attempt to set the house on fire than was usual with them. Indeed, the effort seems without parallel in their annals. They took a couple of barrels, made holes in the centre of the heads, and inserted a pole for an axle-tree. They next joined two rows of poles together till they reached about fourteen rods. A string of the poles was fastened to each end of the axle, and wheels were placed under the double line of poles at suitable intervals. Next they piled up combustibles on the end nearest the house, set them on fire, and by pushing at the other extremity, moved the burning mass against the garrison. It was a fearful hour, but they escaped death by a timely interposition. According to Hubbard, the historian, a violent rain fell so suddenly as to extinguish the flame. It seemed to the besieged to be a special interposition of Providence. Increase Mather does not refer to the rain, but says that Maj. Willard, followed by forty-eight horsemen, arrived just in time, late on the night of the 4th of August, and raised the siege. He had been sent to scout in the neighborhood of Lancaster, as it was feared the Indians meditated an attack on that town. When within a few miles of that place, the Major, hearing of the dire extremity of the garrison at Brookfield, acting on his own discretion, hurried to the scene of action and rescued the garrison. Sentinels were on the watch to notify the Indians of his coming, and they fired alarm guns, but these were not heard by the besiegers. Thus it happened that the Major escaped ambush, and appeared on the scene in the very nick of time. It is said that the "cattle seemed to rejoice at his coming, and to hail him as their deliverer." They were frightened by the burning of the buildings, the sound of guns, and the yelling of the savages, and appeared to know that the white men were their friends. They ran to the troops for "protection, and followed them till they arrived at the besieged house." This stampede of the cattle served a good purpose, for their noise made the Indians think that the troop was numerous. They set fire to the meeting-house, and the only remaining house and barn, and disappeared in the woods. The peril of the garrison having been made known, soldiers came in from different quarters, even from Hartford, from Springfield, and from the county of Essex. But the savages were invisible. It was afterwards learned that Philip came to Brookfield on the fifth, heard the story, rewarded some of the leaders in the bloody ambush, and induced the Quaboags to join him in another expedition, which extended towards the towns in the valley of the Connecticut. The greater part of the troops moved to Hadley to thwart the Indians, and protect the settlements in that quarter. Two of the principal leaders in the attack on Brookfield, were afterwards seized and tried for their violation of the agreement with the English, and their assassination of Capt. Hutchinson. One of these was Sam or Shoshanum of Lancaster. He was hanged with Neatump, sachem of Quaboag, on Boston Common.

Here we meet a question of interest to all admirers of the noble and heroic qualities of Maj. Simon Willard. Dr. Fiske states that his conduct in

altering his course and going to the relief of Brookfield "being dictated by humanity, and executed with bravery and success, gained him the applause of people in general. But as it was beside his orders, he was censured by the court and cashiered, which disgusted his friends and broke his heart." Joseph Willard, the historian of Lancaster, in 1826, having investigated this affair with his usual thoroughness, was convinced that the statement was erroneous. There is no record, in the doings of the General Court, that Maj. Willard was cashiered or censured. Moreover, he was busy all the fall and winter in the public service, both as commander-in-chief in the field, and as a member of the council. Hence it is inferred that the whole statement of Dr. Fiske has no foundation. He has even been censured by some for putting the matter in print. But it is hardly conceivable that the Doctor had no ground for writing as he did. He could not have invented a fiction of the kind. Is not the following the true solution of the question? There was no formal accusation of Maj. Willard: he had no trial, was not censured by the General Court, and was not cashiered. But he had departed from his orders; in consequence, before his return, the Indians fell upon Lancaster, which he had been sent to defend, and several lives were sacrificed by the enemy. It is not difficult to infer, human nature being the same in all times, that the people of Lancaster and their friends would be apt to censure the Major for not defending them, instead of departing from his orders, and going to a distance. Though he was sagacious and loyal, yet by the course he had taken, the town where he had long resided, and of which he had been, as it were, a father, had suffered a grievous loss of life. This must have weighed upon his sensitive spirit, and if the censure of others came to his ears, it is quite possible that a burdened heart hastened his decease, which took place in the spring of 1676.

The settled part of Brookfield on and near Meeting-House Hill was a desolation. It is said that the plantation was broken up, though one writer denies this with spirit. If any intrepid settlers remained on the ground, there is no record of municipal or church action for a series of years. There was a grant of land to Joseph Woolcot, in 1687. There is an entry on the records of the General Court, date of 1692, in these words:—"Upon reading a petition from the inhabitants of Brookfield, alias Quaboag, praying that a committee may be appointed as formerly, to direct and regulate the settlement of said plantation, and the affairs thereof, ordered, that a committee be appointed." By this it is clear that the plantation was in working order by 1692, or sixteen years after the burning of all the buildings, though it did not work very smoothly. We may rest satisfied that people had been moving in slowly during the years between 1680 and 1692, when the above petition was sent to the General Court. When the town was authorized, it was not endowed with full powers of self-government, but was placed under a committee made up of gentlemen residing in other towns, who directed and regulated all affairs. Probably here, as was the case in Lancaster during a short period, the committee gave

direction to the selectmen, in relation to certain matters, and in other things, exerted direct authority. This arrangement in Brookfield lasted until 1718, or about forty-five years. Without said committee, says Dr. Fiske, "the inhabitants could not take up for themselves, or grant to others, any lands. And it was by the direction and assistance of said committee, that monies were granted, a meeting-house built, and a minister chosen."

According to the Rev. Joseph J. Foot, who published a very valuable historical discourse, "it was a long time before the inhabitants dared to return." Other writers take the same view, with the exception of Rev. Dr. Whiting, who admits that the plantation was hardly alive, but claims that it was not abandoned, and that the Court encouraged the planters. As the scattered families came back, they took measures for protection. Gilbert's Fort was in the west parish near where the school-house stood in 1828. On the hill north-west of West Brookfield village a tower was built, from which the movements of the Indians could be watched. It stood upon a rock. A story has come down from early times that at the close of a cloudy day, a company of Indians were seen lurking in the woods at a little distance, by the sentinel. The guns belonging to the fort had by mistake been left in the tower, and the sentinel knew that if he alarmed the people, they would come for their guns, and while unarmed he killed by the enemy. Putting the guns in order for an attack, he waited till dark, and then fired in the direction where he had seen an Indian. The fire was returned, whereupon he shot away in the direction of the flash. Being protected himself, he kept up this single-handed contest for some hours, until the firing ceased. As blood was found in different places in the morning, it was supposed that several Indians had been killed or severely wounded.

Below the junction of the stream which flows from Wickaboag Pond with Quaboag River is a knoll on which Marks's garrison stood. There is a story connected with this place. Mrs. Marks, being left alone on a certain day, saw Indians in the vicinity, who, as she supposed, were waiting for a chance to attack the settlement. Putting on her husband's wig, hat and greatcoat, and taking his gun, she went to the top of the garrison and marched backwards and forwards, vociferating like a vigilant sentinel, "All's well; all's well." The enemy were deceived, and, supposing there was a force within, prudently withdrew.

Goss's garrison was west of Wickaboag Pond; Jennings's or Barrister's garrison was north-east of the present village of Brookfield, probably, which proves that settlers soon took up lands beyond the present boundary of West Brookfield.

Previous to the burning of the town and the dispersion of the people, a meeting-house had been built, and meetings had been regularly held; but there is no recorded evidence that a church had been organized, or a minister settled. There is a tradition that there was a settled minister, and that

Rev. Thomas James preached the first sermon ever delivered in Brookfield. Rev. Mr. Smith was in the place previous to 1713, and in 1715 Rev. Daniel Elmer, who had been for some time "carrying on the work of the ministry," left the place.

In the month of November, 1715, the people agreed to build a meeting-house, "wherein to carry on the worship of God. It was to be forty-five feet in length, and thirty-five feet in width." This house was set up on Foster's Hill, and was on the north side of the road, and nearly midway of the summit level. The exact spot where the people worshipped between the burning of the first meeting-house in 1675 and the erection of the second in 1716 is not known, but it is thought by some local antiquarians that they assembled during several years in a fortified house; perhaps in Gilbert's Fort, which was near the centre of the west parish. But a few years previous to the building of the second house they probably met in the "town house," which stood nearly opposite the ancient homestead of the Foster family. The second meeting-house was built on the spot where the first had stood, and here it remained until the third sanctuary was erected in the village of West Brookfield in 1755.

The old meeting-houses stood in a very "sightly place," and, though the hill was difficult of ascent, there must have been a sense of satisfaction to the early settlers whenever they stood on that eminence, and surveyed the goodly land that lay outspread before them. And there, after forty years from the time when their first house of worship had been destroyed by the ruthless foe, on the 5th of April, 1716, the Rev. Thomas Cheney was invited to become the minister of the town, by the inhabitants in town meeting assembled, Thomas Barnes being moderator. Not till the 16th of October, in 1717, or eighteen months later, was the church organized, when Mr. Cheney was solemnly set apart as its pastor. Thus he was the minister of the town as a parish before he was the pastor of the church.

Returning to the secular history, it appears that the committee of supervision were ready to vacate their office. They reported to the General Court that after "various disappointments, by war and otherwise, by the good providence of God," the people had increased to nearly fifty families, had nearly completed a very convenient meeting-house, had settled a church and ordained an orthodox and learned minister. In view of these facts they desired to be released from any farther responsibility, and proposed that the plantation should be invested with all the powers and privileges of a town. The names of the committee were Samuel Partridge, Samuel Porter and Luke Hitchcock. The suggestion of the committee was ratified on the 12th of November, 1718, and Brookfield became a self-governing town. The next year an order of the General Court, made in 1701, that the grant of Brookfield should be eight miles square, was reaffirmed, and a new survey ordered to be made, because the old plot had been lost. This was done, and then the action

of the town in choosing town officers in the preceeding March was approved and confirmed. This last action was taken on the 3d of December, 1719, by which it may safely be concluded Brookfield was a town to "all intents and purposes whatsoever."

But during those years, from the outbreak of King William's war in 1692 to 1710, the town was in an insecure and troubled state from the hostility of the Indians. In the course of this war, the savage enemy made frequent and sudden attacks, killing, scalping, or carrying captive those on whom they could safely fall. A number of men, women and children were killed; some were wounded, and others were taken prisoners. According to Dr. Fiske, who made a specialty of this part of the town's history, the first inroad was made near the end of July or the beginning of August, 1692. The case of Joseph Woolcot and his family is a fair example of many deeds of blood. A party of Indians had broken up two or three families, and Mrs. Woolcot was filled with apprehension. Her husband being at work, one day, at a little distance from the house, she took the children and went out to meet him. "When they returned to the house at noon, they found the Indians had been there for his gun, and several other things were missing." Seeing an Indian drawing towards the house, Mr Woolcot sent his wife and two little daughters to hide in the bushes, and taking his little son under one arm, and his broad-axe in his hand, went out with his dog in sight of the enemy. "The dog being large and fierce, attacked the Indian so furiously, that he was obliged to discharge his gun at the dog to rid himself of him; immediately upon which Woolcot sat down the child and pursued the Indian till he heard the bullet roll down the gun, the Indian charging as he ran. He then turned back, snatched up his child and made his escape through the swamps to a fort. His wife being greatly terrified, discovered by her shrieks where she was; and the Indian soon found and despatched both her and her children."

At another time — few dates are given by the local annalists — a party of Indians entered the house of a Mr. Mason, while the family were at dinner. They killed Mason and one or two children, and taking his wife and an infant whom they had wounded, carried them captive. They seized two brothers, Thomas and Daniel Lawrence, the former of whom they killed. John Lawrence, their brother, "rode with all haste" to Springfield for help, when a company under Capt. Colton, marched speedily and pursued the Indians. They found Mason's child knocked on the head, and thrown into the bushes. Pursuing they found the enemy in a brush fort, and when morning came, they drew near, and putting the muzzles of their guns through the brush fired upon the Indians with such good aim that fourteen or fifteen were killed. The rest fled in haste, leaving arms, blankets, powder-horns, and their two prisoners, Daniel Lawrence and Mrs. Mason, who were taken to their homes by the soldiers. John Lawrence was afterwards killed. Mary MacIntosh was fired upon and killed while milking. On a certain day, — date and place not mentioned, —

Robert Grainger and John Clary were fired upon; Grainger was killed at once, and Clary, attempting to escape, was shot.

Here follows a series of horrors, in the language of Dr. Fiske :—

“ Thomas Battis of Brookfield, riding express to Hadley, was killed in the wilderness within the bounds of Belchertown. Early one morning John Woolcot, a lad about twelve or fourteen years old, was riding in search of the cows, when the Indians fired at him, killed his horse from under him, and took him prisoner. The people at Jennings’s garrison — just north-east of Brookfield Village — hearing the firing, and concluding the people at another garrison were beset, six men set out for their assistance, but were waylaid by the Indians. The English knew not their danger till they saw there was no escaping it. And, therefore, knowing that an Indian could not look an Englishman in the face and take a right aim, they stood their ground, presenting their pieces wherever they saw an Indian, without discharging them, excepting Abijah Bartlett, who turned to flee and was shot dead. The Indians kept firing at the rest, and wounded three of them. They were preserved at last by the following stratagem. A large dog, hearing the firing, came to our men, one of whom, to encourage his brethren and intimidate the Indians, called out, ‘ Captain Williams is come to our assistance, for here is his dog.’ The Indians seeing the dog, and knowing Williams to be a famous warrior, immediately fled, and our men escaped.”

At length we find one of the delights of a true annalist, a date, though as usual, the place is wanting, except vaguely it was in “ the meadows,” and the date is qualified by the word “ about,” the last resort of a man who can not or who will not track a fact to its origin :—

“ About the 20th of July, 1710, — it was now Queen Anne’s war, — six men, viz. Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg, were making hay in the meadows, when the Indians, who had been watching an opportunity to surprise them, sprung suddenly upon them, despatched five of them, and took the other, John White, prisoner. White spying a small company of our people at some distance, jumped from the Indian who held him, and ran to join his friends; but the Indian fired after him, and wounded him in the thigh, by which he fell; but soon recovering and running again, he was again fired at and received his death wound.”

Another story is handed down to us which illustrates the strange fascination which Indian life and habits have always had upon the minds of some who were born in civilized, and even in Christian families. The child of Rev. Mr. Williams of Deerfield is a well-known example. The case in Brookfield was that of John Woolcot, the boy mentioned above, who was captured and taken to Canada at the age of twelve. Remaining there six or seven years, and living wholly with the Indians, he forgot his native tongue, and became so familiarized to savage life as to lose all desire to return home. In some such cases, when children taken in very early years were ransomed in youth, they became reconciled to civilized life, and even lost all hankering after the forest and the wigwam. Perhaps that would have been the case with Woolcot if he had not lost his life in the following manner: Some years afterwards, in 1728,

in a time of peace, he came down the Connecticut River with another man, having a load of skins and fur. At a certain place they were hailed by Indians, but steered for the opposite shore. The Indians pursued, and landed at a short distance from Woolcot and his companion. Shots were exchanged, and Woolcot was killed.

From the close of Queen Anne's war, Brookfield had a long period of peace and prosperity. The population increased rapidly. Other towns were molested by the Indians, — Rutland as late as 1723, — and some of their inhabitants slain; but Brookfield, though often alarmed, was never again invaded, nor was any person in it killed or taken captive. Though alarms hindered their industry, and at times the fear of the savages made life a scene of disquietude, they were saved from the terrible discipline of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

During the war of 1745-48, or the old French and Indian war, as it used to be styled, Brookfield men were in the service, and bore their part of toil and sufferings, yet hostilities did not come down to their borders. Fort Dummer and other posts at the north served as a curb to the enemy, and guarded the region below a certain line.

The local historians, except Rev. Eli Forbes, are singularly reticent in regard to the part which Brookfield bore in the last French and Indian war, in which Quebec was taken by Gen. Wolfe in 1759. Mr. Foote has only this paragraph: "In consequence of the annoyance occasioned by Indians instigated and employed by the French, it was deemed expedient to undertake an expedition for the conquest of Canada. Extensive preparations were made by the inhabitants of this place to bear their part in carrying the project into execution. Arms and ammunition were procured and stored in the house of Gen. Dwight, now owned by Mr. Nathaniel Lynde. Winter was regarded as the most favorable time for the expedition, and hence a quantity of 'snow-shoes' was made and deposited in the same place to facilitate the enterprise." And this is all, though it is on record at the State House in Boston that Brookfield furnished her quota during all the years of the war. Besides, this town was the thoroughfare through which soldiers, both Colonial and red-coats, marched to the seat of war. Lord Amherst and other British generals led their troops through Brookfield on the way to the posts about Lake George, and, still later, other detachments marched over the same road towards Canada. When the French and Indians under Gen. Montcalm, in 1757, took Fort William Henry, and all New England was in a panic, Col. Oliver Wilder of Lancaster led a company through the town, on the way to Springfield and the north-west, to unite with other forces in repelling the enemy. Happily, it was only a "scare," and the soldiers soon returned; but what excitement in the town as the soldiers passed through! what cheerings and encouragement from old and young! Doubtless, Brookfield sent her company at the same time.

In the campaign of 1755, Brig. Ruggles of Hardwick was in the expedition

against Crown Point, under Sir William Johnson. In the battle in which Baron Dieskau was defeated, he was second in command, and gained a high reputation. In the campaigns of the two succeeding years, he acted with the commission of colonel. With an interval of one year (1758), he was in the service to the close of the war, and received, among other rewards, an office which was worth the sum of £3,000 per annum; an enormous sum for a man living in a small inland town in the middle of the last century. The reason for introducing his name here is found in the fact that his regiments were made up of men recruited in the towns in his vicinity, among which Brookfield supplied the largest number of men. The old muster-rolls contain the names which will doubtless emblazon the pages of some future "History of Brookfield." Meantime, the curious reader may peruse the sermon of Mr. Forbes, who was chaplain to Ruggles's regiment two years, and also decipher the rolls in the State archives.

A few excerpts gathered by Dr. Whiting, who has a talent for this kind of research, will illustrate the times: "November 8, 1710. 10 Pounds granted towards mending the Mill Dam in the said Town, and such of the Inhabitants as are by the enemy driven from their Houses and Livings be admitted into the Service as Soldiers that are capable thereof, and his Excellency shall please to entertain." This was approved by Gov. Dudley.

In December, 1715, there was a meeting of the committee and the inhabitants also, of which the record is: "The committee then ordered a highway of six rods wide be laid out from the place where the meeting-house is to be built down to the new county road on the side of Coy's Brook." This was ordered by the committee, it seems, the inhabitants "being present and listening." But at the same meeting these inhabitants "exercised some power," for they chose a committee of three "to order and to take care to carry on ye building a bridge over Quaboag River, at Mason's Point." Another committee was chosen to take charge of a "bridge at Marks River." So it seems that the committee authorized and "ordered" the work, but the town chose the agents to do it. Another entry in the records of the same day reads thus: "The great field upon ye plain shall be sufficiently fenced, and at no time laid open"; and "a pair of bars or gate at each end were to be kept shut." This field is now the beautiful common in the village of West Brookfield.

The following is the beginning of the record of the first independent town meeting: "The town being dismiss from the committee, held its first town meeting, Dec. 15th, 1718. Voted: Left. Philip Goose, moderator." It was a goose that once saved Rome, according to history, and, doubtless, Brookfield was blessed by the vigilance of a Goose. The above is called the "first town meeting," yet Brookfield had been a town, with a brief interregnum, from 1673, or forty-five years. The apparent contradiction is easily reconciled. So long as the "committee" supervised the town, it was a town in leading-strings, or in a state of pupillage, but chose all its own officers, who

carried out the orders of the committee. The people also, not only in private, but sometimes in public meetings, gave expression to their sentiments, which were respected by the committee. This was the case in other towns, and without doubt in Brookfield.

In 1720 occurred this action: "The town was of opinion that the power was wholly in the town to make grants of land." How the rights of the original grantees had been forfeited or vacated does not appear.

The first trace of an appropriation for education is found in the records for 1731, when it was "Voted, that the selectmen provid Schooll Dames in ye several parts of the town for 3 or 4 months in the Summer Season." Also, "Voted, that any number of persons that are Minded to build a Schooll house may set it up in ye highway or common Land, near ye middle of the town." And the same "privilege in any other part of the Town" was voted to any desiring it. In 1733 fifty pounds were voted for schooling. Doubtless the children enjoyed some means of education from the beginning, and through all the years preceding 1731, for the law of the Colony, the influence of the clergy and the spirit of the people combined to secure it.

A few items from town and colonial records will properly introduce the sketch of the ministry of the first settled pastor. In a petition dated Oct. 25, 1692, they speak "as having some encouragement we shall speedily have a Minister of God's Word amongst us." In 1698, November 24, the following resolve of the representatives was consented to by William Stoughton, acting governor. "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Brookfield, Resolved, that there be twenty pounds paid out of the public treasury of this province towards the support of an Orthodox minister for one year, to commence from the time of the settlement of such a minister amongst them." A similar grant was made in 1702, June 27, with a reason therefor as follows: "Whereas, the plantation of Brookfield, lying on the great road betwixt this Her Majesty's province and the colony of Connecticut, being a usual and necessary stage for travelers and post betwixt the two grants, is anew beginning to be settled, and yet unable to support itself without receiving some assistance from the government, being a garrisoned place, Resolved £20, towards the support of a chaplain to that garrison for the present year be paid out of the public treasury." The same sum was paid the next year, "considering the extraordinary impoverishing circumstances the town of Brookfield's under by reason of the present war." In 1705 there was a similar grant, with this condition: "Provided such minister be approved by the ministry of the neighboring towns." The two following years brought a grant of "£20, provided such minister be approved by the ministry of the three neighboring towns." The two nearest towns on the east were Lancaster and Worcester, and the nearest on the west was probably Springfield. The General Court did not waste its funds on uncertified clerical tramps.

A similar appropriation was made until 1715, with the following specifica-

tion in 1714: "£20 towards the maintenance of Mr. John James in the work of the ministry at Brookfield the year current." In the same year action was taken in the way of inquiry about a grant made to "Mr. Phillips sometime Minister of the said place." Then comes the record of measures adopted for building a meeting-house, already cited. The town,—there was no church at this date,—on the 5th of April, 1716, voted "to give Mr. Cheney for his salary, fifty-two pounds, yearly for three years, and to rise forty shillings a year until it comes to seventy pounds, and then stay." They also voted to build him a house and barn, according to the "Dementions y^t he had given," but he was to provide glass, nails and iron. In addition, they voted to break up and fence and fit to sow eight acres of land, part of it at once, and all within four years, and to get Mr. Cheney twenty-five cords of wood yearly during his life. The final vote was this: "To give Mr. Cheney, each man one day's work yearly, for six years. His house and barn to be built in four years. Always provided Mr. Cheney be our ordained minister." The reply of Mr. Cheney shows that his spelling was about as good as that of his people. Webster's spelling-book did not bring in correctness and uniformity till two generations had passed away. "Gentlemen, as to y^e Dimentions of ye House & Barn you Propose to Build for me. In case I should Settle amongst you, it is my mind and desire with Respect to my house: y^t y^e Lenght may be 42 foott. The wedht 20 foott; as to ye stud, fourteen foott stud and as to ye barn That it may be 30 foott long, and 20 foott wide wth a Lentow on one side. This from your servant, Thos. Cheney." He agreed to furnish glass, nails and iron for house and barn. Grants of land, about the same time, made him a large landholder, and gave him enough to do, if he improved his estate, to demoralize his ministry. But, as he was a faithful pastor, it is probable that the principal management of his worldly affairs was put into other hands.

The following votes of the town throw so much light on the former proceedings of towns, in the matter of settling ministers, that they are copied literally:—"Voted, That the Reverend Mr. Cheney shall be ordained Minister for the Town. The Third Wedn., in October next is apointed and sett apart For Mr. Cheney's ordination. Voted, That Mr. Tilly Merick & Joseph Banister aquant Mr. Cheney with the Town's mind & as to the day agreed upon for his ordination." Mr. Cheney agreed to the time, whereupon, "Voted, That Tilly Merick [and others] Doe take care that suitable Proviton be made for such Elders & Messengers as may be called to assist in our ordination." Also, "Voted: That we celebrate and sett apart a Day of fasting & Prayer to implore God's Presents wth us in this solemn & weighty matter, which Day is left for Mr. Cheney to appoint. Full and clear votes. Test, Thomas Gilbird, moderator." Yet up to this there was no church. If there ever had been, it was extinct, because we are distinctly informed that the "Church was gathered and Mr. Thomas Cheney was ordained Pastor, October 16, 1717." The sermon was preached by the celebrated Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton,

and in his day the most influential minister in the Province. The subject of the discourse was "The duty of Gospel Ministers to preserve a People from Corruption." This was the second church gathered between Marlborough and Springfield, according to Rev. Dr. Whiting. The church in Lancaster was organized in 1660; the church in Marlborough in 1666; the church in Mendon in 1667. Next came the church in Brookfield in 1717. There was no other church in the county till 1719, when the Old South Church in Worcester was formed.

The pastorate so amicably begun was too peaceful to leave much record, for so it is, that fifty years of union and prosperity does not make such a figure in church history, as a single year of division caused by one or more quarrelsome members. In the case of Mr. Cheney there is no recorded or traditional intimation of any disagreement between him and his people till the year 1740; and this did not unsettle him, for by his prudence the last years of his ministry were the most prosperous. The occasion brings before us a scene of wonderful interest and excitement in those old days. Whitefield was on his way from Boston to Northampton, preaching from town to town, wherever he received a welcome, and his time allowed. Would he be welcome in Brookfield, was the question. The people had heard of his almost superhuman eloquence, and were eager to feel its spell. The minister had heard of Whitefield, and had some fears that his presence would do more harm than good. He hesitated about opening the pulpit to the itinerant evangelist till he knew more of the effects of his preaching in other places. But the urgency of the people was so pressing that Mr. Cheney yielded. By this time, however, a throng had gathered which no meeting-house could hold, and the services took place in the open air, on Foster's Hill, a little north-east of the old Foster mansion, and on the north side of the road. The day was probably on Thursday, the 16th of October, 1740. In the life of Whitefield, by Dr. Joseph Belcher, we learn that he preached at Worcester, on Wednesday, the 14th, in the "open air to some thousands." The sermon "carried all before it." Gov. Belcher, who was present, said to Whitefield, "I pray God I may apply what has been said to my own heart. Pray, Mr. Whitefield, that I may hunger and thirst after righteousness." Passing from Worcester he preached at Leicester, Brookfield and Cold Spring on his way to Hadley, where he arrived on Friday. This makes it almost certain that he was in Brookfield on Thursday. The sacred orator stood upon a great rock, where thousands from all the region gathered around him. This great rock still remains. It is of rough gneiss, and is some twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, at a guess, and it slopes upward from the ground to a height of eight or ten feet. At the highest point of one corner is a natural platform, two or three feet in diameter, on which a man can easily stand. The view from this spot is magnificent, but all the beauty of the scenery on every side, both far and near, could not compare with the moral sublimity of the scene within the reach of the preacher's

voice. Among the hearers, probably, was Brig. Gen. Joseph Dwight, then a resident of the town, and afterwards distinguished in civil and military life. And there was a young girl in the throng, who lived till the time of Rev. Dr. Phelps, eighty years or more, and who remembered the words:—"Some of you came to hear what the babbler would say." The effect was remarkable and permanent, for we read that a "great reviving of religion ensued, in which Mr. Cheney heartily labored, and by which the religious character of the town was memorably strengthened." A large number were added to the church, one of whom remained to the year 1819, and died at the age of one hundred years and seven months.

The death of Mr. Cheney occurred on the 11th of December, 1747. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1711, six years before his ordination in Brookfield. His name comes down to us as that of a good man, an acceptable preacher, and a faithful pastor. His decease was soon followed by great changes in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town.

His successor was the Rev. Elisba Harding, a graduate of Harvard in 1745. He was ordained Sept. 13, 1749, but the town and church was in turmoil about a matter which seriously affected him, though he was without blame. The year after the death of Mr. Cheney, the inhabitants of the north-east part of the township formed a plan for a new precinct. Weary of going so far to meeting, and the town being without a minister, it seemed to them a good time to set up by themselves. They petitioned accordingly, but were put off, while the town and church proceeded to choose a new minister. In this they concurred, but, soon after the settlement of Mr. Harding, they renewed their attempt, and were successful. Their history will occupy a separate page.

Meantime, we will follow the fortunes of Mr. Harding and the remainder of the town. The town, in concurring with the church in the settlement of Mr. Harding, voted, "after considerable Debat," for his encouragement to settle with them as their minister, the sum of "one thousand pounds old tenor currency, and for his yearly Sallery and Support, the Sum of five hundred pounds old tenor." But, as the old currency was depreciated and fluctuating, the value of the settlement and salary was fixed by this arrangement: "Accounting it as though it be in Indian corn at 20 sh. per bushel. Rye 30 sh. Wheat, 40 sh. per bushel and so the £500 to be increased or diminished yearly as the prices of the grains varied." This would yield for settlement one thousand bushels of corn, or five hundred bushels of wheat, or six hundred and sixty-seven bushels of rye. For yearly salary, it would yield half that amount. Five hundred bushels of corn would keep a family alive, and so would two hundred and fifty bushels of wheat. With the help of the settlement, and perhaps the use of the ministerial lands, the parson and his family would not starve. Besides, he was allowed to cut his firewood on the common land, "sd Mr. Harding not to mak wast of sd wood, especially of the young wood."

Though well settled, the pastorate of Mr. Harding was short and troubled.

About three months after his ordination, the men of the north, to the number of fifty, pressed their request for an independent parish. This was granted, and they immediately went to work making preparation for erecting a house of worship. In March, 1750, the parish was incorporated; in April, their meeting-house was raised; and in May, 1752, their church was organized as the "Second Church of Christ in Brookfield."

Then arose a dispute in relation to the site of a new meeting-house for the old town. It was necessary to have a new house, and in 1753 the question demanded action. But where to set it was the occasion of dividing the parish. The people of present Brookfield were not willing to ascend the hill any longer; much less would they go over or by it into West Brookfield. The people of the west were willing still to worship on the hill, but preferred to place the house on the west of the hill; that is, in the village of West Brookfield. Each section called separate meetings, and by degrees became accustomed to act separately. The dispute became so warm that a division was the only solution of the trouble. To settle the question, the people of the south took the matter into their own hands, and, in "an incredibly short time, set up the frame of a meeting-house on Mr. Bannister's lot," where the churches now stand in the village of Brookfield. But their hot haste soon received a check. The General Court, moved thereto by a petition of the West Parish, or rather the old town, for as yet there was no legal division, sent up a committee to look into the situation and report. After a patient examination, they advised a separation, and the formation of a third parish. The report was accepted Nov. 8, 1754; but the people of the south, having carried their point, built the house at their convenience, yet it was not till April 15, 1756, that a church was organized. Twenty-five males and fourteen females made up its number. Rev. Nathan Fiske, A. M., was ordained as their pastor on the 24th of May, 1758. Here we must leave the history of the first parish for the present, while we proceed with the history of the third parish, which became identified with that part of the town now bearing the name of Brookfield.

Mr. Fiske remained the minister of the third church forty-one years and eight months exactly, and died alone on the night of the Sabbath, Nov. 24, 1799. Says Rev. Ephraim Ward in a funeral sermon: "At night he retired, apparently in good health, and in his sleep his spirit departed to its eternal home." He was a superior man, both by native talent and education. A graduate of Harvard, he was honored with the degree of doctor of divinity in 1792 by his *alma mater*. Literary tastes and habits, and facility in writing, made him an author of several publications, including sermons and a series of essays in the style of the "Spectator," which he had read in the "Minerva Society," a club which had some local fame in its day. Altogether, he was a fine specimen of the faithful, laborious and scholarly country minister. In the Revolution, he was true as steel in his allegiance to the cause of his country. The historical sermon which he preached "On the Last Day of the Year,

1775," places him next to the head of the long list of local historians, the Centennial discourse of Rev. Timothy Harrington of Lancaster having been delivered in 1753.

CHAPTER II.

DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION — ENERGETIC ENLISTMENT — INSURRECTION OF SHAYS
— THE SPOONER CASE — OLD-TIME SCENES AND OCCURRENCES — INDUSTRIES
OF THE PRESENT TOWN — RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS — BROOKFIELD IN THE
REBELLION — PROMINENT CITIZENS.

RESUMING the annals of the town of Brookfield, we have reached the era of the Revolution. The town of Boston was a closed port. The British ministry determined to ruin the business if it could not break the spirit of its inhabitants. Brookfield sympathized with Boston. A meeting was held May 17, 1773, over which Jedediah Foster presided. A committee was chosen to send a letter of thanks to the town of Boston. The letter, which is attributed to Foster, is a true index of the spirit which animated the people of Brookfield. Here is a specimen sentence: "This town will ever be ready to assert, and in every legal and proper way maintain those *Rights and Liberties for our children*, which were with so much labor, blood and treasure, purchased by our ancestors whose memory is and ought to be esteemed by us." In December of the same year, a town meeting was held to consider the subject of the "importation of tea," and other matters, when a committee was chosen, of which Mr. Foster was chairman, to express the sentiments of the town. There is a homely but sublime vigor to their speech: "We think it our indispensable duty in the most public manner, to let the world know our utter abhorrence of the last and most detestable scheme in the introduction of tea from Great Britain, to be peddled out among us, by which means we were to be made to swallow a poison more fatal in its effects to the natural and political rights and privileges of the people of this country than *ratsbane would be to the natural body*."

A very full meeting was held, June 21, 1774, and three citizens were deputed to invite the Rev. Mr. Ward to open the meeting with prayer, and the "request was complied with in a very sollow manner." The meeting was called for signing a covenant about trading with unpatriotic men, and to "take care that pedlars do not sell any goods in this town." This referred to the goods which the British government was determined to force upon the people for the sake of the stamp tax. The action taken in a meeting held May 22, 1776, some weeks before the Declaration of Independence was made at Philadelphia, spoke the voice and heart of Brookfield. "The question was asked in the words of

a resolve of the General Court, whether this town would support the Hon'ble Congress in the measure, if they, for our liberty, should see fit to declare the colonies Independent of Great Britain, and it passed in the affirmative almost unanimously." Near the close of the same year a bounty of £60 was levied for "one hundred fire-arms, with a bayonet affixed thereto, provided they are wholly manufactured in this town within one year."

In 1778, the town voted to "accept the Confederacy of the Continental Congress, and to enjoin it on their representatives that they consent to the same." The next year the town voted in favor of a State Convention for the "sole purpose of forming a new Constitution." An effort had been made to form a Constitution by the Legislature, but the people rejected it. Judge Foster was a member of the Convention, and had great influence, but his death took place before the work was done. His son, Dwight Foster, was sent to the Convention to finish out the term of his deceased father.

Brookfield raised her quota of soldiers to fight the battle of freedom. There is no room to recite their names or deeds. One family may represent all. This was the family of Waite, several brothers of which were in the old French and Indian war, and some of them in the Revolution. Not less than five brothers were among the bravest of the brave. Before the Revolution some of these had removed to other places, but wherever they were, either as "rangers" or private soldiers, or officers, they gave themselves, "heart and soul," to their country. The town, in 1781, was divided into three precincts, in order the more readily to "raise soldiers for three years, or during the war, and committees were chosen to enlist men and "hire such sum or sums of money" as might be needed. In the library of the Congregational church of North Brookfield is a framed roll of the men belonging to the company of Capt. Ebenezer Newell, dated in 1777. The number of names is seventy-six. Probably the larger part of them belonged to that precinct. Doubtless the other precincts were equally patriotic, and raised men according to their population. It can be said of all Brookfield, as of other patriotic towns, that in the course of the war, nearly or quite every able-bodied man was in the field a portion of the time. The drain on our resources and our men in subduing the late rebellion, great as it was, is not to be compared with that upon our fathers in the war of Independence. As the town, in 1776, was "almost unanimous" in the vote for declaring a separation from the mother country, so it remained during all the hardships of the contest. The exceptions were few. The Rev. Mr. Forbes, minister of the second parish, or North Brookfield, was, doubtless, loyal to his country, but had a lingering attachment to the old order of things. Though acquitted of the charge of Toryism, he found it convenient to withdraw from his parish; but he did not join the enemies of his country. He was afterwards settled in Gloucester, where he died in the pastoral office. The other prominent man who did not sympathize with his townsmen, was Joshua Upham, Esq. He was a graduate of Harvard, and a successful lawyer. As

the war of the Revolution became a fixed fact, he withdrew to Boston. Later he was aid-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton, in New York. Thence he went to New Brunswick, where he became a judge in the highest court. The other clergymen of the town, and the vicinity, except the Rev. Mr. Pope of Spencer, were ardent patriots. And this was emphatically true of nearly the whole body of Congregational ministers in the Province, and throughout New England. Probably there was not a single Baptist minister that was even suspected of Toryism. Among the few Episcopal ministers there was a stronger leaven of loyalty to the king.

The independence of the united Colonies having been secured, there was immediately a felt necessity for their firm union. As early as 1784, one year after the ratification of peace, the town instructed its representative in the General Court in the words following: "It is the opinion of this town that the articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen United States being ratified and established by each State in the Union, are solemnly binding on the several States, and that no attempt ought to be made to dissolve or weaken the same; but on the other hand, if we mean to support our dignity as a nation, every effort ought to be used to strengthen the Union and render the Bonds indissoluble."

When the Shays Rebellion was in its earlier stage, there was a certain amount of sympathy with it among some of the people of this town. It is said that when the leaders proceeded to actual hostilities, a portion of them were "found in the ranks of the insurgents," yet the government must have been supported by a large majority of the inhabitants, as appears from the following facts:—When the rebels stopped the court at Worcester, a company was sent from Brookfield to protect the court. This company was then ordered to Springfield, where others from the town joined them. A company of "Infantry from the South Parish, a part of Col. Craft's regiment of Cavalry, and a company of volunteers from the town at large, under the command of Col. Jeduthun Baldwin as captain, and Col. Banister and Maj. Goodale, as lieutenants," rendered very efficient service. It is recorded that Capt. Shays himself had in earlier years been a hired man of Daniel Gilbert, Esq., in the North Parish.

On the first of March, 1778, a most atrocious murder was committed in this town. An account of it, and the trial and execution of the murderers, is given in the history of the county. The victim was Mr. Joshua Spooner, a man of property, and of respectable standing in the community. It is only needed to state here that the scene of the tragedy was about a third of a mile from the east house in the village of Brookfield, on the road towards Spencer. This is the "old great road from Springfield to Boston." The Spooner house was on a level with the village, and looked down on the deep valley at the south-west. It stood near the road, on the north-west side, with a yard in front. It was taken down two or three years since, but the cellar walls are standing. The

barn remains, and is now used as a slaughter-house. A rod or two from the fence which separate the house-lot from the road, is the well into which the bruised but quivering body of the victim was thrown head foremost. The depth is not great to the surface of the water, and its diameter is small, apparently not more than two and a half feet. It is uncovered, and without a curb, and the top stones are just even with the ground. To a stranger the place would present nothing worthy of notice, but to one familiar with the details of the awful tragedy enacted here a hundred years ago, it seems as if a curse rested on the spot, which no lapse of time could efface.

The subsequent history of the town is a history of peaceful prosperity down to the time of the great Rebellion in 1861-65, and in this there was a general unison and sentiment of action in maintaining the integrity of the Union, and in the abolition of slavery. A few events between the Revolution and the rebels' war will be noted in the order of time. The north part of the town, which became a parish in 1748, was incorporated as a town in 1812, by an act which was dated February 27. From this time its history becomes distinct from the old town of Brookfield, which included what is now West Brookfield, Brookfield and East Brookfield villages, with the surrounding country.

At this time Brookfield was one of the most important towns in the county, as it had been from its origin. Previous to 1812 it was one of the largest, most populous and wealthy, and after the separation of North Brookfield it maintained its rank for several decades, until the sudden start and rapid growth of Worcester, Fitchburg, Milford and other centres of business changed the relative standing of the towns in the county. The village of Brookfield was the residence, in successive generations, of men of intelligence and force of character, who made it a centre of political influence in their day. In the early part of this century Maj. Reed, Dr. Rice, Judge Merrick, Sr., and their associates, were men of the stamp which give a reputation to the place in which they reside.

At this period the old Brookfield tavern seems to have acquired the reputation which in the preceding century belonged to the old "Waite Tavern," on Meeting-house Hill, in West Brookfield. It was kept by Simeon Draper, Sr., and father of Simeon Draper, Jr., well known as the collector of the port of New York, and as a leading politician in that city twenty or thirty years since. Draper's Hotel was the stopping-place of all travelers between the east and west. Distinguished men, in making their progress through the country, stopped here to dine or remain over night. It was the half-way house of the judges of the Supreme Court in passing between Worcester and Springfield. Their presence over night drew the leading men of the town to the tavern, where the local celebrities mingled in social intercourse with the most able and learned lawyers of the State.

During the war with Great Britain, 1812-15, the village was sometimes the scene of a singular display for an inland town. It became necessary, at times,

for the government to transport sailors and marines from Boston to the lakes, or from the lakes to the seaboard, and as Brookfield was in the route, it was one of the places for rest and refreshment. The bustle and excitement caused by the arrival of such a novel company may be imagined. They had to be fed, and in those times "grog" was a part of the sailors' rations. As a matter of course those were lively times, and the people from the whole town and vicinity came to see the sight and enjoy the excitement. As there were not stages or other proper conveyances enough to convey such a number of passengers, the officers hired the farmers, from town to town, to bring out all their two-horse wagons and take the company along to the next place. It is related that when the stages came to the western foot of the Spencer Hills, and it was convenient to have the sailors get out and walk up the steep ascent, the officer in charge would induce one of the load to alight by the offer of a flask of liquor. The rest of the company were quickly on the ground, when the driver would "whip up," and not stop till the hill-top was gained, where the horses would take breath while the "jolly tars" were ascending.

In the war of 1812 Brookfield sympathized with the majority of the State, and sustained the administration of Gov. Caleb Strong. Federal politics ruled in the time of Washington and Adams. The Republican or Whig party, which supported John Quincy Adams and Gen. Harrison, and was led by Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, was generally in the ascendant. When the modern Republican or Anti-Slavery Party arose in 1856, and through its history to the present time, this town has stood firmly by the cause of union and freedom.

In the year 1848 the town was again divided, and the oldest and most historical part took the name of West Brookfield. The people of the new town were so anxious for separate municipal powers and honors that they allowed the eastern section to name the terms of division. One was that the south parish should take the name of Brookfield, which act has forevermore confused the history of the whole town. From this date, 1848, let the reader remember, all that relates to the history of Brookfield, is confined to the east and south sections of the old town.

But, going back a generation or two, it is necessary to refer to the schools of the town, and to its business in former times, as well as to its ecclesiastical annals.

It must be taken for granted that the children of Brookfield have been supplied with the means of education from the beginning. A vote of the town when hardly out of its infancy has been cited. In the time of the Revolution, when all the resources of the people were put in requisition to sustain the cause of freedom, there was a vote one year, and possibly more than one, "not to raise money for schooling," but this implies that the vote was an exception to the general rule. The records bear an unbroken testimony to the care of the town for the schooling of the children. The historians of the town testify to the same fact. The intelligence of the people, in all generations, is proof, if

any were needed. It will be sufficient, under this head, to give the statistics of education at the present time.

In 1875 Brookfield had a population of 2,660, and in 1877 a valuation of \$1,244,769. It had 459 children between five and fifteen years of age, divided into fourteen schools, including a high school. The number of different scholars in the schools, in 1877-8, was five hundred and forty. The amount raised by taxation for the support of schools was \$4,650, besides cost of superintendence, printing, &c. In the sum raised for each scholar, this town ranks as twenty-one in the fifty-eight towns of the county. The cost for each scholar was \$10.59. In the percentage of taxable property appropriated to education, and in the percentage of attendance, the town ranks above the average. The high school has about forty scholars, and is kept between nine and ten months yearly.

The first thing to be done in a settlement is to make a place to live. Felling trees, building a log-house, and planting corn, potatoes and kitchen vegetables make up the business of the pioneer. And this, with a little amplification, is the work of the first generation. Farming is the chief employment, with enough of mechanical labor to keep society together. All manufactures, except the products of the saw and grist mill, are domestic. The good lands of Brookfield rewarded the farmers in early times, and now give them a fair return for their labor. The houses and barns indicate thrift. In the two villages, Brookfield and East Brookfield, are some elegant, and many neat and comfortable dwellings. Besides farming and milk-raising, the people are busy in making boots and shoes, and in the manufacture of carriages, bricks and ironware. There are in town one or more steam-mills, three saw and two grist mills and a cotton-mill, which in good times give employment to many persons. At present the boot and shoe business is dull, nearly all of the half dozen shops being closed, or doing very little work.

The number of houses in the town by recent enumeration, was four hundred and forty. The number of farms was one hundred and sixty-eight. The number of houses and out-buildings belonging to farms, was four hundred and seventy-four. The number of acres was twelve thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, valued at \$324,476. Only twenty acres were unimprovable according to the census, but not a third of the land is improved. Domestic animals are valued at \$64,336. The statistics of manufactures in 1875 give the following summary:—Number of establishments of all sorts, forty-four; persons employed, five hundred and sixty-six; capital invested, \$148,350; yearly wages (estimated), \$253,138; stock used in manufactures, \$449,750; value of goods made and work done, \$818,237. There is some steam-power used in the mills, and the water-power is considerable. The three ponds, South, Podunk and Smith's, are connected by nature, and in one place, by a canal, the connection is improved. A small steamboat, in recent years, ran from South Pond, through Podunk Pond and the river to a mill near the railway

station. The boat was used for the transportation of lumber, brick and other freight. At this point were the steam-works of C. O. Burton and George L. Twitchell. Here were a lumber and grist mill, and a box-factory, which made the locality a busy place. The facilities for business remain, and the return of better times will probably be felt here as well as elsewhere.

It may interest some to note the origin of several of the large boot and shoe factories. The first was started, in 1828, by Kimball & Robinson. Emmons Twitchell and Henry D. Fales became connected with them in later years. In 1842, the establishment of Emmons Twitchell was set in operation. Charles Fales began the business of his large factory about the year 1848. The next in order, the exact date not known, was the establishment of James S. Montague. In 1870, the firm of Johnson, Davis & Forbes engaged in the business. They were burned out in 1878. The above are the principal business establishments which have given life to the village for the last half century. Their stoppage has caused the removal of many workmen, and brought a temporary quiet to the great shops and the streets. The general revival of business in the country, as well as local instinct of self-preservation, will probably lead ere long to renewed activity in the great buildings where so much capital is planted.

In East Brookfield is a foundry where considerable work has been done in iron castings. Formerly there was a furnace in this village, and the smelting of iron-ore was quite a business. The ore from Wickaboug Pond and other places was brought hither, and worked into useful articles and implements. The furnace fires went out many years ago, and the ore of the region, what there was of it, was taken to Suffield. But other kinds of business give life to the east village.

Near the east village is a bed of clay of superior quality, and at one time pottery was manufactured in considerable quantities, but the business was given up many years ago, whether from want of capital or custom is not known. Recently new parties have come into possession of the property, and established works which promise to be successful.

The main village is Brookfield, where there are four or five churches, viz., Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, Unitarian and Roman Catholic. There are two hotels; a town hall, built of brick, costing \$70,000; a free library called the Merrick Library; and a good high school.

As already stated, the Third Congregational Church was organized in 1754, and a meeting-house was soon built near the spot now occupied by the Unitarian church. The first minister was the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D. D., who was ordained May 24, 1758. After a useful and honored ministry of nearly forty-two years, he died Nov. 24, 1799. His successor was the Rev. Micah Stone, who was ordained March 11, 1801. He owned and occupied the house built by Mr. Fiske, a little west of the village, on the old road. This house he bequeathed to his church. His civil contract with the society was terminated in 1827, but he remained the pastor of the church. As the parish had

become Unitarian in sentiment, a new parish was formed under the title of The Evangelical Society of Brookfield. Only two male members of the church adhered to the old parish, yet they, with a few females, were decided by Chief Justice Shaw, in a famous case, to be the church. Rev. Richard Woodruff was ordained colleague pastor with Mr. Stone Feb. 5, 1838, and at his own request was dismissed Sept. 12, 1838. On the same day, Rev. Washington A. Nichols was ordained as colleague of Mr. Stone, and continued till Jan. 11, 1843, when ill-health led to his dismissal. The aged clergyman's third colleague was Rev. Lyman Whiting (since D.D.), who was ordained on the day of Mr. Nichols's dismissal. His pastorate lasted four years. Rev. Mr. Stone was gathered to his fathers full of years and honors, in September, 1852. The successors of Mr. Whiting have been Rev. Jesse R. Bragg, eight years; Rev. Josiah Coit, seven years; Rev. Joel M. Seymour, three years, from 1873 to 1876. The present acting pastor is Rev. Charles E. Stebbins. Since 1870, the following have been the acting pastors, for a brief season: viz., Rev. Charles P. Blanchard, Rev. A. F. Schauffler and Rev. Charles F. Morse. The number of communicants in the church is one hundred and forty-eight. They have a good house of worship, and abundant means for sustaining all the means of grace.

The ministers of the (legally) First or Unitarian Society and Church, since the departure of Rev. Mr. Stone, have been the following: — Rev. George R. Noyes, settled Oct. 30, 1827. He left after a ministry of about six years, and became a professor in the Divinity School connected with Harvard College. He was a man of varied learning, but specially familiar with the Hebrew language and literature. Rev. Seth Alden remained about ten years. The Rev. William B. Greene was settled Nov. 8, 1845, and remained four or five years. He was a graduate of West Point, but his knowledge extended far beyond the curriculum of that school. In 1853 he represented the town in the Constitutional Convention. In the war of the Rebellion he became the colonel of a regiment, and did good service. The Rev. S. S. Hunting was settled on the 5th of October, 1852, and was succeeded by Rev. R. D. Burr, Nov. 18, 1858. Rev. Edward Galvin was settled April 15, 1863. The present pastor, Rev. A. Judson Rich, was installed on the 31st of October, 1870. The church edifice is capacious and elegant.

As early as the year 1748 the Baptists began to hold meetings in the eastern part of the town, and during forty years occasional services were held by traveling ministers. In 1788 Rev. Jeremiah Haskell was engaged, and continued his services several years. A meeting-house was built in 1795, and a society was incorporated in 1800, but no church appears to have been formed. Successive ministers were Nathaniel Price, Laban Thurber and John Chase. The number of communicants in the vicinity became reduced to four in 1815. Under the labors of Mr. Chase a revival was enjoyed, but the converts joined the Baptist church in Sturbridge. In 1818, the number of

Baptist members in the neighborhood being thirty-seven, they were organized into a church on the 10th of June, when Mr. Chase was ordained their pastor. In the following winter, as the fruit of special religious interest, many were received into the church. Mr. Chase died July 28, 1833. His successors from that time till 1841 were Rev. Messrs. Benjamin B. Manning, Winthrop Morse, J. H. Rickett and Job Boomer. There have been several pastors in the intervening years, whose names cannot be recalled. The Rev. Andrew Dunn is the present minister in charge. The membership is seventy-six. The Methodist church is in the village of Brookfield. It was formed early in the century, and now has a considerable membership. The present minister in charge is Rev. Mr. Cushing. The foreign element soon felt the need of religious privileges, and after they had come in sufficient numbers to form a tolerable congregation, a Catholic church was planted in the centre of the town.

When the flag floating over Fort Sumter was fired upon by rebels, there was a thrill of indignation throughout the country, and when the fort was surrendered the whole loyal population was aroused to arms. The people of Brookfield showed their sympathy by immediately raising and equipping men for the field. In an extended history of the town all the details will be in place, and will form a chapter which will be read with deep interest by coming generations. In this place there is room for only the briefest summary of facts.

The selectmen during the war, some in one year and some in another, were : Dwight Hyde, Henry L. Mellen, Calvin Hobbs, J. M. Gibson, Leonard Warren, J. N. Vaughan, A. H. Moulton, William D. Mullett, P. W. Hawes, E. K. Pellet, J. H. Rogers and J. Hamant. The treasurer was Alonzo Upham. These names are given because, of necessity, they had much to do in raising money and men.

The first legal meeting in relation to the war was held April 30, 1861, when it was voted that every volunteer should receive a dollar for every day occupied in drilling; also, that every man who enlisted should receive from the town enough to make his pay fifteen dollars a month, and those who had families dependent upon them were to have eight dollars a month in addition. It was also voted that each Brookfield member of a company being raised "should be furnished with a plain and substantial uniform, army blankets and a revolver at the expense of the town." The committee to carry this into effect were E. Twitchell, J. S. Montague and Charles Fales.

In 1862, July 2, it was voted to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each of twenty-four volunteers for three years' service, to fill the quota of the town, under the call of the President for three hundred thousand men. And, on the 23d of August, a bounty of one hundred and fifty dollars was offered to each volunteer enlisting for nine months' service. It is recorded that other meetings were held, as occasion demanded, "at which distinguished speakers from other places were present, and addressed the people, and contributions of

generous sums were made by individuals." The town furnished two hundred and forty-five men for the war, which was a surplus of twenty-one over and above all demands. Seven were commissioned officers. Brookfield men were in the fifteenth regiment, the first that went into the war from the county, and in many other regiments, all through the contest. The whole amount of money expended by the town on account of the war was \$15,708.72. The total of State aid was \$14,166.19. Besides this amount, large sums were given by individuals, by public contributions, and by the ladies in money and stores.

The following are the names of some of the prominent men of Brookfield in former days : — Hon. Pliny Merrick, Sr., a graduate of Harvard, a justice of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and a member of the State Senate. He died in 1814. Hon. Oliver Crosby, who, by his own efforts, acquired a discipline of mind and command of knowledge which fitted him for important stations. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1808 was a senator from Worcester County. Hon. Pliny Merrick, Jr., who afterwards settled in Worcester, became a leading lawyer, and was raised to the honorable position of judge. For some years, he was very prominent in political circles.

The Merrick Library was started in 1860 by the action of the Rev. Joshua Coit, the Hon. George W. Johnson and Mr. William D. Lewis. They raised by subscription between six and seven hundred dollars. This was pledged by residents of the town, and natives or others interested in the place who then lived in Boston. Among these were Mr. Jabez C. Howe and Mr. George Howe.

The Hon. Pliny Merrick, Jr., a native of Brookfield, whose home was Worcester, and who was then a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, gave a hundred dollars. By this means he became more interested in the enterprise, and left it a legacy of ten thousand dollars and a portion of his library ; hence the name of Merrick Library. There are now over five thousand volumes in the excellent collection, and the annual income is about seven hundred dollars. During the closing years of his life, Judge Merrick resided in Boston.

The cemetery, located at a convenient distance west of the village, is a beautiful plot of ground, and all the immediate surroundings are indicative of good taste. The massive and elegant gateway is built of granite, and was the gift of Mr. William Bannister, now of New York, and Mr. Otis Hayden of Brookfield.

The lawyers of Brookfield have been, since the times of the Merricks, father and son, Heman Stebbins, Esq., and the Hon. George W. Johnson, State senator in 1866.

The following physicians, besides others whose residence was comparatively brief, have been practitioners in the town ; viz., Dr. Greene, Dr. Henry Gilman, who practiced here nearly forty years, Dr. Spooner, Dr. Jesse Penni-

man, Dr. H. T. Bates, Dr. J. T. Rood and Dr. H. P. Bates. The present physicians are : Drs. W. C. Haven, W. F. Hall, D. W. Hodgkins and Ransom Shepard.

There are two hotels in Brookfield village, a post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and a Masonic lodge. The town maintains a good high school. The distance of the village from Worcester Court House, by direct line, is seventeen and two-fifths miles. The latitude is $42^{\circ} 13'$. The Boston and Albany Railroad has a station near the centre of the town.

NORTH BROOKFIELD.

PECULIARITIES OF TOWN ORIGIN — EARLY CONDITION — FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR — SUBSEQUENT MILITARY OPERATIONS — SHOE MANUFACTURE — NEW MEETING-HOUSE — OLDER AND NEWER DENOMINATIONS — EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS — ACTION IN THE CIVIL WAR — PUBLIC MEN — NEW RAILROAD.

As North Brookfield had its origin, as a distinct part of the town, in a religious movement, its early religious history must have the first place in this sketch. As already stated, the people living in the north part of the original town of Brookfield, in the year 1748, obtained permission to become a distinct society. At first the town denied the request, but at the same meeting, held Nov. 28, 1748, after all had concurred in the choice of Mr. Harding as the minister of the whole town, the petition was granted on conditions. The conditions were complied with, and the people proceeded without delay to build a meeting-house. The frame was raised on the 5th of April, 1749. But a division of feeling arose about the location, which prevented the house being finished for ten years. However, the parish was incorporated March 28, 1750, and a church was organized on the 28th of May, 1752. Mr. Eli Forbes, a graduate of Harvard, was ordained the pastor, June 3, 1753. Dr. Snell says, in 1852: "His dismission took place on the first of March, 1775, the reason of which is supposed to have been a lack, on his part, of sympathy with the Colonies in their struggle for independence. The people called him a Tory, and some of the Whigs stoned his chaise one evening as he was passing the street." Reason enough, for Whig or Tory, to wish for a separation! His original name was Forbush, but when he was a chaplain in the last French war, Gen. Forbes from England suggested to him that Forbush was a corruption of Forbes, and after that he took the latter name. "He was a pleasant, companionable man, and in his day a popular preacher."

His successor was the Rev. Joseph Appleton, a native of Ipswich, and a graduate of Brown University, in 1772. His ordination took place in October,

1776. "In his intercourse with his people," says Rev. Mr. Foot, he was "kind and affectionate, and in his public ministrations serious and ardent." After a useful pastorate of twenty-two years, he died July 25, 1795. The late Hon. William Appleton of Boston, a distinguished merchant and member of Congress, was his son, and was a benefactor to his native town, giving in the year 1859 to the First Congregational Society the sum of five thousand dollars, to establish a pastor's library, — two thousand dollars of which to be kept at interest perpetually; the other three thousand dollars, together with the income, to be used as needed for the purchase of books, and payment for periodicals and binding. About three thousand dollars have been thus expended, and about three thousand five hundred dollars remain on hand. The library is one of the finest of its kind in the Commonwealth, comprising over four thousand bound volumes, and about two thousand five hundred pamphlets, some of them very rare and valuable. The original selection of the books was made by Rev. Christopher Cushing, D. D., then colleague of Rev. Dr. Snell.

For about three years the church was without a pastor, hearing different candidates. After hearing Mr. Thomas Snell five months, the church invited him to settle with them as their pastor, and the parish joined in the call. In reference to this, Dr. Snell put on record the following remark, which is full of wisdom: "This church has always conformed to the good usage of our Puritanical ancestors, in leading the way in extending an invitation to the candidate to become their Pastor, followed by the parish in a concurrent vote to receive him as their religious Teacher, and making provision for his support. This order should ever be observed, where people mean that Christ shall have a church in distinction from the world."

There was one provision in his arrangement with the parish which was so uncommon, and had such an effect that it is worthy of record. The old custom was to settle a minister for life, without regard to sickness, old age, or disability. Immoral conduct or heresy, however, was a sufficient and legal cause for a termination of the pastorate. In old records will be found proof of an effort to modify this custom by inserting the words, "as long as he performs the duties of a pastor," or something to that effect. The meaning was that when the minister ceased to perform pastoral duties, his pay should cease. But this was not acceded to by the candidates on the ground that if they gave their whole lives to their people, the latter should provide for them in old age. The plan adopted in settling Mr. Snell was different, and it is said by his colleague, Dr. Cushing, to have been the second case of the kind in the Commonwealth, where a provision was made in the terms of settlement for a minister's dismissal. The first was that of Rev. Mr. Moore of Leicester. The provision was in these words, "If two-thirds of the legal voters of the Congregational Society should at any time be dissatisfied with the said Mr. Thomas Snell, with respect to his ministry or otherwise, and should signify their disaffection and the reasons of it to him in writing; and if such matters

of grievance cannot be removed, and an amicable compromise take place within the term of one year after such notice be given; and if at the end of the year, two-thirds of said Society at a legal meeting called for that purpose, vote that the said Mr. Thomas Snell be dismissed, he shall consider himself as discharged from his ministerial relation to said society; and from that time shall relinquish any further demand for services performed among them." Also, "The said Thomas Snell shall have liberty to leave the Precinct and Society, when he shall see fit, by giving one year's notice for a compromise as above." Mr. Snell accepted the plan, with the proviso that he should have the "further privilege to call a Council in case of dismissal, the expense of which to be defrayed by the Society, if this be the disaffected party; but if otherwise, by himself." With the feeling that Mr. Snell's settlement would be tolerably secure, we will follow the secular fortunes of the precinct and town.

The population when the precinct was formed was small, and was thinly scattered over the whole territory. The meeting-house was about a half-mile from the present location. The spot was not central, and furnished no eligible places for building. As there was no store except on a small scale, and only one mechanic within nearly a mile, a solemn stillness reigned around the house of worship. Later this was somewhat broken by the resort of people afflicted with every kind of disease to the once famed Dr. Jacob Kittredge, who died in 1813. As late as 1798, when Mr. Snell was settled, he describes the "scenery as rural beyond almost any other town in the region, and not five, if there was one, well-finished and neatly-painted house in town—and but three or four dwelling-houses within about half a mile of the place of worship."

Farming was the only occupation, and each farm produced food and clothing by the labors of the men in the field, and the women in the house, plying the needle, the wheel and the loom. And farming at that time was a rough, toilsome business, when the land was covered with forest, or brush and briars; when loose stones covered the surface, and when swamps defied cultivation. Far different was the scene from that which now greets the eye as it wanders over those verdant hill-tops, and through those fruitful valleys which well reward the skilful toil of the husbandman.

Not long after the formation of the precinct and the organization of the church, the last French and Indian war began, and, in the course of four or five years, drew largely upon the resources of the people. Their hard earnings were consumed, and their lives were freely hazarded; but they gave property and life with heroic resolution, because they understood the nature of the contest. They felt that the question was to be settled whether the English or the French were to rule over North America. They saw that the religion of Geneva or of Rome, of the Reformation or of the Catholic Church, was to prevail. All their convictions, feelings and prejudices went with the former, and they rejoiced when the battle of Quebec settled the question.

The number of men who went into the public service in the Revolution from

the second precinct of Brookfield (now North Brookfield) is known only in part; but, in the archives of the State, the following names are enrolled: —
A Capt. Jonathan Barnes marched for Cambridge on the day of the Lexington "alarm," April 19, 1775, or on the next morning. He was attended by fourteen men under his command. Capt. Peter Harwood, with seven men, was in the eight months' service in 1775, as appears by a "return" dated October 7 in that year. In 1777, September 23, Capt. Asa Danforth, with nine men, marched to "join the northern army under the command of Gen. Gates." They were of the army that conquered Gen. Burgoyne in October of that year. Capt. Daniel Gilbert and three men from North Brookfield are on the muster-roll of Col. Job Cushing's regiment for "service done at Bennington," in August and September, 1777. Besides these, it is believed that others were in the service, in different regiments, until the close of the war.

In the last war with Great Britain (1812-15), the town was represented by three men in Fort Independence, then Castle Island, in Boston Harbor, and several were drafted into the army of the United States. In September and October, 1814, fourteen men were encamped in South Boston. They were of the regiment of Col. Salem Town, which had been ordered to Boston for defence against an apprehended attack. The names of enlisted men who engaged in that "Second war of Independence," and who belonged to different regiments, cannot be fully ascertained.

The population of all the Brookfields in 1776 was 2,649; in 1790 it was 3,100; and in 1810 it amounted to 3,284. According to Dr. Snell, the population of the North Precinct in 1798, the year of his settlement, was about 1,100. The town was incorporated in 1812, and the next census gave the population, in 1820, at 1,095. The increase during the next ten years was 146. Previous to about 1825, the population had been nearly stationary for about thirty years; but at that time there was a new start in business which kept the young men at home, and brought in industrious people from abroad. By steady increase, the number of inhabitants rose by 1875 to the figure of 3,749.

The manufacture which has contributed almost wholly to the growth of the town began about the time when the town was incorporated. This was the manufacture of "sale shoes" upon a small scale by Oliver Ward, who came from Grafton. This business increased rapidly, and in the course of fifteen years, according to Dr. Snell, "hundreds engaged in it." The consequence was that the whole town became thrifty, and the number dependent on the public for support was greatly diminished. The new-comers earned a good living, and made a market for all the cultivators of the soil could raise. Besides Mr. Ward, the Messrs. Batcheller — Tyler and his brother Ezra — engaged in the business, as did also Freeman Walker, who from 1830 to 1834 was associated with them in business. Hiram Ward, William Johnson and Hiram Edson were also engaged in the same kind of business for a short time

previous to 1838. So fast had this branch of manufacture increased that in 1838 shoes were turned off amounting in value to nearly a half a million of dollars. Speaking of the lift which was given to the town by these and other enterprising men, Dr. Snell says: "Upon whom and some others, might well come the blessing of some for their present competency, who were ready to suffer from poverty, if not to perish."

The change wrought in the town was great and very noticeable to the passing traveler. One who went through the town about the year 1820, and had been acquainted with it during a period of thirty-five years, remarked "that he knew of no place that remained so uniformly the same as North Brookfield. Nothing doing, no new buildings going up, the same old dwelling-houses and barns, the farms and fences just so, all the people plodding on after the old sort, without much life, or any disposition for improvement — all satisfied with present attainments, and living at ease." In the year 1838, Dr. Snell, so often cited, stated that more than "one hundred houses had been built, and a number of others had undergone repairs about equal to building anew," since the date of his settlement. Nearly all this advance had been made in about twenty years. By 1840, the population had increased to the number of fourteen hundred and eighty-five. "Most of these houses," he continues, "are large, commodious, and well-finished, seventy of them erected where no house before stood, and much the largest half within ten years past." That is, between 1828 and 1838. When we remember that in 1798 there "were not five, if there was one, well-finished and neatly-painted house in town," the change can be in a measure appreciated.

The increase of business and population was not attended by a loss of moral tone and the home virtues. On the contrary, "society was much improved, both in point of morals, and social feelings and intercourse, no less than in intelligence and religious principle." This result was not secured, however, without foresight and effort. The men at the head of business were governed by a high purpose to benefit society as well as by the ordinary spirit of personal thrift and success. They had the wisdom to see that their own property would rise in value if they were surrounded by temperate, frugal and moral men. Therefore, interest and moral principle combined in leading them to exert their influence so as to induce the better sort of families to settle in the town. It was done "by giving preference to persons of steady and industrious habits, and correct principles, and by making sacrifices for the safety of public morals." Dea. Tyler Batcheller, the leading manufacturer, acted on this principle, and had the concurrence of all the prominent business men. In times when business was dull, and there was a necessity for dismissing some of the hands, it was easy to discriminate between those who would add to the number of good permanent residents and those whose habits made them undesirable residents and citizens. This policy also acted as a stimulus in favor of good character and conduct.

At length the time came when a new house of worship was needed enough to overcome opposition. The question was agitated for several years at times, but the prospect of a division in regard to a new location had prevented decisive action. But in 1822 it was determined to build, and in 1823 the spacious church now occupied by the First Congregational Church and Society was erected. "On the first day of January, 1824, it was publicly dedicated to God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." There was some opposition on account of the site selected, but when the house was finished, the builder appraised the slips, so as to cover the whole expense, and in the course of a few hours nearly all were sold at auction; none for less than the appraisal, and some for such an advance as to leave a surplus of about seven hundred dollars.

The old house stood several years after the new house was erected, and was used as a town house and for occasional religious meetings, but finally became so shattered that it was sold to a private party, and demolished. A small meeting-house was built on the spot, and was dedicated to the worship of God, the Rev. Wilbur Fiske, D. D., afterwards president of Wesleyan College at Middletown, Conn., preaching the sermon. The Rev. Mr. Davis was the first minister, and the Rev. Mr. Mayo the second. Others followed until the year 1837, when the house was closed for awhile. About one hundred attended the meetings in the summer. This did not seem to diminish the attendance at the First Church. At length the house was sold, but subsequently the Methodists resumed their worship in the town, and now have a sanctuary with an active church in the beautiful central village. The Rev. J. M. Avann is the present pastor.

The ministry of Dr. Snell had its trials, but was generally peaceful and very prosperous. He continued in the pastorate until his death, May 4, 1862, a period of about sixty-four years. He had been in the pastoral office nearly fifty-four years before he received a colleague, when the Rev. Christopher Cushing was chosen to relieve him from the burden of his labors and responsibilities. He had a paralytic shock April 15, 1855, after which he wrote only one sermon. This was his sixtieth anniversary discourse in 1858, June 27, which closed his work as a preacher of the Gospel. Dr. Snell was no common man. Making no pretensions to the dialectical acumen and piercing genius of Edwards, or the oratorical splendor of Dwight, he was none the less a man of mark. His strong sense, his strength of purpose, his prudence, his fidelity, his earnest piety, and his "spirit of government," combined with other qualities of a good minister, ranked him high in the esteem of his people, and the respect and confidence of his brethren. As the head of a family, as a citizen, as the chairman of the school committee, as the pastor of his church and minister of his congregation, as a man and a Christian, he was an example, and made a mark which was deeply stamped on the character and the memory of the town.

The Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Cushing continued in the pastoral office here several years after the decease of Dr. Snell. The church, which had experienced several revivals of religion, and had increased much in number during the ministry of Dr. Snell, continued to prosper through the pastorate of Mr. Cushing. It was in his time that the pastor's library was founded by the munificent gift of Mr. Appleton, before mentioned, and it was also by his sound judgment that a good selection of books was made. Besides other valuable works, the library is specially rich in the first quality of periodical literature, in good binding. The present pastor, Rev. G  briel H. DeBevoise, was installed in 1868. The meeting-house was repaired and remodeled, to some extent a few years since, and furnishes convenient sittings for a large congregation. The church numbers three hundred and sixty-one, and the Sabbath school four hundred and fifteen.

The original leading members of the Union Congregational Society, with few exceptions, came from the First Congregational Society. The causes which led to their withdrawal were various; among them, more liberal opinions upon theological matters, and more advanced views upon the subject of anti-slavery, especially in its relations to missionary operations. But the *occasion*, which with some of them was also the immediate *cause* of withdrawal, was the enlargement of the house of worship, which had become necessary to accommodate quite a large number of members, who were unable to obtain sittings in the meeting-house for themselves and their families. The vote to enlarge was passed May 23, 1853, and thereupon the separation commenced. On the 12th of September following, an association for building a meeting-house was formed, consisting of those who had withdrawn from the old society, with many others. Prominent among the former were Hon. Amasa Walker, Hon. Freeman Walker, Charles Duncan, William Duncan, T. M. Duncan, S. M. Edmands, Thomas H. Tucker, and others. The new society was organized Oct. 29, 1853, with a membership of about one hundred and forty.

In forming the society, a prominent object, if not the controlling idea, was to furnish pews and sanctuary privileges to a large number of persons in the town, who were not, and never had been connected with any religious organization. The meeting-house was dedicated to the worship of God Dec. 28, 1854. The Union Congregational Church was organized by an ecclesiastical council. June 6, 1854. Anti-slavery sympathies had an influence in bringing together the major portion of the members. The church and society have always maintained their organization and services. A movement towards a union of the two churches was made a few years ago, but, after due consideration, the mutual judgment seemed to be in favor of remaining as separate organizations. They work together in harmony, and undoubtedly are reaching more people and doing more good while working in "two bands." The following have been the pastors in succession from the beginning: Rev. Levi F. Waldo,

William H. Beecher (eldest son of Dr. Lyman Beecher), Luther Keene, Jr., George H. Wilson, and J. W. Hird, the present incumbent.

The date of the building of the Catholic churches is not given in "Sadlier's Catholic Directory," but that work, for 1879, mentions St. Joseph's Church in North Brookfield, as well as St. Mary's Church in South Brookfield. The ministers in connection with St. Joseph's Church are Rev. Michael Walsh and Rev. John Conway. "The church in South Brookfield is attended from North Brookfield." The population ministered to by these pastors is quite numerous.

The people of this town have always attended to the education of their children. If disposed to be lax in this regard, of which there is no proof, they could not have neglected their duty while under the influence of such a succession of clergymen and leading laymen as this community has been favored with for more than a hundred years. At present there are sixteen schools, including the high school. The number of children in 1878 was seven hundred and sixty-four, between five and fifteen years of age. The number in attendance was nine hundred and thirty, and the average attendance was six hundred and eighteen. The population was three thousand seven hundred and forty-nine in 1875, and the valuation in 1877 was \$1,889,239. The appropriation for education, not including superintendence, printing, and a few minor expenses, was in 1877, \$7,000. In the same year over \$850 were expended in repairing school-houses. The number of scholars in the high school was seventy-three, and the teacher's salary of the principal was \$1,500. The length of the schools is nearly seven and a half months yearly, and the length of the high school is nine and a half months.

Resuming the topic of business, it is safe to say that few towns so secluded as was this until the branch railroad was opened to the Boston and Albany line at East Brookfield station, a few years since, have increased so rapidly in enterprise and wealth. Barber wrote, in 1839, that there were about thirty dwelling-houses in the central village; now there must be not far from four hundred and fifty in and near the centre. In 1837, there were manufactured in the town, twenty-four thousand one hundred and seventy pairs of boots, and five hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred pairs of shoes, the value of which was \$470,316. By the census of 1875, the value of boots and shoes made was \$1,897,000, and the value of leather made was \$61,000. The great and well-ordered boot and shoe establishment of E. & A. H. Batcheller & Co., is the largest of the kind in the country. The flooring of the building covers an area of about three acres, and from twelve to fifteen hundred persons have been employed in it at the same time. By careful superintendence, good workmen, and the use of the latest improvements in machinery, this establishment has been a pecuniary success, and has given life in all material things to the village, while furnishing means for securing the comforts of home, and furthering all the higher interests of education and religion.

The farm property of the town makes a respectable figure. The number of

acres is thirteen thousand seven hundred and three-sixteenths, nearly all of which is improvable. In crops, orchards and woodland there are about five thousand and six hundred acres, the valuation of which is \$232,745. The total valuation of land, fruit-trees and vines and domestic animals is given as \$461,356. There were, in 1875, one hundred and thirty-six houses connected with farms.

The patriotism of the people in the Colonial, Provincial and Revolutionary wars has already been mentioned. The same heroic and self-sacrificing spirit was shown when foul Rebellion lifted its head against the national authority, for the purpose of sundering the Union and making slavery perpetual. When the people heard of the attack on Fort Sumter, there was but one feeling, sentiment and purpose, which was that the government should be sustained at all hazards, and that, if possible, the bonds should be stricken off from every slave in the south-land. Meetings were held to give expression to the public mind, and on the 29th of April, 1861, the first legal town meeting was assembled to act on matters relating to the war. At this meeting it was voted that each volunteer, while drilling, should receive a dollar per day, if a member of the company which was then forming, and if he should be mustered into the service, was to be supplied with a substantial uniform and a good revolver, and that his family should receive eight dollars a month while he was in active service. June 3, it was voted to pay State aid to volunteers, according to the act passed by the legislature. The treasurer for that and the following year, Thomas H. Tucker, was authorized to borrow three thousand dollars to carry the votes into effect. The selectmen in the course of the war were Augustus Smith, Erastus Hill, Hiram Edson, J. F. Hibbard, Louis E. Hill, and George F. Gulliver. The town clerk was Hiram Knight, and in the last three years of the war he was also town treasurer.

In 1862, March 3, the town voted again to pay State aid, and on the third of July, to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each volunteer who should enlist for three years and be credited to the quota of the town, "before the first of August next." In August a bounty of one hundred dollars was offered to any inhabitant of the town, who should enlist in a nine months' regiment. In 1863, December 8, James Miller, Charles Adams, Jr., and T. M. Duncan were chosen to assist the selectmen in raising recruits. On the 5th of April, 1864, a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars was voted to each volunteer for three years, who should be credited to the quota of the town; and on the 26th of June, the same sum was voted as bounty for one year's men, two hundred and twenty-five dollars for two years' men, and three hundred and twenty-five dollars for three years' men. This plan lasted through the war. Two hundred and forty-seven men were furnished by North Brookfield, which was twelve over and above all demands. Twelve of these were commissioned officers. Among these were Hon. Francis A. Walker, present superintendent of the census; and Jeremiah E. Green, Esq., at present an editor of the "Worcester Spy."

The amount of money expended by the town in carrying on the war, exclusive of State aid, was \$16,939.08; the amount of State aid was \$17,886.47, making a total of \$34,825.55. It is the testimony of Adj't. Gen. Schouler, that the "ladies of North Brookfield did their full share of good works for the soldiers during the war."

The location of the village of North Brookfield is singularly pleasant, situated on a group of gentle eminences, with sides sloping to intervening valleys. It is seen from afar like a city on several hills, and it looks out upon a fine panorama of varied scenery. The centre is in latitude $42^{\circ} 17'$. The distance from Worcester, by direct line, is fourteen and a half miles, and from Boston is about fifty-five miles. By railway the distance is several miles greater.

In the village are four churches, a public hall which cost \$20,000, a tavern named the Batcheller House, a high school house, and a savings bank. A handsome monument has been erected in honor of the soldiers in the war of freedom at an expense of about \$4,000. This stands at the northerly end of the grounds connected with the First Congregational Church.

This town has been favored with public-spirited and able men. The following may be referred to without disparagement of others. William Appleton, a native, has been mentioned already; Amasa Walker, long in public life, and a lucid writer on finance and other subjects of public interest; Prof. Ebenezer S. Snell, son of Dr. Snell, and Walker professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, almost if not quite from the foundation of Amherst College; Bonum Nye, county commissioner, and in other public trusts; Freeman Walker, representative and member of the State Senate; and Charles Adams, Jr., representative, senator, State treasurer, and member of the governor's council. The roll might be drawn at greater length by one familiar with the families of the town.

The names of the lawyers who have resided here are the following: Daniel Gilbert, Arad Gilbert, Joseph Felton, James H. Hills, J. Evarts Greene, Robert E. Beecher and L. E. Barnes.

These are the names of the physicians who have made this town their home and field of practice: Drs. Jacob Kittredge, Oliver Kittredge, — Wright, — Crossfield, Cheney Potter, Moses Porter, Thomas Jones, Joshua Porter, Oramel Martin, Warren Tyler, Saxton P. Martin, J. M. Seaver, George Spooner, W. F. Witter, O. J. Travers, C. C. Cundell, T. J. Garrigan and — Reed.

The following have been here for brief periods: Pierce, Bryant and Swasey.

There are in the town an Odd Fellows' Lodge, a Division of the Order of the Sons of Temperance, and the Post "Ezra Batcheller" of the Grand Army of the Republic.

In the year 1869 the "Ladies' Library Association" was formed, and duly incorporated. The object of this association was to establish a circulating library and make a collection of books which should form the nucleus of a

Town Public Library. In 1879 this library, consisting of about eleven hundred volumes, was offered as a gift to the town. About the same time a successful effort on the part of some of the past and present members of the high school resulted in obtaining from individuals about two thousand dollars for the same purpose. To this the town added a grant of five hundred dollars. Thus the town has in prospect, at an early day, the possession of a library which will be at once a benefit and an honor to its citizens.

In July, 1875, ground was broken on the North Brookfield Railroad, which is about four and a half miles in length, reaching to East Brookfield depot. On the first day of January, 1876, it was publicly opened for business. The capital stock is one hundred thousand dollars, ninety thousand dollars of which was subscribed by the town, and ten thousand dollars by individuals. Its benefits were not expected in dividends, but in the diminished cost of travel and freight — particularly the latter, and in the comfort and convenience of railroad travel over horse-power. And the people have not been disappointed: they have more than realized their highest anticipations. Besides a saving of about twenty thousand dollars a year in cost of travel and freight, dividends amounting to five thousand dollars have been paid, leaving out the earnings since Jan. 1, 1879. Several of the most judicious citizens doubted the expediency of undertaking the enterprise by the town, but the measure was carried by an overwhelming majority, and now no man in the town regrets the result, or would return to the old way if he could; and all wonder how the town did so long without a railroad.

WEST BROOKFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

INCORPORATION AND POSITION — NATURAL FEATURES — WAR HISTORY — THE
WAITE FAMILY — THE REVOLUTION.

THE incorporation of this town took place March 3, 1848, and therefore it has had a history of its own for only thirty-one years, though within its bounds occurred nearly all the events which fill the earlier history of Brookfield. While those events will not be related anew, the reader will do well to remember that they had a "local habitation and a name," amid these hills, plains, streams and ponds. He will bear in mind also that they were not "airy nothings," like the poet's dream, but events that once filled the settlers with dread,

and by inspiring them to heroic struggle and endurance, have made their dwelling-place become hallowed ground.

Why the town took such a shape may be known to the inhabitants, but when working the act of incorporation through the Legislature, they probably did not have an eye to the figure it would make on the map. It is wedge-shaped, with irregular and jagged sides, made by carrying the lines around farms. New Braintree is on the north end, or head of the wedge. The towns of Brookfield and North Brookfield are on the east. At the west are Ware and Warren. The latitude of the centre is $42^{\circ} 14'$, and the distance from Worcester by straight line is seventeen miles and one-fifth. The distance to Boston, by rail, is sixty-nine miles. The railroad connections are good, as all trains on the Boston and Albany line stop at the station, where an excellent restaurant has long furnished refreshments to hurrying travelers.

In some points the scenery differs from that of the other two Brookfields. It is favored with fine hills, like them, and like Brookfield, it is crossed by the great valley of the Quaboag, but it has a larger share of plains, and of level upland. From the south-west angle of Foster Hill, the eye glances over an extensive tract, including the low lands bordering the river, the great plain on which the village is built, Wickaboag Lake at the west of the village, and then a continuation of the plain to the west and north. Here is room for a city, surpassed by few places in the Commonwealth. At the north part of the town are Ragged and Whortleberry hills; Wigwam and Foster hills are on the eastern side; Long Hill is south of the river, and Coy's Hill is in the western section. There is, partly between Ragged and Coy's hills, says Whitney, "a large ledge of rocks, which, in all probability, was rent asunder ages ago, by an earthquake. The rock on one side is shelving over, and the opening made is sufficient to contain a hundred men; and the appearance indicates that it was once a rendezvous for Indians. This place is called by the people of Brookfield, *The Stone House*." Smaller elevations diversify the surface. The Quaboag is the main river and flows from east to west, being one of the "Three Rivers" that form the Chicopee. Into this pour the brooks and rivulets that come down from the northern hills. The Wickaboag Pond sends its superfluous water, by a channel called Lashaway, which is some thirty rods in length, into the Quaboag River. Water, enclosed by wooded borders, is always a pleasant thing to see, but when the shores are "scooped" into elegant shape, to use a favorite word of Dr. Dwight's, the pleasure is heightened. There is a careless grace about the curvatures of these shores which charms the eye along, from point to point, and from cove to bay, until the circuit is completed. The Indians frequented this lake for its fishing. If we knew that they were attracted by its natural beauties, our respect for them would become positive; but the love of beauty in the scenes of nature is the fruit of mental cultivation, and, therefore, civilized man will find more and still more to admire as he advances in knowledge of the "handiwork" of the Creator.

"Oh, if so much of beauty pour itself
Through every vein of life and of creation,
How beautiful must the Great Author be,
The bright, the eternal!"

When the white men first came hither, the forests were filled with game, and the streams with fish, as the Indians never increased fast enough to exhaust their sources of subsistence. Noxious animals and serpents made caution needful. Trees of every kind usually found in the same latitude, supplied wood, timber and lumber in abundance. The soil was good, and of a kind not quickly exhausted. Farming has been remunerative to successive generations of diligent cultivators.

The war history of the time of King Philip has been briefly recounted in the sketch of Brookfield. Remembering that Foster Hill, and Wickaboag Pond, and Marks's garrison, and Gilbert's fort, and the "tower," as well as "Death Valley," now in New Braintree, were within the bounds of this town, and passing the wars of King William and Queen Anne, the reader will come down to the time of the generation which followed, and attend briefly to the wars in which the French, with Indian allies, harassed and slew our forefathers in the middle of the last century.

There was living in the town, as late as 1793, an aged man named Thomas Ainsworth, who supposed he was the last surviving soldier of Lovewell's or Lovell's fight, so famous in former times. The fight was in the year 1725. The war with Spain was the occasion, in 1741, of the death of many of the brave young men of the Province. Under Admiral Vernon and Gen. Wentworth, five hundred volunteers went to the West Indies, where they died like sheep, smitten by a plague. Only one in ten returned. As Lancaster gave several choice young men to that senseless and ruinous expedition, it is fair to conclude that Brookfield, a similar frontier town, furnished her tale of victims.

In the war of 1745, a great expedition was sent, under Sir William Pepperell, in conjunction with Admiral Warren, to capture Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. In this expedition the quota of Massachusetts was three thousand two hundred and fifty men. The names of several men of Brookfield are on the rolls of regiments which were in that famous campaign, in the year 1745. In 1747, Gov. Shirley raised a considerable force for the capture of Canada, and, doubtless, there were soldiers from Brookfield in that levy. In 1748, John Wait was at Fort Dummer, guarding the frontier. He was a son of John Wait, the proprietor of "Wait's tavern," on Foster Hill.

Then came the war of 1755-63, in which the French, with the help of the savages, made a final struggle to effect the conquest of North America, and subject the English Colonies on the Atlantic coast to their sway. During five years, from 1755 to 1759, the contest went on with varying fortunes, till the crowning victory of Wolfe at Quebec, gave the supremacy to Great Britain, and both security and ultimate independence to the Colonies. The old muster-

rolls show how largely this town participated in this exhausting, but successful, and on the whole, beneficent contest. Property was used up by millions: lives were lost by thousands: there was a sad and fearful dissolution of morals, and the churches languished, but the way was prepared for growth and prosperity.

One of the settlers of Brookfield was John Wait, of the family from which the Waites of Lyme, Conn., have sprung,—the late Chief Justice Waite of Connecticut, and his son, the present Chief Justice of the United States, and also Congressman John T. Waite. This John Wait, a soldier of the earlier Indian wars, was of the fourth generation, his great-grandfather, Richard, having come from England to Watertown, in 1637. John settled in Brookfield in 1746, and owned the "Old Wait tavern," which he kept on Foster Hill during many years. This John had seven sons; viz., John, Joseph, Thomas, Benjamin, Richard, Jeduthan and William. The first was born in 1730, and the rest between that time and 1756. John, the eldest son, young as he was in 1748, was a corporal at Fort Dummer, and during the French and Indian wars was a member of Rogers's famous "corps of Rangers," also engaged in reducing the forts near Lakes George and Champlain. "Upon receiving news of the battle of Lexington, he left his plow in the furrow, and, collecting such of his neighbors as would volunteer, hastened to the scene of action, where he served as captain during the remainder of the year." Besides being a member of the "Committee of Safety" and the "Committee of Correspondence," and in other important positions, he was in 1777, in the battle of Bennington. He was also in the second battle of Saratoga, when Gen. Burgoyne surrendered to Gen. Gates.

His next brother, Joseph, born in 1732, entered the provincial army in 1754, under Capt. Eleazer Melvin, for the defence of the eastern frontiers. From this time to the close of 1759, he was in constant service, and rose from the rank of corporal to that of captain. His life during these five years was one long scene of almost incredible hardship and danger. He was in the Crown Point expedition in 1754, and in service near Lake George, in 1755; and during that and the next year was under Col. Dwight, at forts Edward and William Henry. Among his associates here were Robert Rogers, Israel Putnam and John Stark. In 1757, he was joined to Rogers's corps of Rangers, which was composed of men "accustomed to traveling and scouting, and in whose courage and fidelity the most implicit confidence could be placed." In the same year he was sent to Halifax, but was recalled and sent again to the region of the lakes, where, in 1758, he reconnoitred in the vicinity of Ticonderoga. He was present in the attack on that fort in July, when the English lost nineteen hundred and forty-four, killed and wounded, among the former of whom was Lord Howe. And so he continued scouting and fighting till the close of the war, when he settled in Vermont, and afterwards in New Hampshire, where he was a member of the General Assembly in 1775-76. In the war of the Revolution he became



OLD WAIT TAVERN," FOSTER HILL, WEST BROOKFIELD, MASS. (Formerly owned and kept by John Wait, of Revolutionary fame.)

lieutenant-colonel, with the reputation of one of the most brave and efficient officers in the service, and while commanding the advance-guard of Gen. Arnold's fleet on Lake Champlain, was killed in a skirmish a few days before the naval battle of Valcour. His life would make a volume full of daring and adventure.

The third son of John Wait, the tavern-keeper, on Foster Hill, was Thomas. He was born in 1735, and was about twenty years old when the contest began. With his brother Joseph, next older, he entered the army in the same company, and, it is supposed, continued in the service during the "seven years' war." Afterwards he removed to Vermont, and was a patriot in the Revolution. He was among the Rangers in the battle of Bennington, and was killed in the year following.

The fourth of these brothers was named Benjamin, born in 1737, and eighteen years old when the war began in 1755. He enlisted in the war as a private in one of the Provincial regiments. Though still a boy, he was tall and stout for his age, and being a keen hunter, was transferred to Rogers's corps of Rangers, "where his hardihood, skill and daring soon caused him to be included among those selected for the most hazardous undertakings of that famous corps." He was captured by the French in 1756, and taken to Quebec, where he was shipped as a prisoner to France, but before landing, a British vessel-of-war captured the French ship, and Wait was taken to England. Returning home, he again joined the Rangers, and in 1757, after being in several desperate encounters, in which he distinguished himself, he was captured by a scouting-party of Indians, and taken to St. Francis. Here he was made, with other prisoners, to "run the gauntlet," as it was called. Running the gauntlet was running between a double line of Indians armed with whips or sticks, all of whom did their best to hit the swift-flying captive. As a common thing the poor fellow fell dead before he reached the end of the lines. It is reported that the fellow-prisoners of Wait suffered severely from the blows of the Indians, but that he, being more athletic, and also better acquainted with the character of the Indians, snatched a gun from one of them and laid about him from right to left as he ran, "scattering the Indians before him, and escaped with hardly a blow, greatly to the delight of the old men of the tribe, who sat at some distance witnessing the scene, and enjoying the confusion of the young warriors. As he neared the end, an old squaw stood in her door, and beckoning, said, "*Venez ici, Anglais, venez ici*" (come here, Englishman, come here). He was at the taking of Louisburg under Gen. Amherst, in 1758, in command of troops crossing the St. Lawrence River under fire of the enemy; was with Rogers in 1759, in the expedition against the St. Francis Indians, and was sent to Detroit on a warlike expedition in 1760. He had been in over forty combats before he was twenty years old. Returning to Vermont, he became conspicuous, and Waitsfield was named in his honor. One fact is mentioned which reveals to us the hardships of the Revolu-

tionary heroes, and illustrates the blighting curse of irredeemable paper money. He sold his property for specie, at the opening of the Revolution, and loaned four thousand dollars in gold to the government. He was repaid in Continental money, so called, and this became so depreciated that at one time he gave "twelve hundred dollars of it to a peddler for half a pound of tea, and quarter of a pound of indigo." Richard, the fifth brother, born in 1745, joined Capt. Thomas Cowden's company in 1762, when seventeen years old, and served through the war. He became a patriot of the Revolution after moving to Vermont, and was a captain in Herrick's regiment in the battle of Bennington.

The two youngest of the brothers — Jeduthan, born in 1754, and William, born in 1756, were not old enough to fight the French and Indians, but were both out in the Revolution. The "Lexington alarm" called them to the scene of war, and they were stationed in Roxbury, under Capt. Peter Harwood. The tradition is that both were in the battle of Bunker Hill. Without following their story, it is enough to say that they served through the war and two years longer, until 1785.

These facts regarding the Waite brothers have been recited because the young cannot form an idea of the toil, danger and loss sustained to make this a free country for them, except by becoming familiar with the daring, perils and prowess of individual men. The Waites were not singular, except in the fact that they were numerous in bravery and in devotion to the service of their country. Their native town furnished scores of young men who were their peers.

In the war of the Revolution the town was unsurpassed by the other towns in the State, either in the number of men sent into the field or the contribution of material aid. But on this point enough has been said under the head of Brookfield, until some one interested in the matter shall gather all the remaining materials, into a suitable memorial.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH — THE HALF-WAY COVENANT — SUCCESSIVE PASTORS — LATER DENOMINATIONS — LOCAL INDUSTRY — BUSINESS ENTERPRISES — THE PRESS — THE REBELLION AND THE SPIRIT OF THE TOWN — PUBLIC LIBRARY — CITIZENS OF EMINENCE.

As the town has a distinct, and, with one interval, an unbroken ecclesiastical history, it is proper to resume it at this point. As stated on a previous page, the Rev. Elisha Harding was ordained as the second pastor of the first church in Brookfield, Sept. 13, 1749, old style. The sermon was preached by Rev.

Nathan Bucknam of Medway, and was entitled "A Monitor for Gospel Ministers." The text was from Colossians iv. 17: "And say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it." Soon the second church, now the first in North Brookfield, was organized, owing to the distance of the members from the meeting-house. A new house of worship being needed by the mother church, there was an immediate and violent division between the people living in the western and eastern sections of the town. The result was the formation of the third church, now known as the "Evangelical Congregational Church of Brookfield," which was formed April 15, 1756. "In consequence of the commotion and troubles incident to this last division of the parish, Mr. Harding, at his own request," says the Rev. Samuel Dunham, in his interesting Historical Discourse, "was dismissed, May 8, 1755, having sustained the pastoral office not quite six years." Mr. Harding was a graduate of Harvard College in 1745, having been a year below the Hon. Jedediah Foster, one of his most honored and useful parishioners. It is said of Mr. Harding that he was a "gentleman of great benevolence"; a "man of singular probity and solid learning," and as "one who from a child had known the Holy Scriptures, and made them much the matter of his study." All this prepares the mind for what follows: "His public ministrations were serious, and adapted to edify and benefit his hearers."

There was a period of about two and a half years before another pastor was settled. During this time of "supplies" the third meeting-house was erected. As the people of the southern and eastern sections declined to aid them in rebuilding on the summit of Foster Hill, they sensibly decided to accommodate themselves by building the new house on the plain, and as near the centre of the parish as was practicable. In 1755 the new or third sanctuary was set up near the spot where the present Congregational meeting-house stands, on the west side of the beautiful common of West Brookfield. A few excerpts from the records will be read with interest: "Voted, to proceed to build a meeting-house for public worship at the turning of the county rode near the north-east corner of a plow field belonging to John Barnes, being on the plain in said first Precinct." This was passed Jan. 22, 1755. The house was to be of wood, and to be forty-five feet long and thirty-five feet wide.

July 15, 1756, the people voted to "sell the pew-floor in the meeting-house to the inhabitants of said Precinct, preference to be made to those persons who pay the largest tax, *provided they will give as much as others.*" There were to be "seventeen pews upon the floor of said meeting-house, and no more, adjoining to the wall of said house." Abner Gilbert was entrusted with the care of the meeting-house, and was to sweep it "twelve times a year, and oftener if need be," for which he was to receive twelve shillings as a "reward at the end of the year." In June, of this year, it was voted to "build a pulpit, deacon's seat, and Ministerial pew," and more seats for the people generally in the body of the house.

Probably the demand for seats increased as the following action was taken Sept. 3, 1759. "Voted, to sell the front Gallery in the meeting-house to make into Pews." Also, "to Build the Gallery stairs, Lay the Gallery floors, Build the Brestwork, and three seats in the front, and two seats in each of the side galereys." By March 20, 1760, the time had come to provide a "Cushing for the pulpit." The next year, November 14, it was provided that the "meeting-house shall be Lathed, Plaistered and white-washed."

The house having been erected, and so far made comfortable by seats, lath and plaster and a "Cushing," it is time to see who occupied the pulpit. The third pastor, Mr. Joseph Parsons, was ordained on the 23d of November, 1757. It was doubtless a pleasant fact to him that his two nearest ministerial neighbors were college mates: Rev. Eli Forbes of North Brookfield, was in the class before him, and the Rev. Nathan Fiske, settled the next year in Brookfield, was in the second class after him. As the Rev. Joseph Parsons of Bradford, was one of the ordaining council, it is not a violent presumption that he was a relative, perhaps the father of the candidate.

Mr. Parsons's support was provided for in the following manner:—He was to receive "one hundred and eight pounds, lawful silver money, as settlement, one half to be paid in one year, and the other half in two years"; and a salary of fifty pounds, lawful silver money, the first and second years, fifty-five pounds the third, and sixty pounds the fourth year, until the eighth year, when it was to be increased by six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence for the "remainder of his ministry." Besides this amount of money, he was to have thirty cords of good wood brought to his door annually. There was a condition that he should relinquish to the precinct all right and claim to the revenues of the ministry lands. These ministry lands were divided, Dec. 21, 1758, between the three parishes of the town, and the portion belonging to the first parish was sold. The interest of the money arising from the sale was devoted to the support of the minister.

In the year 1758, the *Half-way Covenant* was introduced, and became in time a serious evil here, as in all churches, which ever attempted to enlarge a church with unfit materials. By this time the bad working of the system had become so evident in other places, that strenuous efforts were made to bring it to an end. Some churches were convulsed in the struggle to cast out the devil of unconverted membership. Pres. Edwards had brought his unequalled powers to bear against the system, and Whitefield had thundered against it through the land. The plan was to "own the Covenant" as it was called. That is, a special form of covenant was framed, by "assenting to which any person, not of an immoral character, who had been baptized in infancy, might be recognized as a member, with the privilege of availing himself of the ordinance of baptism for his children, though not required, or expected to partake of the Lord's Supper." According to Mr. Dunham, "this pernicious practice, which prevailed in this church nearly sixty years, during which time

about one hundred persons 'owned the Covenant,' wrought no little mischief." The first two paragraphs of the "original and present Covenant of the Church" may be inserted here as a historical monument, showing the continuity of the faith, on an important point, during a period of one hundred and sixty years. This must not be confounded with the half-way covenant.

"You do now in the presence of the great and holy God, the elect Angels, and this assembly of witnesses, enter into a solemn and perpetual covenant, never to be forgotten, never to be broken.

"You sincerely and cordially give up yourself to that God whose name alone is JEHOVAH; taking God the Father to be your God and Father, God the Son to be your only Saviour and Redeemer, God the Holy Ghost to be your Sanctifier and Comforter."

In 1768, Mr. Parsons was obliged to suspend preaching on account of feeble health, and in about three years, on the 17th of January, 1811, he died, when in the fourteenth year of his ministry, and thirty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in the old burying-ground, where a stone marks his grave, erected by order of the parish. In the new cemetery, erected also at the expense of the parish, though he deceased more than a hundred years ago, is another stone sacred to his memory. The inscription has these words:—"He was an example of patience and resignation, and died strong in faith and full of hope. 'The memory of the just is blessed.'" During his pastorate the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his people, so that his ministry was eminently peaceful. He was "distinguished," said one who knew him, "for the vivacity of his descriptions, the accuracy of his reasoning, and the persuasiveness of his exhortations."

Next in the line of pastors came the Rev. Ephraim Ward, who was born in Newton, in 1741, and graduated at Harvard, in 1763. He was ordained Oct. 23, 1771. His ministry began in the disturbed period preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, when there was commotion in many towns and churches in regard to questions of public policy. There were three classes of men. 1. The outspoken Whigs, who early became decided to fight for independence. 2. The confirmed loyalists or Tories, who finally joined the enemy and left the country. 3. Those men who were sound in the principles of liberty and true to their country, but who hesitated about the time when the contest should begin, and the question of separation from the mother country be decided. A few ministers were in this third class, and became involved in trouble thereby from some of the hasty and turbulent spirits in their parishes. Probably that was the case with Mr. Forbes of the North Parish. But Mr. Ward's pastorate extended through the whole period of the Revolution from the preliminary movements to the final and grand consummation, and yet he lived in entire harmony with his people. The terms of his agreement, as to "settlement" and "salary," were similar to those of his predecessor, with the provision that, if

he should become disabled, his salary should be reduced one-half. The thirty cords of firewood were not to be decreased. Mr. Ward accepted the proposal, but stated that it was "not agreeable to his expectations," and attended with some "peculiar restrictions."

The ministry of Mr. Ward was so happy and prosperous that there is a pleasure in dwelling upon it, but our limits forbid. It is said of him that he "possessed a peculiar talent for cultivating peace. Though he was ready to extend the hand of discipline, when the honor of his Master's cause required it, yet he never resorted to coercive measures till all other expedients to reclaim the delinquent had failed." Dr. Phelps, for some time his colleague, said: "He had no enemies, and all the congregation respected and loved him." Under his faithful and prayerful labors, the church was enlarged. In nearly every year, whether of peace or war, there were some additions to the church. The aggregate number added on seven different occasions was one hundred and sixty-two. None of the half-way covenant members are included in this number. By partial loss of sight, he was compelled to relinquish his labors, in part, in the autumn of 1813, and the neighboring clergy assisted him to some extent. On the forty-fifth anniversary of his settlement, Oct. 23, 1816, he received the Rev. Eliakim Phelps as a colleague. This new relation he was permitted to enjoy but a short time, as he was seized with paralysis in the course of a year. Recovering speech so as to be intelligible, he was able to give "abundant assurance of the consolation and joy he felt at the prospect of Heaven." His departure occurred on the 8th of February, 1818, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and after a pastorate of nearly half a century.

Rev. Dr. Phelps, the fifth pastor, was born at Belchertown, March 20, 1790. He was graduated at Union College, Schenectady, in 1814. He made it a condition of his acceptance of the "call" to settle that the half-way covenant should be abolished. This was done by a unanimous vote. But the evil did not end with the vote; and in a revival of religion which followed, in 1818-19, many of those members who had never been converted had great "searchings of heart." During this season of special interest, and as the result of it, one hundred and thirteen were added to the church; and, during his pastorate of ten years, there were one hundred and sixty-eight additions, all but twenty-eight of whom were by profession. Mr. Phelps was dismissed in 1826, October 25, for the purpose of taking the position of principal of the Female Classical Seminary which at that time existed in the place. The remainder of his life was usefully and honorably filled in the service of his Master. He received the decree of doctor of divinity from Union College in 1842. Prof. Austin Phelps of Andover Seminary is one of his sons.

On the day of his dismissal, the Rev. Joseph J. Foot was ordained as the sixth pastor of the church. He was a graduate of Union College and Andover Seminary. The next year, there was uncommon attention to the subject of

religion, and one hundred and twenty-two were admitted into the church, twenty-five of whom united by letter from other churches. At his own request, he was dismissed May 1, 1832. While here, he delivered an historial discourse, which was prepared with great care, and has supplied his successors with much information in regard to the history of the church and town.

His successor was the Rev. Francis Horton, a graduate of Brown University in 1826. His ministry began here on the 15th of August, 1832, and, after a very prosperous pastorate, he was dismissed Sept. 15, 1841. In those years, he received one hundred and forty into the church on profession of their faith, besides fifty more by letter.

It will be sufficient to give the names of the more recent pastors, with the dates of their coming and retiring, though they left enduring impressions. The Rev. Moses Chase was settled Jan. 12, 1842, and had a sad experience, as he seems to have taken extreme ground in opposition to the anti-slavery movement. This was met by counter efforts, and confusion and strife wrought with desolating effect. He was dismissed by an *ex parte* council in less than two years, and was followed by the Rev. Leonard S. Parker, a native of Dunbarton, N. H., and a graduate of Oberlin Collegiate Institute. His installation took place Dec. 19, 1844. His influence was healing, and in time he began to gather in the harvest. After holding the pastoral office a little over six years, he was dismissed on the 7th of April, 1851.

The ministers since have been: Rev. Swift Byington, from Nov. 7, 1852, to Nov. 1, 1858, when his useful ministry was closed at his request; Rev. Christopher M. Cordley, from June 28, 1859, to June 23, 1862, when he left for Lawrence, Mass., where he exerted a strong influence in favor of every good cause. The Rev. Samuel Dunham was ordained Oct. 4, 1864, and dismissed Oct. 27, 1870. His excellent historial discourse has furnished many facts for this sketch. The Rev. Richard B. Bull was installed March 12, 1871, and dismissed on the 6th of July, 1874. There has been no settled minister since the last date, but the pulpit has been ably supplied by Rev. S. C. Kendall and Rev. Frederick Allen. The Rev. E. S. Gould now resides in the town and is the acting pastor.

This account of the First Church will be closed by a reference to their houses of worship. By the year 1790, there was need of a new sanctuary. The first plan was for enlarging the old house. This was discarded, and, after the erection of a new house, the old one was used for a town house. The decisive vote for building was Oct. 29, 1792, and the house was finished, and the dedication took place, Nov. 10, 1795. A bell was hung in 1796. In 1818, individuals were permitted to put a stove or stoves into the meeting-house; an organ was obtained some years after, and a better one in 1856. The meeting-house was thoroughly remodeled in 1838. Formerly, it stood sideways to the road; now it was turned so as to front the road or common, and was put into modern shape. It is now, by more recent improve-

ments, a large and pleasant house of worship, with all conveniences for religious and social purposes, proper to a centre of parish life.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the fall of 1851, about the middle of October. The first meetings were held in the old hall in the west part of the village. In 1852 the first pastor, Rev. Mr. Winslow, was appointed. The Rev. Mr. Clark was the next pastor. As the records have not been kept, a full list cannot be given. The Rev. Alpheus Nichols was the minister in charge in 1877, the Rev. J. S. Barrows in 1878, and the Rev. G. H. W. Clark is the present pastor. The church has been influential in promoting the moral and religious welfare of the community during its comparatively brief existence.

The Roman Catholics hold meetings every Sunday in the town hall, as they have not a church edifice. They are, probably, "attended" from North Brookfield.

The course of common school education in any one of our towns is like that in all the others, making allowance for local diversities. West Brookfield has always been an intelligent community, and the people have been careful in securing the mental training of their children. The history of one year would be the history of another, from generation to generation. The number of schools at present is ten, and the number of school children between the ages of five and fifteen is three hundred and seventy-eight. The whole number of different scholars in the schools was, in 1877-8, three hundred and eighty-nine. The average attendance was two hundred and forty-eight. The population in 1875 was one thousand nine hundred and three. On a valuation of \$795,797, the appropriation for schools was \$3,000, besides the expense for superintendence and other minor charges. The length of the schools is nearly nine months, or about three months more than the law requires. Almost eight dollars is spent annually for each scholar.

About fifty years since an effort was made to establish a female school of a high order, and for several years it was well attended. It was called "The Female Classical Seminary." In 1826 the Rev. Mr. Phelps was dismissed from his church that he might become the principal, and he retained the position until he accepted a similar one in Pittsfield. In his time, and later, the school flourished, and while it existed was an excellent institution. But in a few years it declined, either for want of an endowment, or by the competition of other schools of the kind which were established in other places.

West Brookfield has always been a busy place. The soil is good for raising almost all kinds of crops, and it is said that there are no better dairies in the county or State than here. In some years the number of gallons of milk sold has been as high as eighty thousand, besides large quantities of butter and cheese. By the returns in 1875 the pounds of butter made were over nineteen thousand, and of cheese more than thirty-seven thousand, yearly. The aggregate value of land, domestic animals, farming implements, &c., was \$489,831.

The capital invested in manufactures was \$211,500, and the value of goods made and work done was \$647,305 by the returns of 1875. These are some of the principal branches of business: boots, value per annum, \$517,700; heels, boot and shoe, \$8,000; milk, condensed, and cheese, \$18,967; besides other branches of less amount. The value of corsets made yearly, as reported in the State census of 1875, was \$56,000. Since then the business has greatly increased, and the annual product now is not less than \$450,000. In the large manufactory under the supervision of Mr. C. L. Olmstead, between four and five hundred hands, male and female, are employed. At times the number is much larger.

Mr. John M. Fales was the father of the boot business in West Brookfield. He began about 1833, since which time the small enterprise has grown, in his and other hands, into the present large proportions.

A printing-office was set up here before the close of the last century, of which the celebrated Isaiah Thomas of Worcester was one of the founders, though he did not become a resident.

This was the home of the Merriam family of printers and publishers, which has since become famous in connection with Webster's Dictionaries and other publications. A newspaper was published here as early as 1794 by Isaiah Thomas and his partner, Mr. Waldo. It was styled the "Political Telegraph and Brookfield Advertiser." In 1798 the Merriams started "The Political Repository and Farmer's Journal." The printing business has been continued till the present time, and now the "News" supplies the want for local news and advertising. There has been a type-foundry here a long time, and now (August, 1879) the company is stereotyping the new translation of Virgil's *Æneid* by Lieut. Gov. Long.

There are two good hotels in the centre, besides the excellent restaurant at the depot. The names of the hotels are the West Brookfield Hotel and the Wickaboag House.

Military service in suppressing the Rebellion was freely rendered by the citizens of this town. All differences of opinion in relation to political questions were laid aside, and the voice of all was for war until the supremacy of the national government was secured. Spontaneous meetings were held, at which the most earnest utterances of patriotic sentiment were spoken to sympathizing hearers. When the first legal meeting was held, April 29, the town voted to pay "each volunteer belonging to the town, when mustered into the service, twenty dollars, and to furnish him with a revolver." In those early days of the contest, and before actual experience in the field, the "revolver" was very popular. It was supposed that no man was equipped for the service without a six or seven "shooter." But army life soon taught that the weapon was an incumbrance. However, at the time the volunteers shared in the general opinion, and scarcely anything was more pleasing to them than the present of revolvers. At the meeting above referred to a "pledge was given"

that the families of the "soldiers should be properly cared for." The town officers who had special charge of the business of enlisting, recording and paying, during the war, were these: The Selectmen, R. Cummings, A. C. Allen, William Foster, A. Makepeace, George H. Brown, E. W. Combs, H. Brown, Daniel Allen, A. C. Gleason, H. L. Bannister, T. E. Cary and Sanford Adams. The clerk and treasurer during the war was E. H. Blair. Committees were appointed from time to time for special duties.

In 1862, April 1, it was voted to "borrow eight hundred dollars for State aid to the soldiers' families." On the 6th of July, the treasurer was authorized to borrow thirty-one hundred dollars to pay bounties to volunteers, who should enlist to the credit of the town for three years' service; and on the 23d of August, the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred and fifty dollar to each volunteer for nine months' service. During the remainder of this, and all of the following year, the recruiting of volunteers and the payment of State aid was continued. The men who were in the field went through all the toils, dangers and hardships in marching, drilling, skirmishing and fighting, which were the common lot of soldiers in that fearful time. Some were sick, some were wounded, and some were killed. Each case of suffering called for sympathy, and the call was not in vain. The ladies were unceasing in the work of preparing articles for the comfort of their friends in the field. Visits were made by individuals and committees to convey stores, and also by the living voice, to utter words of cheer and encouragement.

In 1864, June 25, the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each volunteer, who should enlist to fill the quota of the town "for the next call for men." On the 14th of August, it was decided to pay the bounty in gold, and to "raise a sufficient sum of money to procure fourteen men for the army." The town did its whole duty in comparison with other towns in the State. It furnished for the war one hundred and fifty-nine men, which was a surplus of twelve above all demands.

The amount of money appropriated by the town in its legal capacity, was \$11,277.61. The amount of money paid by the town, during the war, for State aid to soldiers' families, was \$11,793.80. It is true that the State aid was repaid to the towns by the State, but it was repaid out of the public revenues, which the towns aided in supplying to the State treasury. It was all substantially a charge on the towns. In addition, a large amount, in the aggregate, was given by individuals, by ladies and societies, and by public contributions in the churches for the benefit of the soldiers.

The public library was established by a vote of the town two years in succession, appropriating the "dog fund" for the purpose. It was first opened for the delivery of books, Jan. 5, 1874, with three hundred volumes. In the spring of 1874, Mr. Charles Merriam of Springfield, donated about six hundred volumes. In December he supplied the reading-room with six daily and eight weekly papers, and six monthly papers. Since then his gifts have been as fol-

lows:—In October, 1875, his donation was five hundred dollars for the purchase of books; in November, one hundred dollars to supply the reading-room with papers and magazines; in April, 1876, fifty shares of New York Central and Hudson River Railroad stock, the income of which is to be expended in the purchase of books for the library, and publications for the reading-room. The library now contains two thousand four hundred and thirty volumes.

All travelers through the town have admired the common in the village of West Brookfield. It was naturally pleasant, but has been improved with much taste. Towards the improvement, Mr. Stickney of Baltimore, a grandson of Parson Ward, gave three thousand five hundred dollars.

Both the old and the new cemeteries are a credit to the town. The grounds, the walks, the monuments and the inscriptions evince judgment, taste and liberality. Money spent by the living to beautify the place of their future sepulture, may perhaps, by the cynical, be charged to the score of vanity in the case of some, but when expense is incurred in honor of those long departed, a noble spirit of reverence for our ancestors is evinced, which honors the living as well as the dead.

One benevolent society in this town deserves honorable mention on account of its age as well as its usefulness. It was organized under the name of the Dorcas Society, in 1800, and has continued its meetings without interruption to the present time.

The more prominent characters of the town have been mentioned in the progress of this sketch. Among the natives are the following:—Lucy Stone, Rev. William B. Stone, formerly pastor of the Evangelical Church in Gardner; Hon. E. B. Lynde, recently a member of the Senate and a public-spirited citizen; Daniel M. Chamberlain, a graduate of Yale College, and recently the able and upright governor of South Carolina; Rev. Leander T. Chamberlain, D.D., of Norwich, Conn. The Rev. Austin Phelps, D.D., for a long period one of the professors in the Theological Seminary at Andover, was either born in this town or came at a very early age. Much space might be filled with biographical notices of eminent men who have resided here. Such were Hon. Jabez Upham, a graduate of Harvard, in 1785, foremost in the business interests of the town, as well as in public life, and in Congress in 1807-9; and Brig. Gen. Joseph Dwight, who was a graduate of Harvard, in 1722, and spent much of his active life in this town. The Hon. Dwight Foster, son of Jedediah Foster, was graduated at Brown University, in 1774, and filled many honorable posts in the county of Worcester, and in the State and nation. He was in Congress in 1793-1801. His brother, Theodore, a graduate of the same college, lived in Providence, R. I., and was in the Senate of the United States thirteen years. The Hon. Jedediah Foster, father of the above brothers, was second to no man in the county in his time, in ability, wisdom, and integrity.

C H A R L T O N .

BY GEORGE A. STOCKWELL, A. M.

CHAPTER I.

SEPARATION FROM OXFORD AND INCORPORATION — THE REVOLUTION — ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE town of Charlton is situated in the south-western part of the county, bordered on the north by Leicester, Spencer and Brookfield, on the west by Southbridge and Sturbridge, on the south by Southbridge and Dudley, and on the east by Oxford.

The greater part of the present territory of Charlton was included in the original grant for Oxford. The eastern part of the latter, about twelve thousand acres, was given to the French settlers in 1685, and to the English in 1713, while the western part, about thirty thousand acres, was reserved for the grantees. This latter tract, in consequence of the grievances set forth in the petitions herein given, was incorporated as a district in 1755, and given the name of Charlton, in honor, it is believed, of Sir Francis Charlton, at that time a member of the privy council.

On June 12, 1750, the inhabitants and proprietors of the westerly part of the township of Oxford, and of that land called the County Gore, petitioned the General Court to be erected into a separate township for the reasons that "part of your petitioners do not belong to any town whatsoever, and the other part of your petitioners was not in the least regarded by the inhabitants living in the easternmost part of Oxford, called the village, in their late setting up of their new meeting-house, as to the place of ground whereon the said meeting-house now stands. They think it would be of great advantage to them to be put in such circumstances that they might have the worship of God set up amongst them, and ask that from a line north and south, one mile west of the west line of the village, all west, with all the Gore lying off even against these lands, may be set off for a new township." This petition was signed by Jonas Hammond, Jonathan Wheelock, Nehemiah Stone, David Wheelock, John Thomson, David Thayer, Ephraim Mory, David Weld and Job Weld of the Gore, and by seventeen of the inhabitants of the westerly part of Oxford, whose names, except those of Ebenezer Twiss, Solomon Harwood, Nathaniel Mackintire, John Davis, Sr., Isaiah Blood, Daniel Rich and Samuel Freeman, are given in the other petition.

The above petitioners "met with opposition from the Board," and were disheartened, but on March 27, 1754, William Alton, and others in the west part of Oxford, presented a second petition for a new town, or district.

"To His Excellency, William Shirley, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, the Honorable Council, and the House of Representatives in General Court Assembled, the 27th day of March, 1754:—

"The petition of the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of Oxford, in the county of Worcester, most humbly sheweth that your petitioners being in the west part of Oxford aforesaid, labor under great difficulties by reason of the distance we live from the place of public worship; it being more than ten miles from the meeting-house to the west bounds of the town, and about two miles from the east bound. Some of us attend worship at Dudley, and some at Sturbridge on Lord's days, and have no privilege from Oxford on this account; and yet are always taxed to all charges of the town, and have been for more than sixteen years past; but to encourage us in getting a town or district of the west part of the town, they voted at a town meeting on the 17th day May, 1750, to set off the west part of Oxford, within two miles of the village line, in case a number of those residing in the Gore would join with us.

"We then thought, and do now think, that if the village took two miles from the west part, we should be greatly wronged.

"We then applied to the Honorable Court for relief, but met with opposition from the Board; we were disheartened, and as we had got timber for a meeting-house, and were much encouraged by the gentlemen owning land here, who offered to give the glass and nails; but being taxed so high for building the meeting-house, and finishing it in the best manner, equal to, if not better than any in this country; and many of us not knowing anything of the town meeting, when the grant was made, and our paying to the support of schools in town, and having but little benefit therefrom, amongst us, and having such large herds of cattle brought among us, breaking into our improved lands and destroying our corn and grass, and living so far from the town pound as ten miles, and almost impossible to drive cattle there; all these things considered, we fear we shall be undone, without the help of the court, for we petitioned the town to vote us off last March meeting, but nothing was acted upon it.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Excellency and the Honorable Court, would be pleased to take our distressed circumstances under your wise consideration, and erect us into a town or district, or otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your wisdom you shall think best, and in duty bound shall ever pray.

William Alton,
Nathaniel French,
Edward Mackintire,
Nathan Mackintire,
Ebenezer Mackintire,
Thomas Mackintire,
Thomas Mackintire, Jr.,
Jesse Mackintire,
Job Mackintire,
Daniel Mackintire,
Edward Chamberlain,
Nathaniel Blood,
Ebenezer Lamb,

John Henry,
Joseph Clemence,
John Olds,
John Dresser,
Elisha Putney,
Samuel Scott,
Jonathan Clemence,
Edward Willard,
James Butler,
Amos Newton,
Benjamin Hobbs,
Richard Dresser,

Adam Johnson,
Samuel Streeter,
Joseph Twiss,
James Lamb,
George Pike,
John Davidson,
Thomas Hawkins,
Philip Clemence,
Richard Blood,
Samuel Rogers,
Ebenezer Fosket,
Paul Rich."

The "Gore," to which reference is made in both petitions, was a triangular tract of ten thousand acres, reaching from Brookfield, touching Spencer and Leicester, and extending into what is now Auburn. This was annexed to Sturbridge, Oxford and Charlton, the latter receiving the greatest part. The herds of cattle mentioned in the second petition were driven thither by the non-resident owners of the land, or of that part not sold to the petitioners.

The second petition received the attention of the General Court on April 9, 1754, when the petitioners were directed to serve an order of notice on the clerk of the town of Oxford, requiring the inhabitants thereof, if they saw fit, to show cause why said petition should not be granted. The petition was then referred to a committee, the report of which was as follows :

"The Court's Committee, having considered all the circumstances, recommend a district to be made : beginning at the south line of Oxford, one mile west of the village line, so called ; thence northerly, parallel with the line of said village, to Leicester, south bound ; thence west with Leicester and Spencer, south bound, until it comes within one mile and a quarter of Sturbridge, east bound ; thence running one mile and a quarter westerly to Oxford, north-west corner ; thence southerly by Oxford, westerly bound, to Dudley, north-west corner ; thence with Oxford, south bound, to the point of beginning.

On Jan. 10, 1755, an engrossed bill, entitled "An act for setting off the inhabitants, as also their estates, of the west part of Oxford, into a separate district," passed to be enacted.

The district of Charlton, when incorporated, was, including the County Gore, annexed on the north, about seven miles square. In 1792 a part of the town on the south was added to Sturbridge, and in 1816 about three thousand acres, also on the south, though further north than the above-mentioned tract, were taken to form a part of the town of Southbridge, by which loss of territory the town of Charlton was deprived of the valuable water privileges afforded by the Quinebaug River. The present area of the town is about 28,000 acres.

By order of the General Court, Moses Marcy was empowered to issue his warrant, addressed to a principal inhabitant, requiring him to notify and warn the inhabitants of the new town to assemble and choose officers.

John Dresser was a principal inhabitant and in pursuance of the warrant, and his warning, the first town meeting was held on March 12, 1755, at the house of Ebenezer Mackintire, innholder, where all town meetings were held until the church edifice was erected. These officers were elected : Clerk, Richard Dresser ; Selectmen, Richard Dresser, Lieut. Obadiah Mackintire, Jonathan Bullard, John Dresser, Ebenezer Mackintire ; Treasurer, William Alton ; Constable, Josiah Blood ; Tything-Man, Samuel Streeter ; Surveyors of Highways, Nathaniel Blood, Nathan Mackintire, Nathaniel French ; Hog-Reeves, Ebenezer Mackintire, Jr., Samuel Streeter, Jr. ; Fence-Viewers, Ebenezer Lamb, Edward Chamberlain ; Brander of Horses, Ebenezer Mackin-

tire; Deer-Reeve, Benjamin Hobbs; Clerk of the Market, Ebenezer Mackintire.

At the second meeting of the district, on March 27, 1755, a grant was made for schools, and on April 28 it was voted to build a meeting-house, and that it should stand at the centre of the district. At the same meeting, also, a pound was ordered to be built, and the letter C, for Charlton, was chosen as the brand-mark — on the left shoulder — for all horses. At subsequent meetings grants were made for the support of church and school, an account of both of which will be given elsewhere; but, aside from this, the history of the town was devoid of special interest until the beginning of the Revolution.

On August 5, 1773, the warrant for district meeting contained this article: "To see if the District will take into consideration the letter from the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, and choose a Committee to draw up the resolves of the District, relating to the unconstitutional burdens that are laid on the Province." At a meeting held on the 19th instant, a committee for the purpose aforesaid was appointed, and reported thus:

"We have taken into serious consideration the pamphlet sent us from Boston, wherein the rights and privileges of this Province are clearly stated, and the infringements made thereon justly pointed out; we return our sincere thanks to the town of Boston for the vigilance and firmness in support of the country, which has been very conspicuous in that metropolis; and will heartily join with them in all such measures as may appear most conducive to the restoration of our invaluable privileges from the hand of oppression."

At this meeting a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, consisting of Jonas Hammond, Richard Dresser, Nathaniel Blood, Ebenezer Hammond, Stephen Fay, John Dresser and Ebenezer Fosket. In October, 1774, Capt. Jonathan Tucker was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress at Concord; also, at the same meeting, the constable was directed to pay what money he should collect to Henry Gardiner of Stow, according to the advice of the Provincial Congress, and the district voted to indemnify him for so doing.

On Jan. 9, 1775, Capt. Jonathan Tucker was elected a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, and a committee was chosen to see that the directions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses were strictly adhered to in the district. In February of the same year the town voted to make allowance to the men in the district for practising military discipline; and on May 22 the Rev. Caleb Curtis was chosen to attend Provincial Congress at Watertown. Isaiah Blood, chosen in 1775, was the first representative to the General Court; and in 1776 Maj. Jacob Davis was elected to the same office. On June 17, 1776, two weeks before the Declaration of Independence was signed at Philadelphia, the town of Charlton voted to support the Continental Congress in declaring the Colonies independent of Great Britain, "to the

extent of their lives and fortunes, if they thought it expedient for safety." On March 10, 1777, a committee was chosen "to advise the town to some measure to provide the quota of men required by the State." This committee recommended that in addition to the bounty offered by Congress "for good, able-bodied men, to serve in this unnatural and unjust war, the sum of twenty pounds be given as an encouragement to all non-commissioned officers and privates who should enlist for three years, or during the war." On May 2, 1777, Maj. Jacob Davis, Caleb Ammidown and Jacob Blood represented the town in the General Court. In November of the same year a committee was chosen to provide for the families of soldiers. In January, 1778, the town paid into the treasury of the State £889 7s. 5d.

In 1778, Charlton, like other towns, opposed the legislature's forming a constitution for the State without further reference to the people. In September, 1779, Samuel Lamb, Gen. Salem Towne and Jacob Davis were delegates to the convention held at Cambridge. On Aug. 23, 1780, the selectmen issued their first warrant for choice of State officers, and at the election the town cast fifty-seven votes for John Hancock for governor. In October, 1780, it was voted to raised £350 to procure beef for the army; and in December following, £780 was appropriated for the same purpose; also in January, 1781, forty dollars "hard money was offered to every soldier who should enlist to serve during the war, to be paid before marching."

The depreciation of the value of paper money was even greater during the Revolution than in the time of the last war as shown by the following town grants:—For support of schools in 1773, £30; in 1779, £200; and in 1780, £1,500.

The religious interests of Charlton received early attention. The first thought of the inhabitants, after the incorporation of the town, was to establish a church and to support the "standing order." On April 9, 1755, it was voted to build a meeting-house at the centre of the district. Previous to this time there had been preaching in private dwellings, and timber had already been brought together. On Jan. 1, 1756, seven pounds were raised to support preaching. The building of a meeting-house was discussed at many meetings called for the purpose, and, as difficulty arose in regard to locating the house, disinterested persons were summoned from neighboring towns to select a site; but the place chosen was not accepted, and the General Court was applied to to send commissioners to decide the question. These commissioners "staked out a meeting-house place," a few rods west of the site of the present Universalist Church. Here the first house of worship was built, fifty by forty feet, on an acre of land given by Ebenezer Mackintire.

In July, 1759, the district voted "to give Jonathan Upham £26 13s. 4d., for setting up the frame of this building, and to provide victuals and drink for the raising of the same." The new house was completed between 1759 and 1761, at a cost of £282 10s. 8½d. It contained twenty-four pews and also

galleries: and the men sat on one side of the church, and the women on the other. This house of worship was occupied till 1796, and in 1803 was sold by auction to Capt. Levi Davis for three hundred and fifty dollars,—one-half of which went to the pew-holders, and the other to the town,—and was removed from the common. On May 26, 1761, Caleb Curtis was invited by the town to become its minister, and offered as settlement, £133 6s. 8d., and £60 yearly salary. The church was formed on April 16, 1761, "after solemn fasting and prayer, and a sermon by John Campbell of Oxford Church." Mr. Curtis was ordained on Oct. 15, 1761, and remained till Oct. 29, 1776. Archibald Campbell, son of John Campbell, became pastor of this church on Jan. 8, 1783, and remained ten years. In May, 1784, Charlton adopted the "voluntary principle," with respect to affairs of the church; and after that time church and town were separate and distinct.

On Nov. 8, 1797, Erastus Larned was ordained and served the church until Sept. 16, 1802. During the pastorate of Mr. Larned, a new house of worship was erected, and stood on the site of the present Universalist house. This was occupied until 1825, when the society was divided; and in 1828 the Unitarians and Universalists, having a majority in the proprietorship of the house, bought off the minority, and formed a society called the "First Congregational Church and Society of Charlton." The old society assumed the name of the "Calvinistic Congregational Church and Society"; and, until 1827, when the present edifice was built, held services in Craig's Hall. This house stands on the opposite side of the common, and on the day of its dedication, June 5, 1827, John Wilder was installed as pastor, and remained till July 2, 1833. His immediate predecessor was Edward Whipple, from Jan. 25, 1804, to March, 1821; and his successors have been: William H. Whittemore, installed Aug. 21, 1833, dismissed August, 1835; Isaac R. Barbour, installed Nov. 23, 1836, dismissed Aug. 8, 1839; George W. Underwood, ordained Feb. 12, 1840, dismissed March 31, 1843. John Haven, the present pastor, graduated at Amherst College in 1834, in the class with Henry Ward Beecher, was ordained in York, Me., Dec. 14, 1836, afterwards became pastor of a church in Stoncham, Mass., remaining ten years, and in March 1850, began his labors in Charlton.

The Baptist faith had supporters in Charlton when the town was incorporated. In 1857 the General Court passed an "exemption law," by which persons of faith other than Congregational were relieved from contributing to its support by filing certificates with the assessors. Such certificates, as the records show, were deposited with the assessors by the Baptists of Charlton as early as 1759. On July 13, 1761, a church, composed of persons living in Spencer, Leicester and Charlton, was formed and for five years thereafter adopted the ceremony of the laying on of hands as a requisite for admission to communion. Nathaniel Green was the first pastor, and was ordained on Aug. 12, 1763, and remained until 1791. After his death there was no settled

pastor for twelve years, although during this term there was preaching by Elders David Rathbone and Charles Thompson. The next settled minister was Elder James Boomer, who served the society from Aug. 10, 1808, to the time of his death on Feb. 24, 1836. Soon after this time the church ceased to exist. The last meeting of which there is any record, was held May 18, 1837. Letters of dismission were granted to the members to unite with the church at Oxford, and with that at Southbridge. The Baptist society erected two houses of worship, the last about the year 1795 in North Charlton, or what is locally called "North Side."

The Methodist church in Charlton had its origin in 1790, when meetings were held in the south-western part of the town. The society was organized in 1792, at the house of Mr. Batchelder. This was the first organization of Methodism in Massachusetts. Circuit preachers served the society until 1810. Of the meetings after that time until 1829, if there were any, there is no record. In 1834, Charlton was included, with Southbridge and Dudley, in what was called the local preachers' circuit. From 1843 to 1846, the societies of Charlton and Dudley were "united in one charge." Until 1854 meetings were held regularly at Dresser Hill, Charlton Centre. In 1854 the church was established at Charlton City, William Olds being pastor, and, during the next year, the present house of worship was erected.

Pastors: John Lovejoy, Ira M. Bidwell, Hezekiah H. Davis, Stephen W. Hammond, Otis Perrin, Frederick P. Tracy, Joseph S. Ellis, Ralph W. Allen, Stephen Puffer, Samuel Beadle, Freeman Nutting, E. S. Newell, William Smith, Stephen Cushing, Horace Moulton, N. J. Merrill, William B. Olds, Rufus Futro, T. W. Gill, Benjamin Paine, S. L. Olmstead, David K. Merrill, W. Goodell, Daniel Pratt, James Wilson, Daniel Dorchester, Charles H. Hanaford, J. S. Thomas, John Noon, J. W. P. Jordan, A. M. Osgood, D. K. Banister, E. J. Moore, N. A. Soule, N. F. Stevens, J. J. Woodbury, S. H. Noon, Frederick S. George, G. W. H. Clark, and Phineas C. Sloper, the present pastor.

In 1801, a society called the "Second Religious Society in Charlton," was organized by persons living in the southern part of Sturbridge, the western part of Dudley, and the south-western part of Charlton. A meeting-house was built in 1790. This parish was composed of persons of different faiths; but an agreement was entered into to the effect, that each denomination should have, at certain times, its own preachers. This arrangement continued sixteen years. The house of worship was sold to the Baptists, and afterwards the Congregationalists in this society organized and built a new church edifice. This parish was called "Honest Town," and, in 1816, was annexed to Southbridge.

In 1828, as already given, a church and society was formed at the centre, called the "First Congregational Society." Edward Turner was ordained pastor, and soon after, this Society was united with the present Universalist Soci-

ety. Services were held at "North Side" until 1831, and it was then called the "First Union Society of Charlton." In 1851 it was named the "First Universalist Society." A new house of worship was erected in the centre of the town in 1839. Following are the names of pastors: Massena B. Ballou, 1827 to 1831; Gilman Noyes, length of service unknown; Aurin Bugbee, 1839 to 1850; M. C. Hawes, 1851 to 1852; Lyman Maynard, 1853; Lucius Holmes, 1858 to 1863; Edward Smiley, 1867 to 1874; Anson Titus, Jr., 1875 to 1878. I. P. Quimby, the present pastor, was installed in 1878.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL FEATURES — SCHOOLS AND VILLAGES — AGRICULTURE AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES — THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

THE highest land between the seaboard on the east and the Connecticut River on the west, is found near the centre of Charlton town. The valleys, although sloping east and west, have a southern descent, and hence the waters on the east reach the French, and those on the west the Quinebaug River.

At the time of the settlement of the town, the land was considered inferior to that of Oxford. On this account, together with the fact that the land was in the possession of non-resident owners, who were not taxed, the inhabitants were heavily burdened, and settlement proceeded slowly. To remedy this, Caleb Ammidown, a representative to the General Court at the time, brought the matter to the attention of the legislature, and procured an act for the taxing of non-residents. This was not only a relief to the settlers of Charlton, but to the inhabitants of other towns where speculators had "made a monopoly of the lands" by procuring the original grant. The land-owners, unable to hold their lands free of taxation, and reap the benefits of improvements made by the pioneers, disposed of them at such prices as the resident owners were willing to pay. In some towns large tracts of lands were disposed of by public sale.

Notwithstanding the apparent worthlessness of the land at first, it proved to be of great strength of soil; and by the zeal and energy of the pioneers, and the perseverance of their descendants it is now of rare beauty and excellence.

The historian Whitney, in 1791, says: "This town was not in high repute at first, and was thought by some to be hardly worth settling upon, as it was very rough in its natural state and hard to subdue. But such land is almost always found to be strong and to wear well. This being the case with Charlton, from small beginnings and an inconsiderable figure it has risen up in the space of thirty or forty years, to renown among the towns of the county. It is well

and naturally adapted to orcharding of all kinds, well proportioned and agreeably interspersed." The latter statement is well established. No part of the county presents more varied scenery, more picturesquely disposed. A large part of the town is covered with growing wood, in some places so dense that it appears to have stood undisturbed for centuries.

Mugget Hill, by some called Mashymugget, is the highest point of land between Boston and Springfield. From the summit of this hill may be seen, under favorable conditions of the atmosphere, the church-spires of nineteen villages, and the view extends to Greenwich, in Rhode Island, to Thompson, in Connecticut, and some distance into New Hampshire. On the western slope of this hill is the centre of the town, Charlton Centre, so called. Here is the town-house, the Congregational and Universalist church edifices, post-office, school, public house, store and the old burying-ground, laid out soon after the incorporation of the town. The common is in the centre of this village; and facing it, east and west, and the highway that skirts it, are the buildings aforesaid, and many private dwellings. A short distance west of the Centre may be seen traces of the old "Bay Path."

North-west of the Centre, one mile, is Charlton City, an irregularly built settlement on Cady's Brook. This is a postal village, and contains the house of worship of the Methodist society, and manufactories of different kinds. Extending northward from Charlton City is a reservoir containing one hundred and twenty acres, having its outlet in Cady's Brook. On this stream is a woolen mill established in 1878, and now operated by E. Ackers. Two sets of machinery and twenty operatives are employed, and twelve thousand yards of fancy satinets and worsteds are produced per month. Further west, on the same stream, is another woolen mill, owned by Andrus March, and operated by M. Norris. This factory has two sets of machinery, employs twenty-eight workmen, and eleven thousand yards of satinets are produced per month. Charlton City has also two wire-mills, one near the centre and another in the southern part. Lumber-mills are here as in other parts of the township, and the manufacture of boxes, laths, shingles, clapboards and staves occupies the attention of many inhabitants. Two miles north of Charlton City is Charlton Depot, a thriving village, the growth of which is due to the opening of the Western, now the Boston and Albany Railroad, in 1838. This is a post-station, and the manufacture of boots and shoes is in progress; but the fact that it is the only railway centre in the town gives Charlton Depot its chief importance. Other and smaller villages are in different parts of the town. At Morseville, north of Charlton Centre, is the largest manufactory of boots and shoes in the town. At Lelandville, Millward and Putnamville, all in the south-eastern part of the town, are box-factories and wheelwright establishments.

Dresser Hill, on the south, before the advent of the railway, was the chief business centre of Charlton. Harvey Dresser, noted for his business capacity and enterprise, and called a "benefactor of his town," established at this place



LAWRENCE FELTING COMPANY'S MILL, MILLVILLE, MASS.



C. E. MORSE & COMPANY'S BOOT AND SHOE MANUFACTORY, CHARLETON, MASS.

manufactories of furniture, vehicles and farming implements. His was the most extensive and the most varied of any manufactory within a radius of thirty miles. At this time also, North Charlton, or "North Side," as it is called, had the only post-office in the town, and with the exception of Dresser Hill, was the largest settlement in town; being on the turnpike between Boston and Hartford, and having a large public house, now in use as a dwelling. It is related that Lafayette, on his way to Hartford, was entertained at this inn; and near it is the field in which he reviewed a body of cavalry sent to meet and escort him on his journey. At North Side is a small hill, or knoll, called Indian Hill, formerly an Indian burying-place. In the early history of the town there were at this place tanneries; manufactories of hoes and scythes; also a gin-still, malt-house and brewery, besides pot and pearl ash works. In 1837, Charlton contained a cotton-mill, in which large quantities of thread were made. Other industries have occupied the attention of the inhabitants, but have ceased to exist, or given place to different employments. Agriculture is now the leading pursuit, and Charlton farms and their products are not surpassed by any in the county.

The history of schools is contemporary with that of the church, and of the town itself. In the first warrant for a district meeting there was an article "to make such grant of money as the district may think necessary, for the schooling of the children," and when it was acted upon, eight pounds, "lawful money," was voted, while less than seven pounds were granted for all other purposes. In December of the same year—1755—it was voted "that the schools be kept in two places in Charlton; the one on the north side and the other on the south side of the district." It is supposed that by "South Side" is meant the present centre, and what was then called "North Side" is now known by the same name. On Feb. 7, 1757, the town voted to raise no money for schools, or for Gospel purposes; but in July following a better spirit prevailed, and the sum of thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence, was appropriated for the former. At the same meeting, also, the first school committee was appointed, the members of which were: Ebenezer White, Ebenezer Hammond, John Stevens, Ebenezer Mackintire and Lieutenant Nathaniel Blood. In the same year it was voted to have schools in three places. At first, schools were maintained only during the winter, but, in 1756, there was an article in the warrant, "To see if the district will allow some part of the money that was granted last year for the schools to be laid out in hiring a school dame this summer for the benefit of those that have families of small children among us." This, however, was decided in the negative, but soon after it was voted that "the school committee shall provide schooling as each part shall choose," when, it is believed, the practice of having summer schools began. For several years the schools were not kept in a house erected for the purpose, as it was voted in 1757 that "each part shall provide its own school-house." In 1760, six school-houses were built and six school districts were established,

and in 1766 "it was voted to have eight school houses, and a committee was chosen to lay out the town into school wards and fix bounds and the places for the school houses." For many years the town, as such, built no school-houses; each district erected its own. The town is now divided into thirteen school districts, having a house and school in each, under the supervision of a committee of three. The number of pupils is about three hundred, the school property is valued at seven thousand dollars, and the school expenses for the year 1878 were three thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars.

In the civil war Charlton furnished one hundred and seventy-five men — eighteen more than was demanded by the State. The first town meeting held to devise war measures was called May 9, 1861, when ten thousand dollars was voted for war purposes; ten dollars a month to volunteers, and one dollar a day for exercise in military drill; also to the wife of each volunteer, or head of his family, one dollar and fifty cents a week; to children under twelve years of age, fifty cents a week; and if a volunteer was killed while in service, it was voted to continue the aid to his family while his company served. Arms and equipments not provided by the State, were furnished by the town.

On the 2d of July, 1862, it was voted to give volunteers one hundred and ten dollars each, and a committee was appointed to encourage enlistments. Aug. 21, 1862, one hundred and fifty dollars was offered to all who should enlist on the town's quota, and forty dollars additional to all who had entered the service; also, the town appropriated, for war purposes, fifteen hundred dollars, making in all eleven thousand five hundred dollars. On the 14th of August, 1862, one hundred dollars was voted to volunteers who should enter the service for nine months, and on the 20th of the same month \$4,000 was raised to pay volunteers. In the December following, two hundred and fifty dollars was voted to three years' volunteers, and the selectmen were authorized to hire men for the army. June 1, 1863, four thousand dollars was appropriated to pay soldiers. On June 15, 1864, one hundred and twenty-five dollars was given to volunteers, and on August 23, of the same year, the same amount was voted to all who procured substitutes. Aug. 12, 1865, the town voted to raise by taxation, money to reimburse all citizens who had aided in furnishing men for the United States service, and the treasurer was empowered to borrow funds for the purpose; the town also appropriated five thousand four hundred dollars to that end. The total amount expended for war purposes was twenty-two thousand dollars (\$22,000); for State aid, \$11,746.68.

The following are the names of deceased soldiers belonging to the town: Alvin B. Dagar, Mower Livingston, Lieut. Albert Woodbury, George W. Willard, Seymour Adams, John A. Young, Cornelius P. Davis, Frederick Young, Chauncy Harris, George Knight, Hartwell Newton, Juan Young, Michael B. Hayes, Hezekiah E. Aldrich, Van O. McKinsty, George B. Gard-

ner, Elliot H. Robbins, Wilson D. Stone, Harry March, Elisha W. Buxton, Calvin J. Darling, Nelson Harris, Andrew Moore and Mansur Gould.

Charlton has been represented in the State senate by Gen. Salem Towne, Maj. John Spurr and Rufus B. Dodge. (Maj. Spurr was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820; and his father, Gen. John Spurr, was one of the Boston Tea Party.)

Following are the names of representatives to the General Court: Isaiah Blood, 1775; Jacob Davis, 1776; Jacob Davis and Caleb Ammidown, 1777; Caleb Ammidown, 1778; Jacob Davis, 1780; Ebenezer Davis, 1782; Caleb Ammidown, 1783; Ebenezer Davis, 1784; Caleb Ammidown, 1786; Capt. Samuel Robinson and the Rev. Caleb Curtis, 1787; Samuel Robinson, 1788; Gen. Salem Towne, 1790 to 1793, inclusive; Caleb Ammidown and Salem Towne, 1794; Salem Towne, 1795; Ebenezer Davis, 1796; Salem Towne, 1797; Ebenezer Davis, 1798; Salem Towne, 1799; Levi Davis, 1800; Salem Towne, 1801 to 1804, inclusive; Gen. John Spurr, 1805; Samuel Robinson and John Spurr, 1806, '07; John Spurr and James Walcott, 1808; John Spurr, Ephraim Willard and Thaddeus Marble, 1809-11; Ephraim Willard and William P. Rider, 1812; John Spurr and Isaiah Rider, 1813; John Spurr and William P. Rider, 1814; John Spurr and Isaiah Rider, 1815; Ephraim Willard and Isaiah Rider, 1816 to 1819, inclusive; John Spurr and Isaiah Rider, 1820; Samuel Hall, 1821, '22; Elder James Boomer, 1823; John Spurr, 1824; James Boomer, 1826; Samuel D. Spurr, 1828, '29; John Hill, Jr., and Issachar Comings, 1830; Issachar Comings and Ebenezer White, 1831; Ebenezer White and Rufus Mixer, 1832; Rufus Mixer and Paul Rich, 1833; Paul Rich and Jonas Tucker, 1834; Jonas Tucker, and William P. Willard, 1835; William P. Willard and Amasa Stone, 1836; Rufus Mixer and Amasa Stone, 1837; Ebenezer White, Moses Willard and Aaron Willard, 1838; Aaron Marble, Alpheus White and Simeon Lamb, 1839; John P. Marble, 1840, '41; William B. Boomer, 1842, '43; William Marble, 1844, '45; Levi Hammond, 1846; Simeon Lamb, 1847; Nehemiah B. Stone, 1848, '49; Luther Litchfield, 1850, '51; Levi Hammond, 1852, '53; Alfred Mower, 1854; Mason Marble, 1855, '56; Aaron H. Marble, 1857; Henry Clark, 1863; Albert C. Willard, 1865; Joseph H. Hathaway, 1867; Alfred E. Fiske, 1870; Moses D. Woodbury, 1872; Andrus March, 1875; George D. Woodbury, 1878.

Rev. Martin Ruter, D. D., widely known in his day as an author and minister, was born in Charlton, April 3, 1785.

William T. G. Morton, M. D., discoverer of the use of ether as an anæsthetic in surgical operations, was born in Charlton, Aug. 9, 1819, and died in New York, July 15, 1868.

Gen. Salem Towne was born in Charlton, March 26, 1780. His father, Salem Towne, was the second major-general in the Massachusetts militia after the Revolution, and was a member of the State Senate and Executive Council. Gen. Towne, like his father before him, held many subordinate offices in the

militia. In 1814, when the State troops were ordered out by Gov. Strong, Gen. Towne commanded a regiment in South Boston, and while there was commissioned brigadier-general. In 1817, he was elected major-general of the seventh division of the State militia. He was elected to the State Senate in the years 1821, 1822 and 1856. Gen. Towne was highly esteemed, at home and abroad, for his great kindness of heart, and for his integrity and worth. He died on February 17, 1872.

Statistics — Population, 1765, 739; 1776, 1,310; 1770, 1,965; 1830, 2,173; 1860, 2,047; 1870, 1,878; 1875, 1,852; families, 460; polls, 567; voters, 470; dwellings, 423; farms, 250; acres cultivated, 5,693; acreage of farms, 23,379; horses 311; cows, 846; sheep, 72; value of farm property, \$998,146; value of agricultural products, \$225,404; capital invested in manufactures, \$40,800; value of products of manufactures, \$158,150; persons employed in manufactures, 203; total value of products, \$383,554; value of personal estate, \$264,140; value of real estate, \$746,610; total valuation, \$1,010,750; rate of taxation in 1878, \$10.50 per \$1,000.

CLINTON.

BY JOHN T. DAME, ESQ.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST BEGINNINGS — LOCATION — SURFACE FEATURES — WATER POWER — MANUFACTURES — INCORPORATION — FIRST POST-OFFICE — SCHOOL-HOUSES AND PUBLIC PROPERTY — TOWN HALL — FINANCIAL CONDITION.

THE origin of Clinton properly dates from the introduction of manufacturing by machinery invented by Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow, into the southerly part of Lancaster, about the year 1838. Incidents relating to this portion of Lancaster, transpiring subsequent to this event and previous to the town organization, are intimately associated with the history of Clinton, and will receive a brief notice here. Events occurring at an earlier date, which really belong to Lancaster and make part of its history, had very little connection with the origin and growth of the present town, and will not be farther considered at this time.

The town of Clinton was incorporated March 14, 1850, and completed its town organization the 1st of April following. It took its name from its village designation of Clintonville, omitting the "ville" as an incongruity for the name of a town. This appellation was derived from its first corporation, "The Clinton Company."

Clinton is situated twelve miles north-east from Worcester by air-line distance, sixteen miles by rail, and west from Boston thirty-three miles by air-line and forty-five miles by rail. Its latitude, by observations of Mr. J. C. Hoadley in 1848, is $42^{\circ} 25'$ north, and its longitude is $71^{\circ} 41'$ west. It is bounded on the north and north-west by Lancaster, on the east by Bolton and Berlin, on the south by Boylston, and on the west by Sterling. It has an area of seven and two-thirds square miles, or 4,907 acres, and is of an irregular form, because its north and north-west line was drawn to accommodate the preferences of inhabitants who desired to remain in the old town.

Its surface is diversified and broken. The Nashua River flows through it for a distance of nearly five miles, circuitously from south to north. The banks

of the river for about half a mile after crossing the town line at the south, are low, and the land, plain and meadow. They then rise abruptly from near the water's edge to a considerable height, leaving a narrow river valley between. The elevation on the east side of the river rises gradually from the river to the height of about two hundred and twenty-five feet, where it is called Wilson Hill. From thence the high land recedes slightly and continues through the town. On the west side the elevation is about two miles in length, when it disappears, and plain and meadow border the river to the town line. The high land in the south-easterly part of the town falls away into an uneven surface and forms Clam-shell Pond, a natural sheet of water of about thirty acres, whose waters pass into Assabet River. The high land on the west side of the Nashua has a depression near the north part of it, the west side of which bears the name of Burditt Hill, and the east, of Harris Hill. The former is the higher, and has an elevation, at its highest point, of about two hundred feet. A curious formation of sand hills and deep valleys is found in the south-western part of the town. Among them is Sandy Pond, a natural sheet of very pure water of about fifty acres. It is fed by springs, and portions of it are of great depth. In a southerly direction from Sandy Pond, in nearly a line with it, and within a distance of half a mile, are four minute ponds, each surrounded by hills and having no apparent connection with each other. Beyond, and south of this sand-hill formation, is King's Brook, a stream of some magnitude in the spring, which rises in high land in the south-eastern part of Sterling, and flows south-easterly into the Nashua. This, until recently, has furnished power for a turning and lumber mill. North of this sand-hill formation and Burditt Hill, is South Meadow Brook, a considerable stream, which also rises in the eastern part of Sterling, and flows north-east in Clinton for a distance of about two and a half miles into the Nashua River.

North of this brook this sand-hill and valley formation again appears, and extends to the Lancaster line. Adjoining the brook on the north side, and connected with it by a natural outlet, is Mossy Pond, a natural body of shallow water of about thirty acres extent, and also fed by springs. The Nashua River, in its course through the town, falls a distance of about thirty feet. It furnishes the extensive water-power of the Lancaster Mills and of Harris's Comb Works, and has a fall of about six feet lower down the stream, which has not yet been improved. South Meadow Brook, in its passage through the town, makes a fall almost as great as that of the river.

The dam of the Bigelow Carpet Company sets back the waters of this brook into Mossy and Sandy ponds, and with them forms the reservoir of that company of about two hundred and thirty-six acres in extent. Below the dam and lower down the stream is the yarn-mill of Messrs. Frost & Howard, and still farther down, the site where stood, until 1876, the braid works of Boyce Brothers. This stream was undoubtedly the first one, in point of time, in the county of Worcester, appropriated to mill purposes. John Prescott, the first

settler and mill-owner in Lancaster, built his first mill about the year 1665 near the present location of the yarn-mill of Messrs. Frost & Howard; and Lancaster is the oldest town in the county. Another stream, called Goodrich Hill Brook, the outlet of the Four Ponds in Lancaster, runs for a short distance in the north-western part of the town, and supplies the extensive lumber works of Mr. E. S. Fuller.

The taxable lands within the limits of the town are estimated at three thousand seven hundred and seventy-three acres, and the remaining portion of its four thousand nine hundred and seven acres, one thousand one hundred and thirty-four acres, is regarded as not taxable. Of the latter quantity, three hundred acres are supposed to be covered by water, two-thirds of the remainder are estimated as occupied by railroads, highways, public buildings and grounds, and the remaining third is considered waste land. The Common, churches, most of the public buildings, and many of the finest private residences in town, are located upon the western slope and summit of Harris Hill, and most of the remaining residences are situated upon the top and sides of Burditt and Wilson hills, and in the valleys about the several manufacturing establishments.

The business before mentioned to which Clinton owes its birth, past and present prosperity, and future expectations, was begun in a small way, at first, in the old mills of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company, erected many years before. The inventions of Mr. Bigelow were novel, the machinery employed was new and untested, and business for a time made slow progress; but at length the wonderful achievements of the coach-lace and quilt looms were developed, and a successful result of the enterprise was established.

The business was then extended to the utmost capacity of the old mills, and the quilt-mill was enlarged; but the mills were still small, and this portion of the town of Lancaster exhibited but a slight appearance of growth. The village was, up to this time, confined to its original limits, and did not extend beyond Main and Water streets, a small settlement about the Pitts Mill, where the Lancaster Mills now stand, and a few farm-houses on the old Bolton and Worcester road, on the east side of the river. The success of this enterprise only led Mr. Bigelow to undertake greater ones, and the project of the Lancaster Mills was devised in 1843, and the details arranged.

In the winter of 1843-4, a charter was obtained, a corporation organized, the mill and mill-property of the Messrs. Pitts and other adjoining lands were purchased. The original buildings of the Lancaster Mills, the dam and other structures were erected according to the designs of Mr. Bigelow, and filled with machinery selected and arranged by him, and the works were put in operation. Dwelling and boarding houses, and other convenient structures for the comfort and convenience of the extensive community required for the management of a first-class mill, were at the same time provided.

Individual enterprise kept pace with that of the corporation in the construction of stores and other places of business for the supply of the wants of the

expected operatives, and the requisite dwellings for the usual population of such a settlement, not directly connected with the mills.

The impulses created by these various operations set everything in motion in this section of the town; new streets and avenues were laid out, and buildings erected. The plan of the town was at this time arranged, the principal streets and common laid out, and the village assumed very much the appearance which it now exhibits. The Clinton Company's works were also extensively enlarged, and this portion of the town was estimated to contain a population of about three thousand people, instead of two hundred or three hundred, which would probably comprise its inhabitants in 1838.

This section of the town at this time, anticipating its remarkable growth, assumed the appellation of Clintonville, and obtained a post-office, which it called by the same name. The inhabitants of Clintonville, in the fall of 1849, had begun to feel the connection with Lancaster for municipal purposes a great inconvenience, and the people of the other sections of the town, not appreciating the numerous wants of this growing community, sometimes opposed their gratification, and a separation was demanded. This demand at first met with a storm of opposition from the other sections of Lancaster, but Clintonville, regarding separation as vital and to be secured at all hazards, decided to try negotiation before making application to the General Court as a matter of right. An offer of \$10,000 and a relinquishment of all claims to town property in Lancaster was accordingly proposed by Clintonville, and accepted by Lancaster. This arrangement was adopted by vote of the town, sanctioned by the General Court, and an act for the incorporation of the town of Clinton followed without objection.

This transaction was open and straightforward on the part of Clinton, and the pecuniary consideration was proposed to remunerate Lancaster for equitable claims, on account of roads, bridges and paupers, presented by it. It burdened Clinton with a heavy debt, which has ever since rested upon it, and it is by no means certain that the object sought might not have been granted at once by the General Court without any consideration or pecuniary compensation. If this request had not been immediately granted, it must inevitably have been obtained as a right after a short delay. While Lancaster parted with nothing of value to itself, except, possibly, the advantage from a portion of the taxes assessed upon the inhabitants of Clintonville, and their aid in the payment of the debt of Lancaster, it received directly the large sum of money offered, and property which exceeded in value the town indebtedness.

The only public property received by Clinton on its incorporation was five school-houses, plainly and cheaply constructed, with accommodations for one school each. These houses were the property of school districts, numbers 10 and 11, in Lancaster, and were incumbered with a debt of \$3,900, very nearly if not more than their full value. The census of 1850 credits the new town

with a population of 3,115, and the books of its assessors for that year with a taxable property of \$909,148. This exhibit of the private financial condition of Clinton gives it a favorable position among its sister towns; but, in its corporate capacity, it was almost literally destitute of any facilities for the discharge of its public duties. It had no cemetery for the interment of its dead; it was destitute of apparatus for protection against fire; its poor could only be farmed out for support to whomsoever would take them. Its elections and other public meetings needed a public hall for their accommodation. Its high school was taught in a leased building, its other schools were crowded, and it already had a debt of \$14,000.

These numerous wants could not all be provided for at once, and a selection of the most pressing became necessary. A cemetery and the commencement of a system of fire protection received the first attention. A beautiful spot, of about ten acres, in a central and retired situation, was selected for a cemetery. It was properly laid out and arranged, has been well cared for to the present time, and is now an inviting place where all can go with satisfaction. The system of fire protection expanded into a regular fire department, which will be more particularly noticed elsewhere. A commodious and well-equipped almshouse, with a small farm of ten acres, in which are ample accommodations for all whose necessities compel them to ask for public relief, was soon provided.

The calls upon the town for suitable buildings for the public schools, considerable at first and renewed almost annually, have always received a generous response, and the town now enjoys well-appointed accommodations, generally of a substantial character, for twenty-two different schools, and soon to be increased by four more rooms now in process of construction. The last pressing want to be supplied was the public hall and convenient offices for the agents of the town. This want was one of the first felt, but the last relieved. It was endured, not always with patience, till 1872, when it was amply relieved by the spacious town hall erected that year. These early and expensive wants prevented the payment of any portion of the large debt, the original heritage of Clinton, except the accruing interest, until 1861, the time of the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion.

The calls upon the public treasury during the war were so sudden, frequent and extensive, that they could not be met as they arose, and an increase of the town debt was the only alternative in the emergency. Loans were accordingly contracted, while the war lasted, to the amount of \$21,000, and the debt of the town, on the return of peace, was \$35,000. This happy event was followed by a season of unusual prosperity and growth; but, while individual accumulations were everywhere so prevalent, the demands upon the treasury to supply the increasing public wants were still greater, and outstanding liabilities remained as before.

The necessity of a hall for public gatherings increased with the growth of

Clinton, and the town hall was built on credit, increasing the town debt to \$146,000. At the same time, however, a series of funding resolutions was adopted, providing for the issue of town bonds to the amount of \$125,000, at six per cent. interest, payable in twenty years, and \$6,500 was to be paid annually. The numbers of the bonds to be paid were to be drawn by lot, and no new debt was to be contracted until these bonds were paid. The pledge as to increased indebtedness has thus far been kept, and Clinton's liabilities in 1879 stand at \$106,000, a little less than the cost of its town hall in 1872, and less than three per cent. of its valuation. The tax rate of the town, in consequence of its frequent and large improvements, has always been high, which is the penalty everywhere paid for thrift and growth, but such rate, it is believed, does not compare unfavorably with other towns similarly situated in this respect.

The increase of the town in population since 1850, as shown by the census, is as follows: in 1860, 3,859; in 1865, 4,021; in 1870, 5,430; in 1875, 6,781; or 3,666 gain in twenty-five years, and 117 per cent. of the number in 1850. The number of voters in the town, at the several times when enumerations have been made, is as follows: in 1850 the aggregate gubernatorial vote was 297; in 1855 the number, by census, was 467; in 1865, 518; in 1875, 1,151.

The growth of the town since 1875 can only be estimated; the means of comparison that we have show a considerable increase, and the population of the town in 1879 must be very nearly if not quite 7,500. The increase of the valuation of the town since its first assessment is much more than that of its population, and is as follows: in 1860, \$1,676,064; in 1865, \$2,017,299; in 1870, \$3,021,080.13; and in 1875, \$4,548,192. There has been a considerable increase of property since 1875, but the valuation of that year and 1870 was in irredeemable war-currency, and the subsequent appreciation of the currency and depreciation of values would require some abatement from these last figures, and the valuation of 1879, on a gold basis, is about \$4,000,000.

The first inhabitants coming to this territory under the changed condition of affairs were generally young men, or persons whose previous business had not been a success, and they possessed limited capital. A large proportion of the real estate of the town, consequently, had been procured on credit, and individual indebtedness was the rule, and that to a considerable amount. For a number of years a large proportion of the profits of business was absorbed by this indebtedness. It was, however, in process of time, to a large extent removed, and, by the commencement of the war, the business men of Clinton, including overseers and mill operatives, had generally discharged their liabilities, and were in a comfortable pecuniary condition.



TOWN HALL, CLINTON, MASS.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION AND WAR — RESPONSES TO THE CALL — STATE OF BUSINESS AFTER THE PEACE — DISASTER — BREAKING OF A RESERVOIR — EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES — BIGELOW MECHANICS' INSTITUTE — TOWN LIBRARY.

THE breaking out of the war put a check to all new enterprises, and reduced the works in operation to the point of simple existence, and, for the first year and a half of the war, the business of the town was carried on simply to preserve property, retain the help, and obtain the means to live. As the war went on, diminished production and scarcity of the raw material created a demand for manufactured goods, and before its close there was ample business, at remunerative prices, for all whom the increasing calls of the army permitted to remain at home.

The patriot feeling at Clinton, as elsewhere at the North, possessed all hearts, and life and purse were freely offered on the altar of their country. At an impromptu citizens' meeting, in April, 1861, holden to provide material aid for the military company of the town, then expecting an immediate call to the field, the sum of \$2,000 was raised in a short time, and placed in the hands of a committee of citizens for its benefit and that of other soldiers who might follow it. Public appropriations and private subscriptions were freely and liberally made throughout the war. The sons of Clinton were not less ready to offer their persons and lives for the defence of their country. Three hundred and six were enrolled on the lists of the army and navy during the War of the Rebellion. Of these, fifty-eight are known to have offered up their lives in the service of their country, and how many more have since fallen from the effects of wounds or disease contracted in the service is not known, but the roll, doubtless, is a considerable one.

Of the sons of Clinton deemed worthy of an official position, one was appointed colonel, three became captains, and thirteen were made lieutenants. Clinton furnished nineteen more soldiers than her allotted quota. The town paid \$11,319 in bounties to ninety-nine men, and received back \$3,000 for that sum voluntarily paid to thirty men supposed to be furnished more than the quota of the town. The State subsequently revised this quota, and charged the town with eleven more men, which it provided.

The close of the war was followed by ten years of remarkable business prosperity; labor and materials of all descriptions were in steady demand, values increased, and landed property soon felt the impulse. In the course of this term, labor and materials advanced a large per cent., and land in many locations commanded a price several fold greater than at its commencement. This term of great prosperity received a check in 1875, when the financial troubles, which for two years had prevailed in other parts of the country, began to be felt in

Clinton. All plans for new enterprises and the extension of established business were abandoned, and labor, not required by works in operation, was thrown out of employment. Established business sympathized with this check, and a general fall in prices followed.

The tendency of prices for labor and materials has generally been downward since the year 1875. The market for unskilled labor has been overstocked and that labor poorly paid, and more or less suffering among this class of persons has existed. Profits in Clinton have, on the whole, been small during that time, and few persons have made any accumulations; but hard times have been less severely felt here than in most towns with similar industries, and business operations, with a few exceptional cases, have been uninterrupted.

In March, 1876, a serious disaster occurred in the town, causing the loss of many thousand of dollars' worth of property, and the destruction of several successful manufacturing establishments, depriving thereby a considerable number of laborers of profitable employment. This disaster arose from the sudden washing away of an earth embankment on the northerly side of Mossy Pond, which held the waters of the extensive reservoir of the Bigelow Carpet Company. This reservoir, crossed near its centre by the track of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, had been swollen by a severe storm of snow followed by a very heavy rain, to an extent never before known. Sunday, March 26, the waters unperceived began to make their way over this embankment, which was about forty feet in length and ten feet in height.

The body of the embankment and the land adjoining, below the loam, was a mass of sand, and, immediately after a passage was made, a wide and deep channel was cut and an immense volume of water flowed out, sweeping everything before it. It first struck an embankment of the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg Railroad some forty feet in height. This held the vast flood for a few moments but it soon forced its way through, making a channel one hundred feet in width. It then swept through the extensive tannery works of Messrs. Bryant & King, crushed the buildings, covered the yards and vats, to a depth of several feet, with sand and mud, cut through Sterling Street and spread itself over the extensive meadows below, carrying along with it two dwelling-houses and partially undermining several others. The embankment of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad restrained the flood for a short time, but it soon made its way through this, and, sweeping on, carried completely away the comb-shops of Mr. Charles Frazer, and the braid-mills of Boyce & Brothers. The torrent of raging water then precipitated itself upon the wide meadows of Mr. E. A. Carrier, which it covered with sand, mud and the debris of buildings. A wide and deep stream continued to flow until it had completely drained the carpet mill reservoir, except such of the waters of Sandy Pond as were below the connecting channel. The Mossy Pond embankment has been replaced by a substantial cement dam, capable, it is believed, of sustaining any conceivable action of the water upon it, and the reservoir

has been restored. The Carpet Company has been compelled to expend large sums of money in the restoration of their reservoir, and was deprived of the use of its water-power for an entire season. The railway embankments have been repaired without other damages than the cost of such repairs.

The tannery to a very limited extent has been replaced, and business resumed there in a small way by other parties, but the extensive and prosperous works of Messrs. Bryant & King are gone from the town, not probably to be restored. The comb and braid works were entirely ruined, and no one as yet has attempted to rebuild them or make any use of the power where they stood.

The educational facilities of the section of Lancaster now comprising the town of Clinton, at the time this history commenced, consisted of two small ungraded country schools in two school districts. These schools and districts remained substantially unchanged till 1844. Subsequently two additional schools were established. A system of rules and regulations was adopted in 1847, dividing the schools in Clintonville into three grades, and establishing the qualifications for each. The control of these schools was, by this system, placed in the hands of a board of overseers, and admission to them was prohibited without the permission of this board. These grades, designated as first, second and third, corresponded to the primary, grammar and high school course of later times. The statistics of 1847 show a total of two hundred and seventy scholars in five schools then existing, and to these two more schools were added previous to 1853, and the same system was continued to that time.

The second and third schools were located in separate houses, and each taught by a male teacher. A new house for the two higher grades, arranged for four rooms, was erected in 1853, and they were united and placed together under the charge of a master and two female assistants. When this change was made the united school was called the grammar school. The other schools were named primary schools, and the terms first, second and third schools were discontinued. The system of school regulations, established by Clintonville, was adopted by the town after its incorporation, the town school committee having been substituted for the board of overseers. The grammar school was divided into three departments according to attainments, and the first department, though the school was called a grammar school, was expected to furnish a more complete course of education than was provided before the change. Scholars from all sections of the town were admissible to the grammar school, and those from particular localities were assigned to the primary schools in the section in which they resided.

This system of schools has been changed by making the highest department of the grammar school a high school, and two grades of grammar schools have since been added. The course of the primary schools has been advanced and most of them divided into two divisions, the higher division corresponding

very nearly to that of the secondary or intermediate schools of cities and towns which have such schools. Those primary schools which are not thus divided perform the work of both the primary and secondary, and the lower division that of the ordinary primary schools.

The number and styles of the several schools of Clinton are as follows: High school, with master and female assistant; one grammar school, ninth grade, one teacher; two grammar schools, eighth grade, one teacher each; two grammar schools, seventh grade, one teacher each; three grammar schools, sixth grade, one teacher each; six upper primary schools, fifth and fourth grades, one teacher each; eight lower primary schools, third, second and first grades, one teacher each; one school, both classes primary, fifth, fourth, third, second and first grades, one teacher. Special teachers in each of the branches of music and drawing have been employed for a portion of the time for several years in the public schools of Clinton. All grammar-school studies have been removed from the high school, and the classical and scientific course of three years provided as in ordinary high schools. The various grammar grades pursue the studies assigned to those grades in other schools of similar character in the Commonwealth.

The number of children in the town between the ages of five and fifteen, the legal school age, at different periods from 1850 to 1879, is shown by the following figures: in 1850 there were 429; in 1860, 675; in 1865, 897; in 1870, 1,069; in 1875, 1,448; in 1879, 1,579. The average number of members of all the schools for the year ending March, 1851, was 379; for the year ending March, 1861, was 576; for the year ending March, 1871, was 896; for the year ending March, 1876, was 1,199; for the year ending March, 1879, was 1,339.

The masters of the Clinton high school have been: Messrs. G. N. Bigelow, C. W. Walker, J. S. Phillips, H. S. Nourse, F. A. Fiske, Miss E. S. Owen, D. I. Jocelyn, M. C. Stebbins, J. H. Hunt, and A. E. Ford.

Evening schools were commenced in the winter of 1877-8 for youth of both sexes over fifteen years of age. They were continued for twelve weeks with three sessions per week. The attendance was voluntary, and those who were present regularly made good progress in the elementary branches which only were taught. These schools were continued through the fall and winter of 1878-9, with a smaller number of pupils in the aggregate, but a greater regularity of attendance. The sessions were held twice a week, and the result of the schools was satisfactory to those in whose charge they were.

The policy of the gentlemen having charge of the public schools of Clinton has always been to procure the best available teachers, to compensate them liberally for efficient service, and, when assured of their efficiency, to retain them as long as they were willing to remain. These schools have usually enjoyed the advantage of experienced teachers, who have rarely left to engage in teaching elsewhere. The public schools have uniformly been regarded with

high favor by all the citizens of Clinton. Appropriations, almost without exception, asked for by the guardians of the schools, have been cheerfully and readily voted. The education of the children of the town, whether wealthy or otherwise, has been very generally acquired at the public schools, and very few persons have gone abroad for instruction before having availed themselves of the opportunities furnished at home. One or more private schools, with a limited number of pupils, have usually been maintained in town.

The statutes of the Commonwealth require the attendance of all children between the ages of eight and fourteen years upon the public schools for a term of at least twenty weeks in each year. A heavy penalty is imposed upon those neglecting this duty. Clinton early adopted all the requisite proceedings for the enforcement of these laws. The agents of the various mills in town have always fully and cheerfully co-operated with the school committee in the performance of this duty, and the rights of all its children are secured to them so far as a faithful execution of these laws will permit.

The Bigelow Mechanics' Institute was established in 1846, and was designed, according to its preamble, "to promote improvement in literature, science and the mechanic arts." It was a voluntary association, and relied upon subscriptions and donations to procure the requisite funds for the accomplishment of its purposes. Its means of public improvement were a reading-room, library, lectures and discussions. Its reading-room was furnished with the leading newspapers, periodicals and magazines, and was open to the public during all business hours of secular days. Its library was collected and sustained by donations and subscriptions not required for expenses and the support of its reading-room. It consequently commenced in a small way, and increased moderately. It was open on one evening in the week for the delivery and exchange of books. Weekly meetings of the association were held for business and discussion. The Institute soon attained a respectable membership; its reading-room was well patronized, its lectures and discussions were fully attended. It continued in a prosperous condition for several years, when the patronage of its reading-room declined, the means for the replenishment of the library became less, and the association was merged in the Bigelow Library Association, which took its effects and assumed the office of furnishing reading matter for the public.

This association was organized as a joint-stock company in 1853, and its possessions were the individual property of the stockholders. Its purpose was to provide a library sufficiently extensive to meet the intellectual wants of the growing town, and erect a building which should contain the requisite rooms for the use of the library, and others for rent. The income from the latter, it was expected, would not only be a remuneration for the use of the money expended, but would gradually repay it. The liberal gift of \$1,000 from Mr. E. B. Bigelow, and generous donations from other parties, and stock subscriptions at the outset, gave it an auspicious commencement, and it continued to

prosper, increasing its number of books and its means of usefulness. In the early days of its history it also provided for the winter seasons courses of lectures of the best available talent.

In 1873, suitable accommodations for a town library having been prepared in the town hall, this valuable collection of 4,400 volumes was donated to the town, as the nucleus of a free public library. When this had been done, the principal purpose of its organization having been accomplished, it disposed of its other effects, divided the proceeds among its stockholders, and the corporation was dissolved. The new library was styled "The Bigelow Free Public Library," still retaining the name of its constant friend and generous benefactor, Mr. E. B. Bigelow. The donation of the old association came to it, coupled with the reasonable conditions that the library should remain free, under suitable regulations; that it should be properly cared for, and that a sum of not less than five hundred dollars should be annually expended in its enlargement. This library is under the control of a board of six trustees, two of which are chosen annually by the town, for a term of three years. The privileges of this library are open to every inhabitant of the town above the age of fourteen years who complies with the regulations of the trustees.

The library-room is a semi-circular annex to the main hall of 49 feet 8 inches diameter, exterior dimensions, 24 feet 10 inches radius, and of the same height as the first story of the principal building. It is well lighted by a line of large windows encircling it, and placed near the ceiling. It has a spacious entrance-hall, reading-room, and librarian's room, which are located in the main building adjoining the library. The library, reading-room, entrance-hall and librarian's room are beautifully finished in ash. The reading and librarian's rooms are provided with neat and appropriate furniture. The public acts of the citizens of the town thus far show a full appreciation of the great public benefit of this library. The annual town appropriations for its increase have hitherto averaged \$1,190, instead of \$500, the required amount. The number of volumes added to the library since it became free is 4,000, and it now contains 8,400 volumes of choice and valuable reading matter. The number of names registered of persons taking books from the library the first year was 1,024, and the number in March, 1879, is 2,393. The number of volumes taken from it during the year ending the same March was 31,776.

Temporary associations for providing public lectures were occasionally formed after the relinquishment of this duty by the Bigelow Library Association. Since the completion of the town hall an organization styled the Clinton Lyceum Association was formed, which has supplied the demands of the people up to the present time.

CHAPTER III.

NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE — CHURCH FOUNDED — OTHER DENOMINATIONS — FIRE DEPARTMENT — DISTRICT COURT — SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS — THE COMMON — SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

THE "Lancaster Courant" was established in Clintonville by Messrs. Ballard & Messenger, Aug. 1, 1846. It was a news and family paper, intended especially for the village and vicinity. It was independent in politics and on moral questions, but was generally in sympathy with the majority in the State in both respects. Its circulation was mainly confined to the locality whose current events were particularly noticed in its columns, and its subscription list was not large. Its advertising columns were well filled with paying advertisements, and it enjoyed a good degree of prosperity. It was continuously published by Ballard & Messenger and E. Ballard till December, 1861, when its publication was suspended. The editorial department of the paper was under the control of a number of gentlemen, among whom were Edwin Bynner and Rev. L. J. Livermore. The name of the paper was changed to "The Saturday Courant" when Clintonville became Clinton. The publication of the paper was resumed by Mr. W. J. Coulter in October, 1865, under the name of "The Clinton Courant." The editorial control of it was assumed by Mr. W. E. Parkhurst, and it is at the present time published by Mr. Coulter, with Mr. Parkhurst as editor. The general plan of the paper remains without change, except the improvements in matter and execution which have been made in newspapers in all directions during this long portion of time. It has largely increased its subscription list, and is favorably noticed by the exchanges of the day. The absentees and former residents of the town eagerly welcome it as the best means of informing themselves of the various changes occurring in the town.

The publication of "The Clinton Weekly Record" was commenced by Mr. J. W. Ellam, in 1877. This journal, also, is a news and family paper, similar in its general plan and the matter contained in its columns to "The Clinton Courant." The name of its editor does not appear at the head of the paper. It is an independent paper, and the opinions of its conductor on politics and moral questions are not so generally apparent from its columns. It is an enterprising paper, has obtained quite a circulation and advertising list in the town and neighborhood, and is apparently prosperous.

The gentlemen who initiated the new manufactures in this section of Lancaster possessed strong faith in the efficacy of moral and religious culture, to subserve the true interests of individuals and communities. They also regarded the elevation and moral and religious culture of the operatives in their employ of not less importance to themselves, in securing from such operatives a higher

degree of fidelity in the performance of their various duties. No place of public worship then existed within the limits of what is now Clinton, and the number and pecuniary resources of its inhabitants did not justify the construction of a new one. The existing means for such culture were attendance upon public worship in the centre of Lancaster, and the neighborhood meeting and Sunday school. All these instrumentalities were encouraged and aided by the example and material assistance of these gentlemen. The first church in Clintonville was organized in 1844, with fifty-one members. It was of the Evangelical Congregational or Orthodox denomination. Its first place of worship was a chapel on Main Street, and it was then attended by most of the inhabitants of the village of every faith. Two years after, it erected a church on Walnut Street, which it immediately occupied as a place of worship. This house has been twice enlarged, and now contains accommodations for nearly eight hundred worshippers. The congregation ordinarily attending here number about six hundred, and the church contained, in 1878, three hundred and seventy members. The various Protestant churches in town have been from time to time taken from this one, yet still it has a larger attendance upon its services than ever before, and its condition was never more prosperous. The pastors of this church have been Revs. J. M. R. Eaton, W. H. Corning, W. D. Hitchcock, W. W. Winchester, Benjamin Judkins, De Witt S. Clark and Charles Wetherby.

The First Baptist Church, the second in Clintonville, was formed in 1847, with seventeen members. It occupied the chapel on Main Street as a place of worship for two years. It then erected a church on Walnut Street, the site of which was the gift of Mr. H. N. Bigelow, and has since worshipped there. This building was extensively enlarged and improved in 1868, and is now a fine and commodious church. This church has continued to increase in numbers, influence and the audience attendant upon its services, to the present time. It has now a membership of two hundred and fifty, its congregation numbers about five hundred, and its church has accommodations for about six hundred persons. Rev. Charles M. Bowers was chosen pastor on its organization, and has remained in that position till the present time. This long pastorate of thirty-two years, remarkable in this age of change, presents the strongest evidence of the ability and faithfulness of the pastor and the firmness and stability of the people.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in Clinton was organized in October, 1851. Persons of this faith had previously held class-meetings and public worship at Clinton for some time, as a branch of the Park Street Church in Worcester. Regular meetings were held, in 1851, first in Burditt's Hall, afterwards in Concert Hall, on High Street, by a stated minister. The present church edifice, on High Street, was erected in 1852, and dedicated December 25th of that year. The church building remains substantially as when completed, except changes in the basement. The number of the members of the church

at its organization is unknown, but it has steadily increased. The aggregate number of six hundred and fifty members had been connected with it when its first quarter of a century was completed. The number of members now belonging to it is one hundred and fifty. This church commenced its work in Clinton with limited resources, and its capacities for usefulness were more or less restricted, but its circumstances have greatly improved of late, and its legitimate work is now completely and thoroughly performed. The ministers of this church have been: Revs. George Bowler, T. Willard Lewis, A. F. Bailey, D. K. Merrill, N. S. Spaulding, W. F. Mallalieu, W. J. Pomfret, T. B. Treadwell, A. Gould, J. M. Coolidge, W. G. Leonard, E. F. Hadley, E. S. Chase, F. T. George, J. W. Lewis, W. A. Braman, A. C. Godfrey, V. M. Simons and W. M. Ayers.

The Unitarian Society of Clinton was organized June 12, 1852, and its church was formed Jan 1, 1853. Religious services had, for some time previous, been held in Burditt and Clinton halls by persons of this denomination, and they were continued there until the dedication of the church edifice on Church Street, Feb. 2, 1853. This edifice was raised in 1873, a basement story built under it, a wing and rear section added, and the interior beautifully refitted and refurnished. This society also has largely increased during the twenty-seven years of its corporate existence, and now occupies a favorable position financially, and in point of influence in town. The pastors have been: Revs. L. J. Livermore, Jared M. Heard, James Sallaway, I. F. Waterhouse, W. S. Burton and Charles Noyes.

The Church of the Good Shepherd was organized in 1874, as a mission church, under the auspices of the Episcopal denomination. It first worshipped in Bigelow Hall, then in the District Court-room, and erected a very beautiful little church edifice on Union Street, in 1877. The parish organization of their church was completed in 1878, and its mission character removed. The rectors of this church have been: Revs. Elgoram Stevens, J. W. Birchmore and Henry L. Foote.

The Second Advent Church in Clinton was formed in 1874. It numbers about forty-five persons. It worshipped first in Good Templars' Hall and afterwards in Courant Hall Block. It has no settled minister, but is supplied by preachers from elsewhere regularly on the Sabbath. It has a Sunday school of about fifty members.

A mission station of the Roman Catholic Church was established in Clintonville in 1845, by the Rev. J. Boyce of Worcester. He built a small church on South Main Street, in 1849, and occupied it as a mission church, with a congregation of about one hundred persons, till 1853. This mission station was then separated from the Worcester parish and kept its own records. The church in Clinton, in 1863, was organized as a parish and received Rev. J. Quinn as its first resident pastor. The subsequent pastors have been: Revs. D. A. O'Keefe and R. J. Patterson. A church of capacity to seat 1,200 per-

sons was built on Pleasant Street, in 1868, and is now occupied for religious worship. An extensive and substantial stone church is in process of construction on the corner of School and Union streets, which, when completed, will be much the largest and most expensive church in town. The population in Clinton and vicinity, belonging to this parish, and sympathizing with this religious faith, is estimated at 2,700 persons of all ages.

The Clinton Fire Department consists of a board of six engineers, annually appointed by the selectmen, and companies for each of the fire-engines and for the hook-and-ladder company, appointed annually by the engineers. There are two hand-engine companies of fifty men each, one steamer company of fourteen men, and one hook-and-ladder company of fifteen men. The department is under the control of the engineers, when on duty. All the companies are fully and efficiently manned, and well organized and drilled for service. Four reservoirs, each of sufficient capacity to supply the steam fire-engine for several hours, have been constructed, or are in process of construction, in various parts of the town.

The Second District Court of Eastern Worcester was established in 1874, and includes the towns of Harvard, Bolton, Berlin, Lancaster, Clinton and Sterling. All its sessions are held in Clinton. Its officers are: a standing justice, a special justice and a clerk. It has sessions daily for criminal business, and twice a month for civil. It takes the place of the trial justice, with a jurisdiction to the amount of \$50 in criminal and \$300 in civil cases. Charles G. Stevens is the standing justice, Christopher C. Stone the associate justice, and Frank E. Howard the clerk.

A great variety of societies and associations are in existence in Clinton. Four of them are organized to promote abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors, and have a large number of members in the aggregate. The Masons have a flourishing lodge, styled Trinity Lodge, and a Royal Arch Chapter. The Odd Fellows are represented by a large lodge of their order. The natives of Ireland have a branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and a St. Patrick's Benevolent Society. The German citizens have a Turner Society and a Harugari, Lichtenstein Lodge, both well sustained. The natives of Scotland have their St. Andrew's Society, and those from England that of St. George. The survivors of the war of the Rebellion have a large and well attended post of the Grand Army of the Republic: and mutual relief is furnished to those who desire it by an association of the Knights of Honor and of the Order of the Holy Cross.

The common is a square of about four acres, which is bounded by Church, Chestnut, Union and Walnut streets. It is enclosed by a substantial post-and-rail fence, and has walks around it on either side of the fence. Shade-trees border the walks on the street side, and another row encircles it within the enclosure. Clumps of trees are planted within wherever the effect will be most pleasing, and walks cross it in all directions. It is supplied with a well

of pure water; a band-stand is located near the centre, and under the inner row of shade-trees are stationary seats. This beautiful public square was the gift of Mr. H. N. Bigelow in 1852; and it was accompanied with the provision that it should be neatly kept, and forever devoted to the public use. The streets of the town are of good width; have sidewalks of brick, concrete or gravel; are bordered by shade-trees, and the business parts well lighted by street-lamps. Across the street from the Common, upon the grounds of the town hall, a monument was erected in 1875 to the memory of fifty-eight soldiers from Clinton, who died for their country in the war of the Rebellion. The expense of the monument was about \$4,000, which was provided partly by private donations, but mainly from the town treasury. This monument consists of a square granite shaft, about eleven feet in height, including its base and capital, and the base is about six feet square. It is of fine hammered granite, with the fifty-eight names engraved upon it. It is surmounted by a bronze soldier leaning upon his musket.

CHAPTER IV.

MANUFACTURES — CHARTERED COMPANIES — MILLS — GAS-WORKS — BANKS —
HORTICULTURE — RAILROADS — MILITARY COMPANY — NOTED MEN OF THE
PLACE.

THE manufactures of Clinton are various and extensive, and are carried on mainly by incorporated companies. The earliest of these was the Clinton Company, chartered in 1838 for the purpose of building and operating the coach-lace loom of Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow. This lace had before been made upon hand-loom, with great expense of labor. Mr. Bigelow observed this fact, and conceived the idea of constructing a loom which should produce this article by power, making a more uniform quality of goods, and effecting a great saving of labor. He was then under twenty-three years of age, and had received no special education in the mechanic arts. In six weeks after giving his attention to this subject, with only a piece of the lace as a model to show its construction, he devised and matured this wonderful loom, which involves all the mechanical principles of his celebrated carpet-loom. The original feature of this loom was the use of the automatic pincers or fingers, which control the wires forming the loops, which are common to the carpet-loom, and all others making pile fabrics by power. The project of making this article by power was deemed visionary by most persons interested in this trade, and the required capital was obtained with difficulty. This loom on trial accomplished all that was expected of it. The lace made upon it was of a uniform quality, and the expense of weaving was reduced from twenty-two to three cents per yard.

The mill was at first leased, and in 1842 a purchase of the real estate was effected. Prosperity continued to attend the business, and in 1845 the capital stock, originally \$100,000, was increased to \$300,000, and liberty to do business in Boylston was obtained. Sawyer's Mill was purchased and fitted up for a yarn-mill, the Clinton Mill was extensively enlarged, and the reservoir now owned by the Carpet Company was constructed. These additions and improvements greatly increased the capacity for the production of lace, while the demand for it, in consequence of the increase of railroads and the decrease of stage-coaches, was much diminished. The lace market consequently became overstocked, and new business must be obtained for a portion of the mill. The manufacture of a species of gingham was selected, but the two kinds of operations were dissimilar, neither aided the other, the business of each was too small to be managed to advantage by itself, and in 1862 the business was suspended, and the property sold to the Lancaster Mills and the Carpet Company. Mr. Horatio N. Bigelow was the agent and manager of this business till 1849. Mr. C. W. Blanchard took charge of it for some three years; after which Mr. Bigelow resumed the control, and continued in it until the sale.

The quilt-loom was invented by Mr. E. B. Bigelow previous to the lace-loom, but financial difficulties of gentlemen jointly interested prevented its use until 1841. The mill, purchased for the business in 1838, was then filled with these looms, put in operation, produced 100,000 quilts of the best quality per annum, of the value of \$150,000, and employed 100 persons. This business was continued without interruption till the breaking out of the war, and was very profitable to its owners during most of that period. Business was resumed for a time after the war, but it was not prosperous, and in 1870 the manufacture of quilts ceased in Clinton, and the mill was sold to Messrs. Frost & Howard. The owner of the business was Mr. Hugh R. Kendall, and subsequently Mr. John Lamson, in connection with him, until 1848, at which time they were incorporated under the name of the Lancaster Quilt Company, with a capital of \$200,000. Mr. Horatio N. Bigelow was agent till the time of the incorporation. Mr. Charles W. Worcester held the position until 1861, and subsequently Mr. Whitman was agent. Messrs. Frost & Howard fitted up this mill in 1873 for the manufacture of cotton yarns, and still continue in this business. They employ 75 persons, run 6,000 spindles, and make 300,000 pounds of yarn per annum.

The Lancaster Mills were planned and the machinery selected and arranged by Mr. E. B. Bigelow, as before stated. The works were begun in 1844, and completed and put in operation the next season. The buildings covered nearly four acres. The main part of the structure was of one story, lighted from the roof by skylights, and the other parts of it were of greater height. The mill contained 550 looms, and its motive-power consisted of three breast-wheels, rated at 225 horse-power, and one steam-engine at 250 horse-power. The works gave employment to 900 persons, and their annual product was

4,000,000 yards of the fabric known as the Lancaster gingham. All the various processes, from the cotton in the bale to the finished cloth, were performed by the corporation under its own roof. The capital stock of the company was 2,000 shares of the par value of \$450, afterwards reduced to \$400 each. Ample and convenient boarding and tenement houses were also provided for the various operatives and employés of this corporation. These works have been in operation, without a single suspension or failure to pay the regular wages to their operatives, to the present time. No great change was made in the business of this company previous to the war, although it gradually and steadily improved. During the last years of the war and since its close, its business success has been wonderful. It has rebuilt its dam, substituted two turbine-wheels of 750 horse-power for its three breast-wheels, and two steam-engines of 1,200 horse-power and five small ones for its one steam-engine, has 1,611 looms in operation, and employs 1,400 persons. Its products are now 16,400,000 yards of gingham annually. The mill has been sufficiently enlarged to accommodate all the processes of its increased manufactures within its walls, except a portion of the spinning done at the Boylston Mill. The tenement and boarding houses have also been correspondingly increased. The manufactures of this company are of the first quality, and are, at the present time, the leading ones of their kind in the market. They excel in the tastefulness of their designs, the firmness and distinctness of their colors, the uniformity of their texture, and the beauty of their finish. Its stockholders have received regular and, since the war, large dividends, and its additions and enlargements have been made from reserves, without contracting loans or creating new stock. Mr. H. N. Bigelow was agent from the organization of the company till 1849, and to his taste, skill and care the construction and arrangement of the many buildings, and the adjustment of its complicated machinery, is, to a large extent, due. Mr. Franklin Forbes succeeded Mr. Bigelow, and continued to hold the position till his death in 1877. To his executive ability, energy, prudence, foresight and devotion to duty the remarkable prosperity of the company is largely indebted. Mr. G. W. Weeks, a gentleman educated under Mr. Forbes, and superintendent at the time of his death, was promoted to the position, and still continues the business with marked success.

The manufacture of Brussels and Wilton carpets was commenced by Messrs. E. B. & H. N. Bigelow & H. P. Fairbanks, as a copartnership, in 1849. They continued the business in that manner till 1854, when they were incorporated under the style of the Bigelow Carpet Company, with a capital of \$500,000.

This organization remains unchanged, except an increase of capital to \$1,000,000. The Brussels carpets were made upon a loom constructed upon the principle of the lace loom; and, in the Wilton loom, the wire was formed with a knife attached to the end of it. Both of these looms were the invention

of Mr. E. B. Bigelow, and were the first in use applying power to the manufacture of this fabric. These looms produced a more uniform and better quality of goods than were made under the old hand-loom method, and the cost of weaving was reduced from thirty to four cents per yard. This cost has been still farther reduced by later improvements. The goods of this company received very commendatory notices at the English Exhibition of 1851, where they were entered too late for a prize. They were awarded the highest medal at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, and a gold medal at the Paris Exposition of 1878.

The operations of this company have largely exceeded the original plans, and the buildings are in two sections: the one first occupied is devoted to dyeing and weaving, and the other, purchased of the Clinton Company, is appropriated to the preparation of the wool, and spinning. They are beautiful and substantial structures, and cover a large extent of ground. This corporation also provides convenient and comfortable tenement and boarding houses for its large force of operatives and employes. The works are mostly propelled by steam; have in operation 120 looms; make 1,200,000 yards of Brussels and Wilton carpets per annum, and employ 900 persons. They manufacture all their own worsteds, and perform all the processes necessary for the completed carpet in their works at Clinton, and sell 500,000 pounds of filling yarn per annum not adapted to their purposes. Mr. H. N. Bigelow organized and arranged these works, and was their manager and agent until 1865, when he was succeeded by his son, Mr. Henry N. Bigelow, who remains in that position, and has successfully directed large additions.

The Clinton Wire-Cloth Company was organized in 1857 for the manufacture of wire-cloth by power-loom. This loom also was the invention of Mr. E. B. Bigelow, but has subsequently been much improved by others. This company likewise commenced a new enterprise, and made its own way to reputation and financial success. It has extensive works, commodious and substantial buildings, and is doing a prosperous business. It employs two hundred and fifty persons, and makes several million square feet of wire-cloth of various descriptions per annum. Its capital stock is \$100,000. Mr. Charles H. Waters arranged, put in operation, and superintended these works till 1879, and was then succeeded by Mr. Charles B. Bigelow as agent. Mr. Waters still retains a great interest in and general supervision of the works.

Mr. A. L. Fuller formerly occupied a large mill on the South Meadow Brook, below the quilt-mill, and did a large and prosperous business in the manufacture of hoop-skirts. This industry declined with the change of the fashion which occasioned the demand for its products, and the works were sold to Messrs. Boyce Brothers, who manufactured braids until the destruction of the works in 1876.

The Clinton Gas Company was formed in 1854, and its capital stock is \$50,000. The mills, public buildings, and many of the streets and private

residences in town are lighted with its products. Mr. Milton Jewett is superintendent, and Mr. C. L. Swan treasurer and agent.

Mr. J. B. Parker erected a machine-shop in 1852 for the manufacture of machinery. Messrs. G. M. Palmer, A. C. Dakin, S. W. Fosdick and J. B. Butler have been at various times associated with him in the business. They made machinery for the mills in town and elsewhere, and employed forty men. They were made a corporation in 1875 by the name of the J. B. Parker Machine Company. Its capital stock is \$15,000, and its annual products are worth \$50,000. A. C. Dakin is president; C. C. Murdock is treasurer.

An iron foundry was established in Clinton in 1847 by G. M. Palmer. He makes castings for machinery and railroad uses. His works employ twenty men. This business has never been suspended, and continues prosperous.

The Gibbs Loom-Harness and Reed Company is a corporation for the manufacture of those articles, formed in 1874. The capital is \$50,000. It employs seventy-five persons; has twelve knitting-machines in operation, and the value of the annual product is \$50,000. W. H. Gibbs is president and manager, and C. L. Swan is treasurer.

The manufacture of horn-combs by hand was begun in this town at an early date. The manufacture of these goods by machinery was commenced about the same time as the other manufactures. Mr. Sidney Harris was the largest manufacturer. His mill employed about one hundred hands, and was prosperously conducted by himself and in connection with his sons down to the time of his death in 1861, and after that by his sons till the death of Mr. E. A. Harris, the last surviving son, in 1875. The business was afterward carried on by a corporation, styled the S. Harris & Sons Manufacturing Company, with a capital of \$60,000. These works are still in operation. Mr. H. E. Starbird is president, and Mr. E. Brimhall treasurer. The comb manufacture has also been carried on by Messrs. McCollum & Lowe, Henry Lowe, Charles Frazer and others at various times, to a limited extent; but these works are not now in operation.

A steam sash, blind and lumber mill is in operation in the northerly part of the town, owned and carried on by Mr. E. S. Fuller, which does a large and prosperous business.

The business of tanning was begun in Clinton by Messrs. C. M. Bailey & Son in 1869. They employed about forty men, and did a prosperous business till 1873, when Mr. George E. Bailey died, and the business was sold to Messrs. Bryant & King. They enlarged the business very extensively, giving employment to one hundred and twenty-five men, and continued it prosperously till the spring of 1876, when their works were destroyed by the flood before mentioned. C. M. Bailey & Co. partially repaired the works in 1878, and are doing a limited business, employing about twenty-five men.

The Clinton Savings Bank was established in 1851, and is doing a prosperous business. Its deposits are \$625,000. Mr. C. L. Swan is president, and Mr.

C. L. S. Hammond is treasurer. The First National Bank of Clinton was established in 1864, with a capital of \$200,000, and is still in successful operation. Mr. Charles G. Stevens and Mr. C. L. S. Hammond are the president and cashier.

The limited space that can be accorded to the history of Clinton will not admit of a particular account of the various professions, mercantile industries and trades pursued in Clinton; but all these have kept pace with the leading industries above described, and the gentlemen engaged in them have enjoyed a good degree of prosperity and success in their various pursuits.

A small portion of the territory now Clinton was under cultivation in early days, and that quantity has not been much increased in later years. Very few persons make agriculture their business, and these confine themselves principally to the production of hay and milk, and to market-gardening. The growing of fruit and horticulture receives much greater attention, and Clinton has its full share of fine gardens, orchards, and beautiful lawns and grounds.

The Clinton Town Hall is situated upon the corner of Church and Walnut streets, facing the Common. It is of brick, with freestone trimmings and slated roof; is two stories in height, and is 130 by 84 feet, exclusive of the library. The first story contains Bigelow Hall, 60 by 80 feet; three commodious rooms for town offices; a spacious front entrance-hall and stairway; a rear entrance and stairway, and additional rooms for the library. The second story contains Clinton Hall, 95 by 80 feet; a gallery over the entrance, about 60 by 20 feet; ante-rooms, and a passage in the rear of the hall. Each story is of proportionate height, and the entire building is beautifully frescoed and finished in ash. It is heated by steam, lighted with gas, conveniently furnished, and the entire expense, including the site, was \$110,000.

Two railroads have been constructed through the town, giving great facilities of communication with the centres of trade. The Worcester and Nashua was opened in 1848, and the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg in July, 1866. They form a junction near the wire, carpet and yarn mills, and a branch from the latter road extends to the Lancaster Mills.

A military company styled the Clinton Light Guard, was established in 1853. Its enlistments were not restricted to town lines, although most of its members were residents of Clinton. It was a popular company at home, had full ranks, was well drilled and soldierly in its bearing, and was highly esteemed among its military associates. When notified of an expected call to the field in April, 1861, the entire body, with scarce an exception, volunteered to respond. The expected call was not received; but the company, at a later day, with few exceptions, enlisted in the volunteer army, and faithfully served their country in that capacity. The company organization was then broken up, and has not since been revived.

We have space to notice only three of the prominent individuals connected with the origin and history of the town. Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow should claim our

first notice, from his having selected this place for the development of the first effort of his genius, for his personal exertions and influence in projecting and putting in operation the immense business of the Lancaster Mills, and from his commanding influence in the carpet-mills. Mr. Bigelow, doubtless, sought first his own interest in these various enterprises; but the town's interest and his were concurrent, and, in benefiting himself, he benefited others, as all true enterprise does. He has directly promoted the welfare of the town by numerous benefactions, some of which have been noticed. He has always given Clinton the benefit of his counsels and aid when needed, and its inhabitants are proud to recognize him as its originator and benefactor.

Mr. Horatio N. Bigelow came to this section of the country to reside in 1837, and from that time until the failure of his health in 1865, he was the leader in every public movement. He planned the public streets, devised new schools, devoted his time and attention to their organization and progress, gave the sites for two of the earlier ones, and also for two churches, and was the originator and main support of the first church established here. His personal conduct and example corresponded with his profession. His influence and untiring efforts restrained much of the immoral conduct and vicious tendency to which rapidly growing places are liable, and made Clinton for many years one of the most moral and well-conducted places of its size and population in the Commonwealth. Mr. Bigelow might well say of himself, in connection with the public affairs of Clinton in its early days, what Virgil makes Æneas say of himself: "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" He richly merits the gratitude and affection of its people.

Mr. Franklin Forbes came to Clinton when society had passed its formative state, and assumed more of a crystalline form. His scholarly attainments and previous occupation pre-eminently fitted him to take the lead in the educational interests of the town, and, until his death, he was the principal manager and supervisor, and contributed largely to their prosperity. The public library, as a co-ordinate means of education, was another subject of his constant thought and unwearied efforts. He was one of the originators of, and all his life long felt a deep interest in, the religious society (Unitarian) with which he worshipped; and his munificent benefactions to it were unceasing. The public at large saw in him a gentleman of culture and refinement, possessed of a kindly spirit and a large heart, and deeply interested in the welfare of all. He merited and receives the affectionate remembrance of his fellow-citizens.

D A N A.

BY GEORGE W. HERR, LL. B.

CHAPTER I.

FORMATION AND BOUNDARIES — SURFACE AND SCENERY — SOAPSTONE QUARRY — FLAX CULTURE — EARLY CITIZENS — INDIAN HISTORY — MRS. GAFFIELD'S CAPTIVITY — SHAYS' REBELLION — WHEELER THE COUNTERFEITER — SINGULAR PLACE OF HIS RETREAT.

DANA, in territory and population, is one of the smallest towns in the county. It was incorporated Feb. 18, 1801, and was formed from the south-westerly part of Petersham, and the north-westerly part of Hardwick, in Worcester County, and the north-easterly part of Greenwich, in Hampshire County. By an act approved by the governor, Feb. 4, 1842, a small part of Petersham and Hardwick were annexed to the town. Its boundaries are Petersham on the north and east, Hardwick on the south, Greenwich and Prescott of Hampshire County and New Salem of Franklin County on the west. It is diversified with hills and valleys, the most important of which are Swift River, which furnishes valuable water-power in the north-western part of the town, and the east branch of the same river that forms the south-west border of the town for some distance, and supplies a beautiful sheet of water called Pottapaug Pond, containing one hundred and sixty acres. Another large pond in the north part of the town, called Neeseponsett, abounding with pickerel and other fish, is a favorite resort of fishing-parties. The most important elevations are Rattlesnake Hill in the north and Pottapaug Hill in the south-western part. The geological structure is gneiss, associated with which is hornblende slate. There is a hill composed of steatite or soapstone, where a quarry was opened in 1852, and the stone, which was considered of a very good quality, was, before the construction of the railroad, teamed to West Brookfield and Palmer Depot. A mill has been erected on Swift River, below the village of North Dana, where the stone is worked for various purposes, while the waste material is manufactured into a roofing preparation.

The first account we find regarding the territory included within the limits of what is now Dana, is that of a lot of land laid out to Samuel Sawyer, in

the south-westerly part of Nichewaug (Petersham), and represented as being on the road to Roadtown (Shutesbury). This was about the year 1734. It is likely that the first settlement made on the territory of Dana of any great numbers, was on and about the common, now called "Dana Common," and a settlement of considerable part of the town must have been made as early as 1756. Of the action of the early settlers during the Revolutionary War, it is difficult to obtain any authentic records as to the number who participated in that struggle, for they were at that time citizens of several different towns. The early settlers whose names appear among the Revolutionary soldiers are Thomas Stimpson, Jonathan Parkhurst, Bezaleel Amsden, Ruggles Spooner, John Town, Elijah Babbitt, Benjamin Skinner, Stephen Johnson, Stephen Witt, and there were undoubtedly others. No reason appears on record why the few inhabitants of this territory wished for a town charter, although tradition says that it was principally to avoid a ministerial tax, in which they were obliged to support the Gospel without receiving its benefits; but the more reasonable supposition would be on account of the distance to the centres of the several towns where they must go to transact all town business and attend church.

The cultivation of flax was, at one time, carried on quite extensively, being sown in April or May and harvested early in August, less than three months in possession of the ground; but its cultivation has entirely ceased, and the only evidence of this former important industry is the little "foot-wheels," hatchels, &c., now sometimes found in the attics of the houses of the older inhabitants, or their children, who reside on the old homesteads. A venerable man of Athol, Nathaniel Foster, eighty-four years old, has related to the author the process of preparing flax for weaving and being made into cloth. First, he says, using present tense, "the flax must be raised, and it grows from one to three feet in height, and the boys find plenty of labor in the various operations attending its culture. It must be sowed; then, as it grows, it must be weeded; at its maturity, when it changes color after blooming, it must be pulled; then it is dried, bound in bundles, taken to the barn and threshed; then comes the process of retting, or as it is commonly called by farmers, rotting, which consists of laying it in the field again for some weeks; after this, it is again taken to the barn, where it goes through the process of breaking on machines, called flax-brakes; it then is swunged, or as we say, swungled; next it is hatcheled on what is called a hatchel or heckel, a comb of long, iron teeth, set filling a circle or square. The men and boys have now completed their work, and it is turned over to the females; the girls now take it and spin it on little foot-wheels, it is then reeled off, and the older women take it and weave it."

The town was named in honor of Judge Francis Dana, who interested himself in procuring the act of incorporation, and although most of the early inhabitants of the town were Democrats, and Judge Dana was a strong Federalist, yet the name of the town was never changed, as was the neighboring town of Gerry for a similar reason.

The first town meeting was warned by Daniel Bigelow, Esq., of Petersham, and was held at the meeting-house, March 17, 1801; Jacob Whipple was chosen moderator; Joel Amsden, town clerk, and Stephen Johnson, Bezaleel Amsden and Dr. Jacob Whipple, selectmen. Town meetings were held at the old meeting-house, and sometimes at the school-house on the Plain, and from 1825 to 1840 they were held alternately at the meeting-house and the house of John Gleason. When the meetings were warned at the meeting-house they were generally adjourned, immediately after the organization, to the tavern, where they could have fires, and also plenty of something warming for the inner man.

Among the leading men and large landholders at the time of the incorporation were: Jeremiah Sibley, Seth Williams, Joseph Hendrick, Elkanah Haskins, Joel Amsden, Bezaleel Amsden, Jacob Amsden, Daniel Russell, Oliver Harris, John Town, Elijah Town, Ichabod Town, Elijah Babbitt, James Babbitt, Jacob Whipple, Simon Whipple, William Baueroft, Benjamin Skinner, Stephen Johnson and others. Jeremiah Sibley came from Sutton and located on what is now Dana Common, where he bought five hundred acres of land. Seth Williams came from Easton, and was also a large landholder. Joseph Hendrick owned about five hundred acres, and most of those whose names are mentioned possessed large farms. The number assigned to all of the districts into which the town was divided, soon after the incorporation, was one hundred and fourteen, which number, probably, constituted the legal voters.

Although no accounts are given of Indian inhabitants, yet it is evident that this territory was frequented by them, and that they fished upon the beautiful sheets of water, which to the present day bear the names they bestowed upon them, for around these ponds are found the relics of their implements, and also on the sides of Pottapang Hill have been found the mortars where they pounded their corn. For nearly half a century Dana was the home of a woman, Mrs. Eunice Gaffield, afterwards Mrs. Eunice Pratt, commonly called "Aunt Pratt," whose adventures among the Indians would form a thrilling page in the annals of American history.*

"As Messrs. Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout and Benjamin Gaffield, who had been hoeing corn in the meadow, west of the river, were returning home a little before sunset, to a place called Bridgman's Fort, they were fired upon by twelve Indians, who had ambushed their path.

"Howe was on horseback, with two young lads, his children, behind him. A ball, which broke his thigh, brought him to the ground. His horse ran a few rods and fell, likewise, and both the lads were taken. The Indians in their savage manner, coming up to Howe, pierced his body with a spear, tore off his scalp, stuck a hatchet in his head, and left him in this forlorn condition. Grout was so fortunate as to escape unhurt. But Gaffield, in attempting to wade through the river, at a certain place which

* Narrative of the captivity of Mrs. Jenima Howe, taken by the Indians at Hinsdale, N. H., July 27, 1755.

was indeed fordable at that time, was unfortunately drowned. Flushed with the success they had met with here, the savages went directly to Bridgman's Fort. There was no man in it, and only three women and some children, Mrs. *Jemima Howe*, Mrs. *Submit Grout*, and Mrs. *Eunice Gaffield*.

"Their husbands, I need not mention again, and their feelings at this juncture I will not attempt to describe. They had heard the enemies' guns, but knew not what had happened to their friends. Extremely anxious for their safety, they stood longing to embrace them, until at length, concluding from the noise they heard without that some of them were come, they unbarred the gate in a hurry to receive them; when lo! to their inexpressible disappointment and surprise, instead of their husbands, in rushed a number of hideous Indians, to whom they and their tender offspring became an easy prey; and from whom they had nothing to expect, but either an immediate death, or a long and doleful captivity.

"The latter of these, by the favor of Providence, turned out to be the lot of these unhappy women, and their still more unhappy, because more helpless children. Mrs. *Gaffield* had but one, Mrs. *Grout* had three, and Mrs. *Howe* seven. The eldest of Mrs. *Howe's* was eleven years old, and the youngest but six months.

"The Indians, (she says) having plundered and put fire to the fort, we marched, as near as I could judge, a mile and a half into the woods, where we encamped for the night."

Mrs. *Howe* continues her narrative of their wearisome march until all arrived in safety at *St. John's*, and says: "Our next movement was to *St. François*, the metropolis, if I may so call it, to which the Indians, who held us captive, belonged. Soon after our arrival at that wretched capital, a council, consisting of the chief sachem, and some principal warriors of the *St. François* tribe, was convened; and after the ceremonies usual on such occasions were over, I was conducted and delivered to an old squaw, whom the Indians told me I must call mother." This narrative is taken from the "*American Preceptor*," published in 1802. The remainder of the story relates only to the experience of Mrs. *Howe* and her children, she having been separated from the other captives at *St. François*. Mrs. *Gaffield* was sold to the French and by them to the English, and after a captivity of seven years was returned to her native land. She came to *Hardwick*, now *Dana*, to reside, where her child, who had lived to manhood with the Indians came to visit his mother, but refused to remain in civilized life, preferring his savage mode instead. People came from a long distance to see the old lady, at her home in *Dana*, and hear her relate her Indian experience. The dreams of the barbarities which she had witnessed and suffered followed her to the day of her death, and she would start up in the middle of the night and raise the war-whoop of the savages, while her sleep was disturbed by fearful visions, to such an extent as to awaken the whole household. She died about the year 1825, at the age of ninety-four years.

The woods of *Dana* seem to have proved a secluded retreat for those desiring to evade the laws of the land, in the early history of the place, for here *Daniel Shays*, the leader of the "*Shays Rebellion*," had an encampment for

recruiting, about one-half a mile south-west of Dana Common, where, at one time, he is said to have had two thousand men in camp. Here, also, was the cave of the notorious Glazier Wheeler, a celebrated maker of counterfeit silver money. His cave was situated on the bank of Swift River, near what is now the village of North Dana. This cave was entered only from the river, where Wheeler could step out of his boat into the mouth of the cave. At one end was a large hollow tree, which served as a chimney to carry off the smoke. It is stated that the way in which it was discovered, was, that one night some coon-hunters were passing the place, when they saw smoke issuing from this tree, and were so badly frightened that they thought the Devil was there, or that the end of the world was coming. The next day they rallied help and made an investigation, when Wheeler's furnace was discovered, and all the tools and implements for making counterfeit dollars. This was undoubtedly the place visited by the notorious Stephen Burroughs, which is spoken of in his life. He describes Wheeler as being a man of slender constitution, of threescore years of age, who had spent all his life in trying to make counterfeit coin that would pass without detection. Wheeler was arrested soon after the conviction of Burroughs, was tried at Northampton, and both were in prison at the same time. An old cellar-hole near the railroad in North Dana, now marks the spot where Wheeler's house once stood, and the plow of the farmer has turned up, occasionally, the counterfeit coins which his furnace produced.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH HISTORY — BAPTISTS — UNIVERSALISTS — ORTHODOX CONGREGATIONAL —
 METHODISTS — OTHER DENOMINATIONS — SCHOOLS — PATRIOTIC RECORD —
 THE GREAT REBELLION — EARLY MANUFACTURES — NORTH DANA VILLAGE —
 POPULATION — SINGULAR EPIDEMIC — A YEAR OF SCARCITY — PUBLIC OFFICERS
 — EMINENT MEN.

The first religious organization in town was that of the Baptist Church, their meeting-house being removed from the south part of Petersham to Dana Common in the last years of the last or the first years of the present century. This society continued to exist and maintain religious ordinances until about 1830, when it became extinct as an organization. Some of the members of that church were afterwards found in North Dana and the west part of Petersham; they formed a branch of the Athol church, and at a later day organized into an independent church, which is the Baptist Church at Petersham at the present time. Other members of the old church traveled further south and formed a Baptist church in Hardwick. The original meeting-house of the old church

afterwards became the property of individual proprietors, and was used by the Universalists and others until 1812, when it was purchased by the town and converted into a town hall and school-house, for which purpose it has ever since been used. Among the leading members of this church were Thomas Stimpson, Elkanah Rogers, Jonathan Parkhurst, Benjamin Skinner, Calvin Bryant and Abijah Sibley. Parkhurst and Stimpson were veterans of the Revolution. Elder Jacob Whipple, the moderator of the first town meeting, was one of the early preachers of this church. In 1805, at a town meeting, it was voted to have Elder Whipple for their town minister for one year ensuing, provided it could be without cost, and it was also voted to invite the neighboring ministers to give eleven days preaching. In 1816, the town chose a committee to consult Elder Whipple in reference to his preaching for the town, and some years the town voted money to pay the minister, a small sum, ranging from \$100 to \$250. The last Baptist minister who preached for any length of time in Dana was David Pease.

A few years before the incorporation of the town, a young man came to Dana in the capacity of a school-teacher, and soon commenced preaching the doctrines of universal salvation. This person was Hosea Ballou, one of the founders and fathers of the Universalist denomination in the United States.

Mr. M. M. Ballou, son of Hosea Ballou, in his "Life" of his father says: "The first place in which Mr. Ballou engaged permanently as a settled minister was in the town of Dana, Mass., in 1794-5." The society was not able to pay for an engagement which should occupy him the whole time, and therefore engaged him for a portion, allowing him to supply societies in Oxford and Charlton, Mass., a part of the time. Owing to the small remuneration received from the society in Dana, he was obliged to keep school during the week, besides tilling a small portion of land. While residing in Dana, he became acquainted with the family of Stephen Washburn of Williamsburg, and after an intimate acquaintance of about a year, and when twenty-five years of age, he married their youngest daughter, Ruth Washburn. He lived in Dana about seven years, and removed from there to Barnard, Vt. Among the Universalist ministers who succeeded him, were Joshua Flagg, James Babbitt, Massena Ballou (son of Hosea), Lucius Paige, Jared Bushnell and John Willis. The society continued for many years with varying success. No regular religious services of that denomination are now held.

About 1832, an Orthodox Congregational Church and Society was formed in Storrsville, a small village in the east part of the town, before that place was annexed to Dana; it was established by Dr. Storrs of New Braintree, and was at first a home missionary station, being sustained in part by the missionary funds. This was discontinued in 1852, and on the 10th of July of that year an Orthodox Congregational Church and Society was organized. The original members of that society were Nathaniel Johnson, J. J. Perkins, John H. Farnsworth, L. E. Marsh, Nathaniel L. Johnson, Esq., Leonard Fisher,

Goliath Charles, John A. Stone, Theodore W. Johnson, Solomon Blackmer and Andrew J. Johnson. Rev. John Keep, who was the last pastor of the church in Storrsville, was settled over the new church, and continued as its pastor until 1861. His successor was Rev. William Leonard, who was settled in August, 1861, and remained as pastor three years, since which time the church has had no settled minister, but has been supplied by various clergymen. Rev. Henry M. Rogers remained one year, Rev. William Leonard three years, and other ministers have been Rev. O. Russell, Rev. Mr. Soule and Rev. E. P. Gibbs; the pastor now acting is the Rev. E. W. Merritt. The present church edifice was built in 1853.

The pioneers of Methodism visited Dana early in the present century. Among the early preachers of this denomination, who came into Dana, were Joshua Crowell and the eccentric Lorenzo Dow. A small society or class was formed, among the members of which were Uriah Doane, William Tolman, W. Tolman, Jr., Benjamin Woods and Ebenezer Grosvenor. Ministers of the Methodist church do not appear in Dana again until about the year 1831 or 1832, when a society, called the Liberal Congregational Society, employed some students of Wilbraham Academy to preach in Dana, and from this may be dated the establishment of Methodism in North Dana, and hardly a year has passed since but what that denomination has had preaching in the town. The first minister appointed by Conference was Elder Erastus Otis. The present pastor is Rev. Thomas Martin, who preaches at North Dana, and also supplies the church at South Athol.

About the year 1819, a man by the name of Crossman appeared in town, and began preaching the doctrines of a sect called "Christians." In about two years, he had gathered into his fold nearly one hundred persons of Dana and Greenwich, but after he left the organization was broken up, and most of the members united with the existing denominations. Some also became tinctured with Shakerism, which prevailed to a considerable extent in Petersham, and Ebenezer Grosvenor, one of the members of the first Methodist class, turned Shaker, and went to Harvard, and the Grosvenors were for many years among the leading Shakers of Shirley.

We find that one of the first acts of this young town after its incorporation was to raise the sum of \$175 for schooling, and the town was divided into five school districts. An old resident of the town states that during the first twenty-five years of the town's existence, there were more scholars attending school than now; then the school-houses were full, all the boys and girls attending school until they were twenty-one years of age. In 1862, the town raised \$600. During the last school year there was \$700 appropriated, which, with the school-fund, dog-fund, &c., made the total receipts for the schools \$955.42, and they were attended by one hundred and seventeen scholars. The school committee for that year were A. J. Nye, Moses T. Knapp and Miss M. J. Richardson.

We have already referred to the patriotic conduct of the citizens of Dana, who participated in the Revolution. In the war of 1812, there were in service from Dana, Asa Hoyt and Joseph Simonds, who served nearly through the war. Capt. Elisha Foster commanded a company in defence of Boston harbor, but how many men from this town were under his command is not known.

When the dark cloud of civil war hung over the land, and the cherished institutions of a free people were in danger, Dana responded nobly to the call for troops, sending eighty-eight soldiers and sailors to the defence of the Government, under the various calls of the President, while thirteen residents of the town enlisted in and were credited to other places, and at the close of the war in 1865, the records in the adjutant-general's office showed a surplus of *ten* men to the credit of Dana. Of the eighty-eight that enlisted, seven were in the naval service; fourteen died of disease and wounds while in the service, and four were killed in action. At a town meeting held Oct. 14, 1861, it was voted to authorize the treasurer to borrow a sum not to exceed \$500 for the support and relief of soldiers' families; July 22, 1862, it was voted to raise \$1,000 by taxation, to encourage a sufficient number of recruits required to make up the quota of this town; also, voted to pay each recruit \$100 when he is mustered into the United States service. The town expended, exclusive of State aid, the sum of \$8,780 for the suppression of the Rebellion. The women of the town also were not behind in the great work, for Gen. Schouler in his history of the war says: "The ladies of Dana did their fair proportion in furnishing clothes and necessaries for the soldiers."

One of the early manufacturers of the town was Apollos Johnson, who came to Dana about the year 1815 and established the manufacture of pocket-books, which was carried on quite extensively for some time. He also in connection with Italy Foster carried on the tanning business for many years, and was engaged in the distilling of cider-brandy, from cider made in the vicinity. He introduced the making of straw-braid, and was one of the first in the country who started the palm-leaf hat business. One of the first articles made for market was potash, which was manufactured in large quantities.

The manufacture of palm-leaf hats has been a leading industry of the town for half a century; the plaiting furnished employment to the women of most of the families of this and surrounding towns. The first to engage in this business in town was Apollos Johnson. The palm-leaves were then put out whole to the makers, just as they were imported from Cuba, and were split with pocket-knives, and then plaited; when done they were pressed by rotary machines turned by hand; since then great improvements have been made in the manner of splitting the leaf and finishing up the hats. The next party who carried on the business in town was James S. Brown, who has been engaged in it for forty years. Among others who have been in the business are Franklin Lombard, George G. Braman, Jonathan E. Stone & Co., Braman

& Johnson, Russell & Johnson, Lindsey & Johnson, Seth W. Amsden, Doane & Charles and Charles F. Gleason.

The business is now carried on extensively by Nathaniel L. Johnson, Esq., Orin J. Powers, James S. Brown, Jr., and O. H. Goodman & Co. In 1837, there were 70,000 palm-leaf hats manufactured in town, valued at \$10,500, and now there are from 45,000 to 50,000 dozen put up by those doing business here, amounting in value, according to the report of the last State census, to \$44,800. These are not all braided in town, but the leaf is carried from here into Hampshire and Franklin counties and southern Vermont, and there put into families, where it is braided. The hats are then collected and brought to Dana to be made ready for market. From 1859 to 1867, Shaker hoods were largely made in this town and vicinity. They were made from palm-leaf by machinery. During the time they were most largely used, Nathaniel L. Johnson, Esq., made in a single year 20,000 dozen, valued at \$60,000. Very few are made now.

Early in the history of the town a dam was built across Swift River, at what is now North Dana, a saw-mill was erected, and a large wooden frame, four stories high, which was intended for a cotton or woolen mill; depression in business coming on, this frame was allowed to stand unenclosed for several years, and was fast falling to the ground, when, in October, 1830, Samuel and John Rockwood conveyed to Daniel Stone six acres of land with one-half the dam and water-privilege, also one-fourth part of a piece of land and one-fourth part of the saw-mill. Mr. Stone built a grist and saw mill, and also the first house among those now standing in North Dana, and for several years did a good business. A small store was started by J. S. Brown, several more houses were put up and the place was called *Stonesville*, which name it bore until the establishment of a post-office, in 1846, when it was called *North Dana*. This village has been the seat of a most flourishing and profitable business in the manufacture of pianoforte legs. About the year 1840 Mr. Stone sold his entire mill property to Mr. Warren Hale, a young man who had been employed by the Gilberts of Boston in the manufacture of piano legs. He obtained a contract from them and commenced the manufacture, but finding the work to be very slow with the hand tools then used, he, with the assistance of Dr. Allen Goodman, invented a machine for making them, and they took out a patent in July, 1845. A great revolution in the business was now effected, for a man with one of these machines was able to do the work of one hundred men without, and far more perfectly. They now carried on the business until 1850, these machine legs coming into general use, and being shipped to all the cities and towns in the United States where pianofortes were made. In 1850, Mr. Hale sold out his entire interest to Messrs. Stimpson & Doane. In 1854, a new company was organized, with the firm-name of Johnson, Stimpson & Co., with a working capital of \$21,000. The members of the company were George T. Johnson, C. N. Stimpson, Warren Stimpson,

William Stimpson, Silas F. Lindsey, Allen Goodman and Nelson Bosworth. The company were burnt out in December, 1856, with a loss exceeding \$20,000, partially insured, and again suffered by fire in October, 1857. The company was dissolved in 1859, when the business was purchased by Mr. Warren Hale; it was continued for some time by Messrs. Hale, J. W. Goodman and A. W. Goodman, and is now carried on by J. W. Goodman, who also makes billiard-table legs. Jonathan E. Stone, now of Erving, also manufactured pianoforte legs quite extensively in North Dana.

The New England Box Company is now doing a large business.

The population of Dana at different periods has been as follows:— 1810, 625; 1820, 664; 1830, 623; 1840, 691; 1850, 842; 1855, 824; 1860, 876; 1865, 789; 1870, 758; 1875, 760.

The census report of 1875 gives the number of farms as 118, valued at \$185,423. There were 182 houses occupied by 197 families.

The valuation of the town was \$302,106, of which \$225,595 was real estate, and \$76,511 personal property.

The products of manufactures amounted to \$115,510, and of agriculture to \$73,043.

There were four establishments producing sawed lumber valued at \$29,750; palm-leaf goods to the value of \$44,800, and pianoforte and billiard-table legs amounting to \$31,000.

Dr. Daniel Lindsey, 85 years of age, and who was in active practice about twenty-five years in Dana, is the oldest man. Martha Johnson, relict of Nathaniel Johnson, 88 years of age, is the oldest woman.

Marshall L. Lindsey, M. D., son of Dr. Daniel, is the present physician (allopathist).

In 1841 a union church was built in North Dana on land donated by Warren H. Amsden.

The railroad from Springfield to Athol passes through North Dana, where there is a depot, two stores, union church, public hall, recently built by Swift River Lodge of Good Templars, and about sixty dwellings.

At Dana there are two stores, a Congregational Church and town hall.

In 1809–10 the town was visited by an epidemic called the spotted fever. It baffled medical skill, and carried off many of the prominent citizens, among whom were Tilly Foster, Simeon Gleason and Jonathan Whittemore, who was the first person attacked and lived only about twelve hours. Forty to fifty persons died from this disease in Dana. At first it was called by the wags of the neighboring towns of Barre and Petersham the *Dana fever*; it, however, soon spread into those towns, producing the greatest consternation and terror among the inhabitants. A remedy was finally found in French brandy, which was given the patients in very large doses when first attacked.

In 1816, Indian corn was almost entirely destroyed, by what is known as the *great frost*, but Dana had an abundant crop of rye, and her neighbors of

Petersham, Barre and Hardwick gladly availed themselves of this production of the soil of Dana for bread, and ridicule of "little Dana" was thereafter never heard.

Senator.—Nathaniel L. Johnson, 1873-4.

Representatives.—Nathaniel Williams, 1811-12-27-29; Stephen Johnson, 1813; Apollos Johnson, 1823; Ephraim Whipple, Esq., 1830; Reuben Sibley, 1831; Italy Foster, 1833-39, 1841-42; John Gleason, 1834; Nathaniel Johnson, 1835; John Towne, 1836; Nathan Stone, 1837; Benjamin Richardson, 1847; Daniel Stone, 1849-51; Leonard Doane, 1852; Orzvon Towne, 1853; Albert Amsden, 1854; Nathaniel L. Johnson, 1857-60-71; Allen Goodman, 1864.

Constitutional Convention.—Samuel H. Richardson, 1853.

Town Clerks.—Joel Amsden, 1801-4; Elkanah Haskins, 1805-6; Abiel Parmenter, 1807-9; Stephen Johnson, 1810-11; Ephraim Whipple, 1812-13 and 1818-28; Justice Woods, 1814-17, 1836; Dr. Joseph Giddings, 1829-35; Apollos Johnson, 1837; Italy Foster, 1838-39-40; Frank Lombard, 1841; Hiram A. Meacham, 1842-45, 1847-50; Daniel Russell, 1846; George T. Johnson, 1851-56, 1859-60; M. J. Hillman, 1857-58; David L. Richards, 1861 to and including 1879.

Town Officers, 1879.—Ezra Comee, Charles N. Doane, Nehemiah H. Doubleday, selectmen; David L. Richards, treasurer; Moses T. Knapp, Miss M. J. Richardson, Edwin C. Haskins, school committee.

The valuation in 1879 was \$265,066. Polls, 209. Houses, 176.

Stephen Johnson, whose name so often appears in this history, was a remarkable man. He received a commission as justice of the peace soon after the incorporation of the town and held it until his death. In politics he was a Jackson Democrat, in religion a Universalist. He was a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and died Dec. 2, 1855, aged 85 years. The following obituary notice was written by his friend, Rev. Hosea Ballou, and published soon after his death:—

"Not only as a Christian and a Universalist, is Mr. Johnson's memory precious and honorable, but also on account of the moral character he sustained. As a husband, a father, a brother, a relative, and a member of community, all will bear testimony to his worth. He was a man of uncommon penetration of mind; could see through a subject at a glance; and had the most wonderful faculty of embodying the whole in such a manner as to express in a single sentence what it would require others no little labor to explain; and this he would do in such a peculiar way as even to give a sort of electric shock to those who listened. He delighted greatly in the Republican principles of our government, and free institutions: and was one of the few, who by their service, contributed to the independence of our country, who have lived so long to enjoy the fruits of their labors."

Among the original one hundred and fourteen inhabitants, there were many men, good and true, and their names are cherished in grateful remembrance. Daniel Stone, Esq., says:—

“My father came to North Dana in 1804, three years after the town was incorporated. He bought of Daniel Gould, one of the 114 inhabitants, 100 acres and continued to add to it, until at his death he died seized of 500 acres all adjoining. He had a great anxiety for many years that the water of Swift River should be put to some manufacturing use, and from this fact commenced the building of the village at North Dana.”

Theodore W. Johnson, a native of Dana, moved to Worcester a few years ago, and his son, Theodore S., attorney-at-law, is at the present time one of the aids of Gov. Talbot. His son Charles R., a graduate of Harvard College, has lately been admitted to the bar in his native county. Dana has sent forth from her little territory many men who have made their mark in the business world. The Amsdens of Athol are of Dana stock, and many have gone West. Among those who have been zealous workers to promote the growth and prosperity of Dana are the members of the Goodman family; the Hales; the Lindseys; Daniel Stone, Esq.; the Stimpsons; and Nathaniel L. Johnson, Esq., who is one of the directors of Barre National Bank, and Vice-President of Barre Savings Bank; and there are many other citizens who have displayed energy and enterprise. There are also numbers of thrifty farmers within the limits of the town of Dana.

The thanks of the author are cordially extended to Daniel Stone, Esq., for the use of his manuscripts, and for much historical information; also to Hon. N. L. Johnson, for very valuable aid in obtaining facts for this the first published history of Dana. And to all others who have rendered assistance and furnished information, the author is grateful.

D O U G L A S .

BY WILLIAM A. EMERSON.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE SETTLEMENT — AREA AND BOUNDARIES — WATER AND SOIL — GEOLOGY — FORESTS — POPULATION — GRANTS AND ALLOTMENTS — EARLY TRAVEL AND PUBLIC HOUSES — SHARE OF THE TOWN IN THE REVOLUTION — SHAYS' REBELLION — SPIRIT OF DOUGLAS IN THE WAR OF SECESSION.

THE precise date of first occupation by whites of the territory now called Douglas, is not known, but is presumed to have been as early as 1715. Most of the first settlers came from Sherburn, and the rest from Natick; the whole, however, reckoned themselves as of the former place, and their youthful settlement was only called "New Sherburn" for many years. The present name of Douglas was given in 1746, in compliment to Dr. William Douglas of Boston, who, in consideration of the honor implied, gave the new town \$500 (old tenor) for a permanent school fund. This fund remains to the present time.

As now limited, this town covers thirty-three square miles, or twenty-one thousand acres. On the north it has Oxford, Sutton and Uxbridge; on the east, Sutton and Uxbridge; with Burrillville, R. I., on the south; and Thompson, Conn., and Webster, Mass., on the west. The direct distance from Boston is forty-five miles. The face of the country is well varied, and fully watered. "Bald Hill" rises to seven hundred and eleven feet altitude, "Wallum Pond Hill" to seven hundred and seventy-eight feet, "Mount Daniel" to seven hundred and thirty-five feet. Wallum Pond covers one hundred and fifty acres within the town, lying in the south-west; Bad-luck Pond, in the west, has one hundred and ten acres; Reservoir Pond, also in the west, four hundred acres; and Manchaug Pond, in the north, ninety-three acres inside the boundary line.

The geological structure is granitic, heavily covered with drift, and with occasional metallic veins, none of which pay for working. The business of quarrying is profitable, however, and great quantities of superior building stone are cut and carried far and wide. The soil is generally excellent, and farming is almost everywhere remunerative; the whole territory, however, is far from being subdued. The famous "Douglas Woods" lie in the western

section, occupying some six thousand acres, generally with heavy timber growth, but almost without an inhabitant. Near the northern line, just within the township of Sutton, is a wild, uninhabitable district called "Purgatory," being a fearful gorge or chasm in the rocks, often seventy feet deep, and not more than fifty wide, in which ice often remains through the summer.

This town lies in the district once tenanted chiefly by the Nipmuck Indians, who frequented all the valley of the Blackstone River. Frequent discoveries of arrow-heads and other stone implements are made, and it appears plain that these peculiarly peaceable Indians lived very amicably with the whites till the great war of 1675, each party seeming to pay singular regard to the rights and necessities of the other.

The general elevation above the nearer river valleys is considerable, giving the town a free and very pure atmosphere, highly conducive to health and comfort. The population has increased, from the first, in a way that clearly betrays this fact, as we see by the following statement, showing the successive figures of the census since 1790: 1790, 1,079; 1800, 1,083; 1810, 1,142; 1820, 1,375; 1830, 1,742; 1840, 1,617; 1850, 1,878; 1860, 2,442; 1875, 2,202.

The "New Grant," as this township was so long entitled, was at first a tract of four thousand acres, granted to the town of Sherburn in reparation of their loss by the setting off seventeen of their families to Framingham in 1700. Fifteen years after they obtained three thousand acres more, and soon purchased three thousand seven hundred acres besides. All this was divided to the settled inhabitants. Before 1730, twenty proprietors had secured another grant to them, privately, of four thousand five hundred and twenty-four acres near the corner of Connecticut. Afterward, there were numerous lesser grants to different parties, all these sufficing together to cover the whole township. The first white settler was Ephraim Hill; and, 1721, the town gave him twenty acres on account of this fact.

From 1715 to 1735 the chief concern of the settlement seems to have been the allotment of their extensive wild lands, a task of much complication, and not a little tedious. It did not simplify it to have considerable shares of the property owned in Sherburn (now Sherborn) and in Holliston, both which towns were pretty vigorous in their movements in the premises. But a question of far greater moral breadth was before them by this time. In 1748 we find the townsmen of Douglas agitating a debate as to whether all freeholders, that is, owners of real estate in fee simple, were entitled to the right of suffrage. It embroiled the town for a whole year, led to the annulling of everything done at one town meeting, and required the action of the General Court, and a board of referees under it, before it finally came to rest. The ultimate decision seems to have been that the property qualification alone was not sufficient to confer the privilege of voting.

As the main street in Douglas formed part of the direct route from New

York and the towns of Connecticut to Boston, it very early became a famous stage-route, and several hotels were kept in constant business, in which one or two yet continue, but the most have found other uses. A principal one was at the Centre, kept by Paul Dudley, another near the Lower Village factory, and a rather notable one on the "Caleb Hill place," where the house is still preserved in all its old and interesting arrangements.

It would be a great oversight if, even in a short sketch like this, the part taken by this little town in the Revolutionary struggle were not fittingly noticed. A preliminary fact of great importance is, that in that day the available population was not quite three hundred. Yet the town kept seventy-five men in the army nearly or all the time of the war. In 1774 the seventh Massachusetts regiment was apportioned to this town, together with Mendon, Uxbridge, Northbridge and Upton. When the convention met at Worcester, Aug. 19, 1774, to consider the state of the country, Douglas was represented by Samuel Jennison, who was a member of two important committees, — on public affairs and on resolutions. It was he who bore the celebrated request of this convention to the judges of the sitting courts, that they would not farther coöperate with Parliament against the people. He delivered his message with great spirit, and was able to bring back an assurance of ready compliance from twenty-one of the whole number of judges. Somewhat later, Oct. 7, 1774, Mr. Jennison was a member of the Provincial Congress at Salem, and was concerned in that remarkable message, forwarded to Gov. Gage, in which the Congress informed him that "the fortress commanding the South entrance to the town of Boston *must be demolished*, and the pass restored to its natural State." This measure, though audacious to the last degree, was not in advance of the general sentiment in Douglas and her sister towns; and this was shown by the warm support given to Mr. Jennison by his constituency, who not only approved his course, but returned him to the next session of the Congress, at Cambridge, in the February following.

When the war actually came, the town was ready. In 1775 they had a grand muster, in January, when a corps of minute-men were chosen, and would have been paid, but who refused all compensation. A little later, when the oppressed people of Boston finally were allowed by Gage to flee from the city, Douglas opened her arms, as did other towns about her, and entertained and protected twenty-two of the refugees till they could provide for themselves. When the Declaration of Independence was received, it was approved by the town without a vote against it; while, to show that they meant what they said, they voted an immediate supply of entrenching tools for the army, a half dozen each of several different kinds. In fact, at this time, and all through the later stages of affairs, this community was always ready and faithful, even generous in its patriotism, and no instance appears in which they hesitated over, or showed opposition to, any of the outcoming measures, or other results of the tedious contest.

In a single instance does the last statement require some qualification. In 1784-5, arrived the culmination of the effect of the first inflation of the national currency, which had been so necessary a measure for carrying on the activities of the war. Then came that sure, inevitable, but always painful and terribly obscure process, never yet avoided in like case, the final division and distribution of losses among the people. Of course it had to be done by stages: the first failures were for large amounts, and these liabilities were slowly spread out over the length and breadth of the population. Every man who held a dollar of government credit must meet his due percentage of loss, and this could never be known or calculated beforehand. Hence the number of attempts to collect the full amount of debts was prodigious, for nothing seemed to show creditors that they and their debtors were certainly doomed to share the loss between them. The people were unaccustomed to any such system of dividend, and neither debtor nor creditor was satisfied. No one could abide the thought of a depreciation of currency; and while they insisted that the "Continental" dollar was a dollar still, they of course thought that salaries and fees had risen oppressively, not making allowance for any change of market values. Thus the number of suits for debt increased like the multiplying of the locusts: in 1784 more than two thousand actions were entered in Worcester County, then containing less than fifty thousand people. In 1785 there were seventeen hundred. Lands and goods were seized on execution; but nobody had the means to buy, and the sacrifices were appalling. The courts saw no use in delaying the process, and refused to suspend judgments; the lawyers' offices were thronged; and finally the sufferers, after ineffectual petitions for the abolition of the courts, resolved that such oppressive proceedings should go no further. For this purpose they adopted a course, common enough in the turbulent populations of Europe, but which looks strangely absurd to us in these days of better understanding. They rallied in open revolt, and marched to the siege and suppression of the sittings of court, first in September and again in December, 1786, when they succeeded in breaking up the session in Worcester in both cases. In the next January the court sat again, and Gov. Bowdoin's soldiers convinced the malcontents that the law was and would be higher than the mob, and stronger than insurrection. This was under the notorious Daniel Shays; and thus we identify this dangerous movement as the memorable "Shays Rebellion."

This arch-rioter seems not to have lived in Douglas personally; but he had many supporters hereabout, and on one occasion incited them to a bloody fight with the town officers at Hill's tavern, where they rescued a herd of cattle that had been seized to be sold for taxes. This appears to have been the worst development of the rebellion in this town. Afterward, in 1790, the people were so well quieted that they very readily adopted the new State Constitution submitted to them on the eighth day of May. They had, indeed, rejected the first Constitution, offered in 1788, and refused to send a representative to the

General Court; but this seems not to have indicated any spirit of disloyalty.

The national relations of this town cannot be better summed up than by adding here a brief note of its action in the war of secession. Its contribution of men was greater as to population, and of money was larger as to valuation, than those of any other town in Worcester County. In the five years, Douglas gave a total of \$12,056.97 for State aid; and for the other war purposes \$30,734.36. Two hundred and forty-two men were sent to the field. Thirty-six are known to have lost their lives. Town meetings on the subject began May 7, 1861, and continued till the close of the conflict, with every sign of popular determination to sustain the national integrity, and the most gratifying proofs that the spirit that dwelt in the fathers and animated them in the days of the Revolutionary trial, still remained warmly glowing in the bosoms of their posterity.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST CHURCH AND MINISTER — CHURCH IN EAST DOUGLAS — METHODIST CHURCHES—QUAKERS — CATHOLICS — PUBLIC EDUCATION — THE "SQUADRON" SYSTEM — CLUBS AND SOCIETIES — LOCAL PRESS — MANUFACTURES — THE AXE BUSINESS — OLD FAMILIES AND ANCESTRIES.

THE first minister of the people of Douglas appears to have been Rev. William Phipps, who was formerly settled (or ordained or installed, as all these terms seem to be quite loosely used) over their Congregational Church, Nov. 11, 1717. The meeting-house was then indeed begun; but it was not in a really finished condition till at least forty-two years later, or in 1789. Yet it was doubtless occupied in 1748; for the spirit of the people then did not allow them to hesitate about divine worship, merely because paint or plaster might happen to be wanting. At first, Mr. Phipps was engaged for seven years; but by 1761 the plan of hiring by the single Sabbath, or by the year, was adopted in preference. Then some effort was made to reduce the former salary; but the minister promptly offered the alternative of leaving it as it was or giving him a dismission. For a time the question hung in doubt, but at length the separation took place, the church dismissed the pastor and paid him £60 for damages on account of removal.

Mr. Phipps was succeeded by Rev. Isaac Stone, and he, finding it hard to collect his pay, also endeavored, in 1789, to obtain a dismissal. But the people were averse to this, being largely attached to their minister; and, after a lawsuit had failed of any good effect, he submitted a plan which finally cleared up the whole. This was for the town to buy for him "the Mr. Whiting

place," on conveyance of which to him he gave up all claim to salary, and agreed to serve for the next ten years at least. The scheme was adopted, and the place put in his possession, April 1, 1792; when he formally released the town from further salary grants as he had agreed. Yet they gave him £85 that year, and something every year after. He stayed all the ten years he had promised; but in 1805 became convinced that his people saw no further usefulness in him, and therefore obtained a separation.

We next find this pulpit in charge of Rev. David Holman, a graduate of Brown University, who was ordained on the 18th of October, 1808. The church was very low, only twenty-seven members belonging. He remained over it the same long time as his predecessor, viz., thirty-four years; baptizing three hundred and sixty persons, and receiving two hundred and twenty-six members. He saw the church in its best, and perhaps its worst days; for by 1842 a period of great depression had again arrived, and he was destined to the same fortune as those before him. After his dismissal he still lived in town, and died here, Nov. 16, 1866, aged eighty-nine years. No other pastor of the same long continuance has appeared since. For short terms the people have had the ministrations of Revs. John W. Salter, Gilbert B. Richardson, John D. Smith, Francis Dyer, Amos Holbrook, J. W. C. Pike, W. W. Dow and others. The last named remains to the present time.

A second Congregational church was organized in East Douglas, June 12, 1834. Twenty-nine petitioners, thirteen males and sixteen females, made up the first membership, and Rev. John Boardman became pastor Feb. 25, 1835. He died in 1841, and was followed by Rev. Chauncy D. Rice, December 7 of that year. He was dismissed in exactly ten years, on account of ill-health, and Rev. Joshua L. Maynard took his place, July 7, 1852. After more than eleven years, he left in turn, his successors being Rev. S. M. Pympton and Rev. William T. Briggs. The former died in about a year, but the latter is still in charge of this society.

A Methodist church was formed in South Douglas in 1808, who built the present house of worship at that time. Elder Pliny Brett was pastor till 1815, when the church was led by him to change itself to a church of "Reformed Methodists." It was afterward ministered to by Elder Yates, but has lately had no settled pastor. Another Methodist church, of the same persuasion, was gathered in East Douglas in 1844, over which Rev. Solomon P. Snow first had charge. He was followed by Revs. William C. Clark, W. D. Jones, David Mason, S. E. Pike, George G. Perkins, S. Leader, S. E. Pike, R. S. Cobb and W. Wilkie. During 1866 the church became reckoned with the "Wesleyan" wing of the Methodist body, but very soon after was reclaimed to the original fold of the Episcopal Methodists, whence the whole departure had been at first. Since then, in 1872, a new and commodious house was built in the centre of the village.

There is a relic of an old society of Quakers in the South Village, but no

records relating to it seem to exist. Their venerable house was a lonely object for a great while, and was reported to be haunted. It was finally removed, and the ghosts probably left at the same time. Some aver that the spirits remained in the building, but took on a more visible and tangible form.

A Catholic church was opened in East Douglas, in 1865, by residents there and in Manchaug Village. They had long before met in the Whittin Tavern. They were cared for by Father Sheridan, and afterward by Father O'Keefe. Later they had the services of Father Moran, and then of Father Gagnier, who bought and established a parsonage. Father Coullard followed, but had an assistant during 1878, being in failing health. This assistant, Rev. A. Delphos, succeeded to the pastorate on the death of his principal, which occurred April 16, 1879.

In reference to public education we find that this town took early action, much after the fashion of all the New England communities. The first record appears in 1718, when the town voted that a school should be kept three months in the summer season. In all probability one school-house had then been built, and it seems to have been the ancient one in the Centre Village. It was then almost in the unbroken woods, and the children made daily journeys to it that would appal those of modern times. In the next year the three months schooling was made six. By 1750 they voted to sell "ye school lot" at auction, and a year later, to invest the money. When 1752 came, they appropriated £2 2s. 8d. to support the school, which seems to have been of the kind found elsewhere at that day, that moved about, holding sessions here and there, like a circuit court. The year 1754 made the grant £6, and 1757 carried it up to £10.

The town was districted into five "squadrons" in the year 1761, because it was desired to establish military drill and keep it, along with other instruction. This had a slight flavor of the Prussian method. Ten years later, in 1774, the squadrons counted six, and £125 were voted to pay expenses incurred in them.

From 1747 to 1770 the town was paying from £2 to £20 annually for educational uses. Certain lands had been given for this purpose by Dr. William Douglas, and by the town of Sherborn; these were slowly sold, and the proceeds invested, by which enough was gained in 1763 to have the accrued interest support five schools, variously placed. After 1782 schools began to multiply rapidly, and new squadrons were formed to sustain them. The selectmen had always served as school committee, but in November, 1790, a distinct committee was chosen, of three persons in each district. After this the manner and method of the town presents nothing very different from all other New England towns. The style of school building improved rapidly, but the system pursued within in the development of a better civilization among the people, is much more to be regarded and remembered. Three new houses, aggregating \$439 cost, were erected in 1799, which was no doubt thought a

great enterprise then, but has been left out of sight a great while by the larger ideas and liberal policy of the day in which we now live.

Douglas has always been a place of sufficiently social character to induce the formation of many clubs, bands and societies of a variety of kinds. Nearly the oldest, certainly one of the worthiest of these, was the "Douglas Social Library." It was formed in 1799, April 8, with Rev. Isaac Stone for librarian. The commencement was made with about sixty volumes. It seems never to have increased much in size. In 1815 Rev. David Holman became librarian, and in 1825 the books were brought to his house and finally offered for sale. But no one cared to buy, and the last that was done with the books was to leave them where they were. The "Douglas Lyceum" started in 1872, went on with much flourish and stir till 1875, debating all sorts of questions, and in the well-known style of such bodies. Then, their old hall being refused them, they made some efforts to hold up, but soon came to an end, and passed beyond recovery. Then was organized a new society, called the "Social Union," for literary purposes. This lived about a year. Just about the same time the "Douglas Literary Society" was organized, with nine members, both sexes included. Since then the membership has reached twenty-six, and a high degree of talent has been shown in the public performances. A library of one hundred volumes is kept, and the whole seems very flourishing.

The "Douglas Library Association" is the greatest success of this description in the town. It began from an agricultural library, and was only known as such till April 10, 1865, when it took its present name. The number of volumes has gone up to 600. A central location is had on Main Street, in good rooms, and the public patronage is very liberal. In March, 1879, the town accepted the library, making an appropriation for its maintenance, and it is now a Free Public Library.

The "East Douglas Musical Society" was organized March 15, 1868, and has done some extremely good execution. It still shows much activity, and has the satisfaction of looking back on several very fine performances.

A vigorous military band was here as early as 1800. It passed through many changes, and finally broke up about 1840. Two enthusiastic players succeeded in again awakening public interest, and another band was formed that lasted till 1859. The war broke up the one that then succeeded it, and none was on foot again till 1870, when a fresh organization was effected, which ran into that now in operation, June 2, 1875. This band still endures.

Beside the above societies, there are or have been the "Union Lodge I. O. of O. F.," now disbanded; "Howard Lodge I. O. of G. T.," also given up; "Mumford River Lodge A. F. and A. M.," still flourishing; a "Union Temperance Society," passed away; and the "East Douglas Reform Club," that continues active, and promises much future usefulness.

In the history of its newspaper press this town has as pleasant and instructive facts to present as can often be met in such places. Yet they are all

comprised in a short period, for it was not till the latter part of 1867 that Gustavus B. Quimby and George W. Spencer, journeymen printers from the Webster "Times" Office, decided to start the Douglas "Herald" in the East Village. They had much encouragement from the agent of the Axe Company and others of influence, and the paper was commenced in a humble way, and continued through many changes of fortune, but with a very ardent and generous support from the citizens, for something like three years. The *bona fide* circulation was then about four hundred copies. An accessory sheet, called the "Whitinsville Compendium," was issued regularly from the same office. Some further changes were had at later dates, and then, Oct. 4, 1873, the paper was removed to Uxbridge, though the job office connected with it remained, having been sold to Mr. C. J. Batcheller. The change of location seems not to have alienated the support of the "Herald" in this town, as under its present name of the "Worcester South Compendium" it is still regarded as the local organ.

Other papers attempted have been "The Advertiser," a monthly sheet, by C. J. Batcheller, in 1874; "Our Home Journal," W. D. Bridge & Co., 1877, and "The Engravers' Proof-Sheet," an illustrated paper, by William A. Emerson, October, 1877. Some other valuable publications have issued from Mr. Batcheller's office. We will here allude to the fact that within the present year (1879) a very complete history of the town of Douglas has been published from the pen of the author of this sketch. In this, which is an illustrated work of over 350 pages, a much more complete view of the subject can be found than we have space for in this general work.

The manufactures of Douglas form a subject that might well occupy a long chapter, but must here be treated briefly. The common experience of almost all civilized nations at this day is adequate warrant for reckoning the making of axes at the very head of such a list of industries. The Douglas axes are now everywhere known. It is also to be remembered that about 1798 Joseph and Oliver Hunt began to make them in East Douglas. After a time increasing business led them to start a new shop at Douglas Centre, which Oliver took charge of, while Joseph stayed at the old stand. Then came a failure, after which other parties helped them up, and the business went on with varying success. Finally it all settled in the hands of Oliver Hunt, who soon, with the help of his sons, Warren and Otis, pushed the business up to a permanent footing. Benjamin Cragin became general salesman about this time, and had great success. When about eighteen years of age, Warren Hunt took charge of affairs, enlarged the shops, now several in number, and built new ones beside. In 1832, or thereabout, Alexander Scudder, a retired shipmaster, became a partner, and remained with Hunt some three years, then sold out to him and left. In 1835 the present "Douglas Axe Manufacturing Company" was formed, whose continued works have gained themselves a name in every place where fine and faithful workmanship can be appreciated. Besides

Warren Hunt, we are told of some twenty others, of different names and fortunes, who, at some time, have each been engaged in axe-making in the town, which thus seems plainly to assert its native precedency in this most useful industry. In other departments of labor we find here a large shoddy-mill, with eighteen cards and six pickers, engaging a capital of \$50,000, and run by Lee & Murdock; a commodious carriage manufactory, with ten-horse-power engine, by S. Logee; and three heavy grist-mills, one of which, owned by A. J. Thayer, has a capable saw-mill attached. The others are the old "Eagle Mills," first built at a date unknown, but materially rebuilt in 1795; and Wellman's Mills, erected as late as 1877, and driven by steam. Further than these must be mentioned the planing-mill of Joseph T. and Ira Wallis; fulling-mill of Samuel Legg, and several manufactories of plows, shoes and leather, now discontinued. Somewhat fuller notice is due to the woolen business, which, in the line of satinets, was distinctly begun in this town. Benjamin Cragin commenced as early as, say 1810, though not weaving at that time. The business was afterward conducted by J. Adams & Co. After a time this firm passed from satinets to cassimeres, going on till 1828, when the business collapsed. The privilege now belongs to the Axe Company, the old factory having been burned. A cotton-factory once existed here, founded by Col. Ezekiel Preston in 1808. The business, however, met with many changes, and finally passed into the hands of the Axe Company likewise.

We will terminate this sketch by some brief notice of a few of the more notable families represented among this people. **HILL:** This family is descended from John Hill, at Plymouth 1632, next year at Dorchester, and died 1664. **HUNT:** These are from Ezekiel Hunt, in Douglas a century ago, son of Ezekiel, of Concord, third generation from the first settler. **THAYER:** Progeny of Thomas Thayer, a first settler, at Braintree before 1750. **WHIPPLE:** Descendants of John Whipple, born 1716, and who lived in Smithfield. **RAWSON:** The posterity of Edward Rawson of England, born 1615. **WALLIS:** A Scotch family from Benjamin Wallis, from Seekonk to Douglas in 1750. **DUDLEY:** Descended from Francis Dudley, at Concord 1663.

Many more very interesting genealogies might be traced as connected here, had we space for the purpose, and a large number of most deserving private characters are only denied suitable biographical notice for the same reason.

D U D L E Y.

BY REV. ZEPHANIAH BAKER.

CHAPTER I.

LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY — NATURAL PRODUCTIONS — EARLY FAMILIES —
PRIMITIVE MANNERS — INDIAN MEMORIALS — CHURCH FOUNDATION — ORTHO-
DOX MINISTRY — OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

LOCATED on the southern line of the State, in lat. $41^{\circ} 56' N.$, lon. $71^{\circ} 54' W.$, and between the French river on the east and the Quinebaug on the west, Dudley occupies a range of land of extreme fertility. Its scenery is generally thought to be unequaled by any in the State. Parties of extensive traveled experience pronounce it lovely, and artists have put some of it on canvas that has been admired. Besides the above-named rivers, which afford half a dozen good water privileges, there are ponds affording power for machinery, and amply stocked with fish, — pickerel, pout and perch, — with roach, shiner and trout in the brooks, affording sport for the young and food for many families. There are ten ponds wholly or in part in this town.

Wild animals abound here, some in undesired quantities, such as the fox, skunk, woodchuck, &c. Birds are less abundant than formerly, but now that the youth have learned, in some degree, to love and respect them, these are becoming less fearful of us, and seek homes in yards and shrubbery around the houses, secure from most of their enemies, unless, perhaps, the cat. The faithful dog is not always in his proper place, as the death record of sheep each year indicates. Water-fowl find room in the ponds and rivers; the wild geese, in spring and fall, being wont to stay for rest and recreation as they make their semi-annual pilgrimage toward pole or equator.

This town borders Charlton and Oxford on the north, Oxford and Webster on the east, Southbridge on the west, and Thompson and Woodstock, in Connecticut, on the south. It has an area of 20 square miles, or 13,000 acres; population, 2,800, two-thirds of whom are connected with the different mills. It is noteworthy that scarcely an idler is to be found among them. The valuation is a million, seven-tenths of which is real estate. There are near 500

cows, 200 horses, 100 dogs, and 50 sheep; about 550 polls, and a few more school children; militia roll, 150.

There is nothing peculiar in the geological formation. The town has abundance of rocks, by some called granite, though not truly so, which are in extensive use for building and monumental purposes, and are held in highest esteem. Timber and wood of nearly all kinds are here grown in abundance, and of the best quality. Fruits, vegetables, grains, grasses, all prosper with suitable care, the soil and aspect of the lands being favorable. The farming interests are as fortunate as need be; and home markets take all that is produced, except the apple crop, which, in good seasons, is shipped.

The zoölogical specimens are hardly excelled by those of any town in the State; the ponds and rivers give the best chances for fish, and water-fowl find full convenience for their habits. Rattlesnakes did once abound around Taylor Hill Ledge; but there is a tradition they were all imprisoned in a cave and died there. Sportsmen find ducks, partridges and pigeons, quails, woodcocks, rabbits and squirrels, enough to induce a continuance of the business, though no one has as yet grown rich in this way.

Dudley comes within the area of the largest rainfall in the State, having forty-six inches a year. Of trees and shrubs, it affords nearly all reported for the State, while its smaller flora is equally extensive. The zoölogical collections, in each division, are full of interest to the student of Natural History. Like many of the towns in the county, its agricultural sections are not increasing in population; but few of the young men reared on the farm remain to manage it. There is not the care with them there once was, to make them experts in those things that are found to furnish the best means to induce a love for the occupation. The farmers here suffer most of all for the want of intelligent help. Many of them fail in their business just for the want of a proper knowledge of its requirements; and hence many changes have been made lately in proprietorship.

Dudley has sixty-two miles of highway to keep in repair, and two railroads open the way to any and all sections of the country; none need complain of small facilities for commerce, nor of the means of production, as compared with any section of New England.

We have hardly space for much notice of the early families, some of whom were eminent and noteworthy in various ways and aspects of life. Large numbers, and healthy children, belonged to each. The first deed of land here is to John Healey, 1721, ten years before a petition for township organization was sent to the General Court. John Adams Vinton, in his Vinton Memorial, p. 462, says: "There were no white inhabitants within the limits of the town of Dudley till after the year 1725." This is undoubtedly a mistake. This deed was from William Dudley; in the same year another was given by the same grantor to Jonas Clark; and soon Philip, Benjamin and Samuel Newell, Joseph Putney, William Wood, Nathaniel Ramsdell, Clement Corbin,

Benjamin and Joseph Sabin, Daniel Williams, Joseph and Ebenezer Edmunds, all had possession here, prior to the petition for a township in 1731. The officers elected at the first town meeting, held at the house of William Corbin, June 20, 1732, were: *Moderator*, Joseph Edmunds; *Selectmen*, Joseph Edmunds, James Corbin, Ebenezer Edmunds. George Robinson, John Sibley; *Town Clerk*, John Sibley; *Constable*, Joseph Putney; *Fence Viewers*, John Clement Corbin; *Titheingmen*, Joseph Newell, Benjamin Conant; *Hog Reeves*, David Southwick, Joseph Wakefield; *Treasurer*, Jonathan Newell. Another meeting was had 29th inst., with James Corbin, moderator, when it was voted to have a minister, taxing improved lands and stock for his support, Hon. William Dudley having given one hundred acres of land for him or his use. William Carter's house was voted the place of meeting; and his barn-yard the pound and he its keeper, if the selectmen got him a lock. It was decided to set a meeting-house on the west end of his land, and adjoining the Indians' land. The call extended to Rev. Isaac Richardson, from some cause proving abortive, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed for May 24, 1744; for we read: "Voted unanimously to hold a day of fasting and prayer to God for direction in the great and mighty affair of calling and settling a minister." Charles Gleason was selected, and silver voted the standard of value of money for his pay. Considerable unanimity pervaded all their town meetings. Joseph Edmunds was chairman of selectmen for seven years, and deacon of the church till his death, in 1745. A grandson of the Ebenezer Edmunds on this first board, A. E. Edmunds, is now alive and active; and has himself been one of the board thirty-five years. He is the seventh son of nine, in a family of fourteen, who all grew up to adult age.

The early settlers were attracted to the location as tillers of the soil; and its uniformly good yields of grass, grain, fruits and vegetables, have resulted in a series of thriving husbandmen and beautiful homesteads, extending through several generations. The men and women who first came here were of that self-reliant kind who knew well what was needed on new settlements, and how best to provide for the same. The mother was at once nurse and physician, and professional help was little needed. Diseases seemed to come late, and only as the simple habits of the settlers were displaced by lives of greater ease and more luxurious habits.

At an early period the best kinds of farm stock were brought here, and soon the oxen and cows covered the hills; and with the fine grazing and shade in summer, and good care and shelter in winter, thrive so well that their large growth and cleanly appearance gave them notoriety in all directions. The dairies were also noted, thirteen to fifteen pounds of butter a week sometimes coming from a single cow. Sheep soon followed, and these, with swine, had a place in every homestead. Most of the settlers were content with the acres that could be cultivated; there were some then, as there are now, who speculated in lands; but, generally, if a man took more land than he needed for

himself, it was to share it with a friend or relative still expected to arrive. Groups of people of the same or allied families came together, and so held large tracts of land; as the Davises, who once had all from Dudley Hill east to the great pond. They gave up this land for a road through it, moving as now located. Horses were in use, and good ones preferred, yet they did little on the farm except to mark the ground for planting the corn, and plow for hoeing it. Oxen drew the cart and plow, drag and sled, in all other cases. In those days the families of Dudley were large; ten children were about an ordinary number, but often eighteen stout and healthy boys and girls graced a single household. The people of this town were never extreme in social strictness, yet up to the beginning of this century, when Rev. Abiel Williams became the religious leader, there was the same rigid piety as in other places. With him religion took on her cheerful aspect, youth lost all fear of the minister, and merry hearts went to the meetings with none of the old reluctance. Some regretted it; but more rejoiced in the change, and most of all the youth of the town.

There was a strong opposition to the temperance movement on the part of the church. The sideboard of the minister had a good display of all kinds of liquors, and the ever-esteemed Parson Williams showed his love of them to the last, using, perhaps, without abusing them. Drunkenness, however, has been but little known here from the beginning, and to-day few of native origin have liquor in or around their premises.

The early history of this town possesses no very remarkable features; it had in its limits an inoffensive Indian population, who probably saved the early settlers from such massacres as were experienced in other places. These Nipmucks were early visited by Eliot and his missionaries, Mayhew and Gookin (see below); and their messages were so favorably received that at Manchauga (Oxford) there were sixty, at Chabanakongkomaug (Dudley) forty-five, at Maanexit (Dudley Hill) and the north-east part of Woodstock, one hundred praying souls. Quontisset and Wobquissett of Woodstock (though partly in Middlesex), and West Dudley had respectively one hundred and one hundred and fifty praying people.

On the east side of the hill, on which the village of Dudley stands, was a village of the better class among this tribe (Pegan), if tribe it could be called, for they were held tributary to the Mohegans, and also to the great Massasoit; at one time they had a *squaw sachem*, an unusual thing with the aborigines. The cunning Narragansets tried to hold sway over them. Ninigret, who so sharply resisted Mayhew in his attempts to convert his tribe (Narraganset), thought the Nipmucks too easily influenced, and intimated he had better try the Pequods and Mohegans. One cause of the favor the Nipmucks gave Eliot seems to have been his Bible and religious works. Baxter's "Call," Shepherd's "Sincere Convert," the "Sound Believer," and the "Practice of Piety," were all printed in their language.

The great war of 1674-77 was, as all wars are, ruinous to all religious influences, and nearly ended Eliot's work. The Nipmucks for the most part remained neutral in this strife; and so late as the incorporation of the town by the General Court in 1731, the Indians of the Pegan section gave four acres of land for a public common and church, conditioned with a right for them to occupy convenient seats in the meeting-house, and they largely contributed toward its erection; thus showing that for over half a century they retained their interest in religious matters. Little is known of them previous to the English settlers coming here. They soon got the unfortunate habits of rum drinking and quarreling, and it is owing to this cause that they so soon disappeared. There was a large exchange of land for liquor; its sale was so disastrous to them that laws were soon made to repress or regulate it, and a gallon was provided at each burial, at the town's expense; sometimes they would feign death in order to get it. Their lands were taken as wanted by the settlers, and others, often of little or no value, given in return; finally a fixed settlement was made, and they removed to allotted quarters. Few, if any, remain till now that can claim purely Indian origin. Houses have been made for them, and in some cases schools have been tendered them; but little benefit has, in any case, accrued to them on account of these means of civilization.

The following, respecting the Indians who lived in this town, is from Gookin's collection:—

“About five miles distant from hence [Oxford] is a second town, called Chabana-kongkoman. It hath its denomination from a very great pond, about five or six miles long, that borders upon the southward of it. This village is fifty-five miles south-west from Boston. There are about nine families and forty-five souls. The people are of sober deportment, and better instructed in the worship of God than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher's name is Joseph, who is one of the church of Hassanamesit, a sober, pious, and ingenious person, and speaks English well, and is well read in the Scriptures. He was the first that settled this town, and got the people to him about two years since. It is a new plantation, and is well accommodated with uplands and meadows. At this place dwells an Indian called Black James, who about a year since was constituted constable of all the praying towns. He is a person that hath approved himself diligent and courageous, faithful and zealous to suppress sin; and so he was confirmed in his office another year. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayed and sung psalms with them, and we exhorted them to stand fast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, and resolving a variety of questions propounded by them, touching matters of religion and civil order. The teacher Joseph and the constable James went with us unto the next town, which is called Maanexit, is a third village, and lieth about seven miles westerly from Chabanakongkaman. It is situated in a very fertile country, and near unto a fresh river upon the west of it, called Mohegan River. It is distant from Boston about sixty miles west and by south. The inhabitants are about twenty families, as we compute one hundred souls. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people out of the twenty-fourth psalm,

verse seven to the end: 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in, &c. After sermon was ended we presented unto them John Moqua, a pious and sober person there present, for their minister, which they thankfully accepted. Then their teacher named and set and rehearsed a suitable psalm, which being sung, and a conclusion with prayer, they were exhorted, both the teacher to be diligent and faithful, and to take care of the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost had made him overseer; and the people, also, to give obedience and subjection to him in the Lord."

The Congregational church was organized about the time of the town incorporation, 1732.

Isaac Richardson received the first call to settle here; an ecclesiastical council was called to ordain him, but from some now unknown cause the ordination did not take place. June 12, 1738, Perley Howe of Killingly, Conn., was ordained, having graduated at Harvard University, 1731. Charles Gleason was ordained October, 1744, and died May, 1790. He was from Brookline, Mass., and graduated at Harvard University, 1738. Joshua Johnson, installed December, 1790, was dismissed May, 1796; he came from Woodstock, Conn., and graduated at Yale, 1775. He was unpopular, and greatly disliked by the youth of the town. Abiel Williams of Raynham, Mass., was ordained in 1799, June 12, and dismissed March 16, 1831; graduated at Brown University, 1795. He was, as he ever considered himself, a minister of the whole town, and his popularity was greatest outside of the church. He was charitable and friendly to all, having ever a kind and appropriate word for all he met, old and young; the latter, unusual in those days, held mutual converse with him, and, instead of fearing, were glad to meet him. He bore this excellent character, though in some things eccentric. He knew and loved a good horse, as well as a good man, and it was thought his keen eye too often rested on this noble animal as his parishioners drove up to the church on Sunday. It has been asserted that he exchanged horses on this sacred day, but such stories are undoubtedly mere fictions. This trait of loving the horse was certainly commendable, for it induced a careful use and kind treatment of the animal.

Mr. Williams was sent to the General Court after his dismissal, as a token of the town's regard, after which he remained upon his farm till his death. A grandson of his is now successfully engaged in the ministry.

James H. Francis succeeded Mr. Williams, having been ordained Aug. 24, 1831. He was dismissed June 26, 1837, was from Wethersfield, Conn., and graduated from Yale College 1826. Walter Follet was installed Nov. 2, 1837; dismissed Sept. 28, 1841, from Williston, Vt.; graduated from Middlebury, 1825. Joshua Bates, D. D., installed March 22, 1843; died January, 1854; graduated at Harvard University, 1800. He was first settled as a pastor March 16, 1803; inaugurated president of Middlebury College, March 18, 1818. He was the most eminent and powerful minister the church ever has had. Through

his efforts its debts were canceled, and the society reorganized on a sure basis; and though retaining rather too much of the school-master for a genial pastor, the renewed activity he aroused in the church endeared him to those seeking its best interests. He died here Jan. 14, 1854, and was succeeded by Rev. Henry Pratt, who graduated at Williams College, 1850, and East Windsor Theological Seminary, 1853, and was installed Oct. 25, of same year. He continued fifteen years, or up to Oct., 1869. Since that time there has been no one settled. The following preachers have been engaged temporarily: Rev. F. E. M. Bacheller one year, and others supplied as wanted. Rev. W. Wolcott commenced in 1873, and still remains the minister, though not installed.

The following is a statement of admissions during the ministry of each successive pastor: Gleason, 145; Johnson, 48; Williams, 190; Francis, 74; Follet, 29; Bates, 72; Pratt, 103. As there has been no settled pastor since Mr. Pratt's dismissal, no further report is given.

The incorporation of this society, in June, 1797, embraced nearly all the leading men of the town; and as if to reach all, an additional act was passed Feb. 9, 1798, to include all who generally worshipped with this society. After Rev. Mr. Williams was dismissed, the church property was taken by attachment, in 1832, for the purpose of securing his pay; and individuals came forward and paid him, securing themselves in the same manner. Dr. Bates induced them to re-deed their interests to the society, in 1843.

Many of the early settlers were liberal in their religious views, and the Universalists of Oxford, Woodstock, Charlton and Dudley had occasional meetings during the war. When a convention was held at Oxford, 1785, and a society organized, meetings were held at private residences and school-houses, and the halls of taverns, in considerable numbers, till very many of the leading men and families became favorably impressed of the truthfulness of their views. Mr. Amasa Nichols had specially in view, in the erection of his educational building, a place to hold meetings; and a neat auditorium was made in it, the whole costing over ten thousand dollars. Its destruction by fire, April 11, 1816, with other disasters of a business nature, and the great difficulties encountered in erecting another and much inferior building, together with the fatality that seemed, to him, to take away his favorite religious projects by which he had hoped to make his school and church one — these caused him to give up both in such discouragement that not till May 9, 1829, was a society formed consisting of forty members. Meetings were held in Academy Hall mainly till 1833; a house was then built, and dedicated April 30, 1834. This was done mainly by the society, with some aid from the Methodists, who held services alternate Sundays till 1835, when the Universalists bought their interest. The latter then held continuous services till near the time the house was sold for the exclusive use of the academy. The preachers were Gilman Noyes, four years; John Boyden, five years; Joshua Britton, two years; Wm. H. Griswold, two years (died here March 8, 1844); Joseph C.

Skinner, Samuel Brimblecome, Albert Tyler, about a year each; Cyrus A. Bradley, three years; J. H. Burnham, Phineas Hersey, and Wm. Bell about a year each; Joseph Barber six years. Alternate services with the Webster Society were had, till meetings were only held at Webster, only a few from Dudley being found to attend.

The Methodists had some zealous and firm supporters among the early families. Notably among them was Daniel Dwight, who came here from Thompson, Conn., soon after the war 1812-15, and was one of the first to set about the erection of a meeting-house, located in the east part of the town (now Webster). After a few years a new and better one was erected still further away. The Methodists here united with the Universalists for a time, as above stated; but in 1844 and 1845, under Rev. Wm. B. Olds, built a church and established preaching on Dudley Hill, which church they still own. Their preachers, mainly of the conference, have been: J. L. Hanaford, two years; D. H. Merrill, one year; D. Kilburn, two years; W. B. Olds, two years; Wm. R. Stone, two years; N. A. Soule, one year; J. L. Esty, one year; E. B. Morgan, six months; D. Dorchester, one and a half years; D. Atkins, T. J. Abbott, E. M. Wright, two years each; M. P. Webster, T. B. Treadwell, two years each; T. Powers, six months; S. F. Cushman, four months; W. B. Lacount, two years; J. Noon, two years; C. Deming, one year; F. M. Miller, two years; Wm. B. Lacount, one year; G. W. H. Clark, one year; Lewis Dwight, one year. Mr. John Lewis is now supplying.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS — NICHOLS ACADEMY — MANUFACTURES AND WATER POWER — LIBERAL PROFESSIONS — POLITICAL FEATURES — ANECDOTES.

OF the educational advantages of this town it might be sufficient to name its twelve separate schools; but there is besides the Nichols Academy, with which the high school is now incorporated. Here all pupils of a certain degree of advancement are educated free of further cost to parent or guardian, the town appropriating one thousand dollars a year therefor. Amasa Nichols founded this school with the view of making it a college for the use of the Universalists. Unfortunately his first building was burned just upon its completion (1816), fired, as he believed, by an agent, through sectarian spite, then terribly rampant all over the country. In the erection of his next building he was so crippled in means as scarcely to finish it to his mind; but his school was opened with the help of Revs. Hosea Ballou, Thomas Jones, Paul Dean, Edward Turner and others. Soon after it was incorporated as a regular academy, managed by a board of fifteen trustees.

In the act of incorporation, passed June 18, 1819, the first board are named: Jonathan Davies, Amasa Nichols, Benjamin Russell, John Spurr, John Brown, Isaiah Ricker, Luther Amidown, John Kettell, and Benjamin Gleason, Esq., Rev. Thomas Jones, Rev. Hosea Ballou, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Edward Turner, Dr. Dan Lamb, and Dr. Abram B. Thompson; all being of the Universalist faith. For four years much effort was required to carry on the school. The need of funds induced the trustees to apply to the legislature for aid, which was obtained in the shape of half a township of Maine wild lands (1825). The citizens raised two thousand dollars more by subscription, two hundred and fifty of which, however, never was paid. The Maine lands were sold for two thousand five hundred dollars; so that the whole funds amounted to four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. By the act of incorporation it was carefully "*provided* that the annual income of the whole estate of said corporation shall not exceed six thousand dollars;" quite an unnecessary provision thus far.

When two new trustees were to be appointed, it was thought best to select some of a different faith. Mr. Nichols resented it, resigned, and ceased altogether to recognize his school. The new trustees were the Hon. Geo. H. Tufts and Col. Wm. Hancock, both good men: the latter, later in life, gave six thousand dollars for the institution. The school at this time ceased to be Universalist in any distinctive sense, and became non-sectarian. It has continued with varied success, some of the time with large lists of pupils; and up to this time numbering about two thousand five hundred in all.

It had always been a favorite school with the public, aiming to do the best work possible for the pupil. An alumni association has recently been formed, which holds annual meetings of great interest to the public, having a special address, poem and dinner, and graduating class exercises, with tree-planting and distribution of diplomas. The town has given the school twelve thousand dollars.

The preceptors have been:—Solomon L. Wilds, 1819–21; Isaac Webb, 1822–24; Wm. H. Blackwell, 1824–26; H. Lounds Street, 1826–28; Wm. G. Learned, 1828; Sanford Lawton, 1829–32; Wm. S. Porter, 1833; Darius Ayres, 1834; Benjamin Diefendorf, 1834–36; John Bowers, 1837; Oscar Fisher, 1837–39; Henry C. Morse, 1840; Elisha M. Cook, 1840–42; Henry C. Morse, 1842–44; Samuel W. Bates, 1844–46; Alden Southworth, 1844–49; Alvin H. Washburn, 1849–51; Wm. W. Birchard, 1852; Alvin H. Washburn, 1851; J. H. Almy, 1853; James A. Clark, 1854; Alden Southworth, 1855–56; Ogden Hall, 1857; Monroe Nichols, 1857–62; John F. Clark, 1862–67; Francis C. Burnette, 1867–68; Isaiah Trufant, 1869; A. L. Blane, W. G. E. Pope, and H. F. Burt, 1869; Harold Wilder, and A. H. Livermore, 1870; Leonard Morse, 1871–72; Marcellus Coggan, 1872–79; E. P. Barker, 1879.

The most important and extensive manufacturing establishments are the

Stevens Linen Works, projected and built by Mr. Henry H. Stevens, and costing above three million dollars. They occupy the site of the Merino Wool Factory Company, which was incorporated Feb. 13, 1812. All its original stock was lost. It was purchased at the close of the war by Messrs. Joseph Schofield, Nathaniel Lyon, Chester Mann and John Mallalieu, March 5th, 1817. The bill of the machinery, dated June 24, 1817, indicates the capacity of the mill; viz., two small double carding machines, one large double carding machine, one picking machine, one mixing, one roping billy, three spinning-jennies, five broad looms, four satinets looms, one kersey loom, one narrow plane, one set warping bars, one broad shearing-machine, one narrow shearing-machine. In about a year this company separated, Mr. Schofield retiring. During the time from 1825 to 1837, Maj. John Brown and Samuel H. Babcock of Boston were interested here; finally, in 1846, Mr. Henry H. Stevens became the sole owner, and began the manufacturing of linen goods, which were in special demand; in 1858 Mr. Stevens began those gigantic works, which required some ten years for completion. He evinced an energy and enterprise hardly equaled by any one; some of the time his pay-roll was fully two thousand dollars a day for the help on the mills and dams alone. Many thousand barrels of lime and cement were swallowed up in the huge walls of granite that he quarried upon his own grounds; and much of the time fifty yoke of oxen, besides horses and mules, were engaged in hauling stone from the quarry to the mills. The wheel-house bears date 1859; in the same block are cut

ALL WAS OTHERS'

ALL WILL BE OTHERS'.

This was realized in his case sooner than he expected.

The wheel that drives the machinery is forty feet in diameter, with sixteen feet buckets, and has a capacity of two hundred horse power. Steam is used when necessary. There is also another wheel, twenty feet in diameter, sixteen feet buckets. The large mill was erected 1862-5. It is five stories high with an attic, each story being sixteen feet; it is two hundred and seven feet long by seventy wide; it has an eastern extension eighty-three by seventy feet, and an east wing two hundred and ten by forty; a west one, eighty by twenty-four feet, containing offices and counting-room, bath-room and other conveniences. The old mills remain; a large bleachery has also been erected.

The million dollars cash Mr. Stevens had to begin with, and the large earnings from his mills, were not sufficient to carry out his plans. The whole was made into a stock company, in 1867, with a capital of seven hundred thousand dollars. David Nevins, president; H. S. Shaw, treasurer; and E. P. Morton, agent. After all Mr. Stevens' obligations were canceled he had no capital stock left to himself, and the great works are to him but ornaments and mementoes of what he has been. The mill has three hundred and twenty-five looms, produces five million yards crash diaper a year, besides one and a half million yards cotton

bagging; four hundred and fifty hands are employed, being nearly one-half of all engaged in the mills in town. This privilege, though by the side of French River, is not supplied by it, but by reservoirs of Mr. Stevens' construction.

There is another fine water privilege in the north part of the town. Mr. Titus V. Shepherd was the first to make cloth here. From some cause, not now known, it received the appellation of "Ram's Horn." Saw and grist mills formerly occupied favorable privileges at this point. Hon. Aaron Tufts finally succeeded in securing it, with the former owners, Harvey Conant, John Jewett, Mayo Pratt and Asa Robinson, joint proprietors. The Gore and Baker ponds were made into a reservoir by a dam of some ten feet high, holding an ample and continuous supply of water. In 1827 a large stone mill was erected, and goods manufactured by this company till 1843; when, Tufts dying, Mr. Jewett succeeded to the proprietorship, running the mills till 1864; then sold to O. Pond of Worcester, who made large additions to the building, with new machinery, and changed the name of the place from Tufts Mills to Spring Lake. Mr. Pond not succeeding, the works passed into the hands of Lovell Baker of Worcester; but successive fires in both mills, stores, and barns, soon ended all manufacturing here, and nothing has been done since 1868. The water-supply is abundant and pure, and it would be an excellent place for the manufacture of writing and printing paper.

West Dudley is on the Quinebaug River; has a post-office, grist-mills, where a large amount of grinding is done, and paper machinery for the manufacture of the coarse kinds of sheathing, roofing and carpet papers. It is owned by Gleason & Weld. It is situated on the Southbridge branch of the New York and New England Railroad, and can use the entire water of the river, which gives an unfailing supply. Formerly, when in the hands of Mr. Allen Brown and others, Kentucky jeans were extensively made; but the mills having been burned, the new buildings were devoted to other uses, as above stated.

Below, on this river, is another valuable water-power; the construction of dam, mills, &c., has been altogether the work of Mr. Eben Stevens, son of Mr. Henry H. Stevens, who built the great linen mills in the east part of the town. Mr. Stevens calls his village Dundee, and devotes his works to the manufacture of gunny-cloth and the business of a grist mill. It is on the same railroad as West Dudley, but his post-office is Quinebaug, Ct., just on the State line, and but a short distance from his works. Mr. Stevens' whole village is new; he began his dam Sept. 1, 1871, and had his goods in market March 1872; capacity, three tons a day.

Perryville is in the extreme south-east part of the town, on the French River, which affords ample power at all seasons of the year. It has been owned and used in the Perry family for above a century; but Mr. Josiah Perry, the present owner, has considerably extended the works, cleared and extended the area of the farm attached, erected dwellings and barns, and by keeping all neatly painted and cleanly, he has now one of the finest villages of its

size in the State. He is making a variety of woollens; and his mills have been active while others ceased work till more favorable times. He has twenty-eight tenements, employs one hundred and fifty hands working six sets of machinery, turning off from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand yards a year.

Above, on this river, are the mills of Messrs. John Chase & Sons, on the site of Amasa Nichols' cotton-mills. These were called the Dudley Cotton Manufacturing Company, and were incorporated Feb. 8, 1816, being afterwards called the Fenno Mills. Oscar F. Chase, with his father, erected the mills and buildings, using the stone quarried on the premises. The works are quite extensive, and first-class throughout. The goods are fine cassimeres, and have always sold readily in the market. Through all the trying times of recent years these mills have kept up steady work. Several years ago Mr. Oscar F. Chase sold his interest to his brother, Fred. T. Chase, who has further extended the business, and is now very much improving the lands by walls and cultivation, and reducing to order and neatness the highways and fields, rendering them useful as well as ornamental. Mr. Chase has a fine residence on Main Street in Webster, near the Methodist Church. Mr. Chase and Mr. Perry have the only mills in Dudley, on this river, that derive power therefrom.

David Perry has a small mill near, on a kind of side privilege. It is used for knitting purposes. Hon. Aaron Tufts made cloth at a small mill just west of Dudley Hill for some years, before he engaged at the north part of the town. The place was called "Switch Tail." This seemed to supplement his disastrous venture with others at the Merino Factory.

The law business was for some time an important thing in Dudley. It ceased to be such with the death of Hon. Geo. A. Tufts; though many eminent in this profession have grown up here, or else received that stimulus at our schools that sent them onward to full success. They had little social influence in town, though some of them were much noted in their time, and men of culture over and beyond their calling.

Of doctors a supply has always been had since the early settlers gave up their simple habits, and the kind mother and maiden their nursing and herb raising. Dr. Eaton, succeeding Dr. Lilly, was one of the most eminent in the county; he began and spent a long life here, and bequeathed to his son-in-law, S. P. Knight, his business and virtues; he too was very useful in teaching the people to be careful and avoid disease, as well as in faithfully and skillfully battling it. From his death he was long and lovingly remembered. Succeeding him come the Drs. Lindsay, father and son; the latter remains in the business. These are all what are called "old school" practitioners, but many families adopt reformed methods.

It has been thought the schools of the early settlers were held in light esteem, from the fact that no provision was made for them till seven years after the town was incorporated; and, when districts were then established, inferior teachers were put in the schools and kept there. The first thing

required was government; the last, the same. The hickory switch occupied a conspicuous place behind the master's desk, and was in constant requisition. Those who received the severest castigation were made so reckless thereby that the thing cured itself. Now, great care and attention are given to the schools.

In politics two leading parties, very nearly balanced, have alternated almost from the beginning, but for most of the time with no very unfriendly temper towards each other. During the active portions of the career of Maj. John Brown and Hon. Aaron Tufts in this town, strong feelings were infused into each party under these violent leaders. Brown was chairman of selectmen five years, Tufts, fifteen years, which may or may not indicate their domination here; they were pretty nearly equally matched for persistence and party zeal, and generally rendered the town meetings extremely animated, one leading the party of the *right*, the other that of the *left*, so that the house was readily divided on all disputed questions. At the State election in 1878, this town voted for B. F. Butler for governor.

If there could be space given, many incidents of public interest could be given illustrating the character and habits of the early settlers here; a few authenticated ones must suffice.

The clergy were looked upon as examples worthy any one's following. Rev. Mr. Gleason assisted a neighbor in getting in hay after service on a Sunday, justifying the act, though the party aided was not a member of his church. His successor, Rev. Mr. Johnson, was an extremist the other way, and Rev. Mr. Williams, who began his ministry and ended his days here, following the latter, was of the liberal style again. It has been stated that he loved the horse; he knew his qualities and his values quite thoroughly. Often his judgment was had in requisition, and almost as often it was abused, which made him wary. On one occasion a young man had fitted up a cheap animal with a view to speculation, and placing upon it a new harness, sought Mr. Williams's opinion of its value; but, passing around it, he only offered this opinion: "Pretty good horse, — pretty good horse, — harness worth more than the horse." His successor, Mr. Francis, was an opposite in nearly everything; but there seems here to have been an end of extremes with this class.

One Ezra Healy was a great rogue. He had the audacity, one noon-time, to put the whole school up through a ventilator, and then to threaten to kill the first one who should make any noise. When the teacher came in, he sat alone in his seat with such a solemn countenance as to surprise the master almost as much as the loss of his school; and strange, too, he had lost his speech. There seemed to be no clue as to the whereabouts of the scholars for some time, till this writer's mother, then ten years old (1786), and having a cold, was compelled to cough, and that ended the mystery. Some of the parents held extreme views of discipline, and cases of flogging with the ox-whip belong to the early history of this town.

On the western border was a small settlement at one time, west of John Vinton's thousand-acre purchase, called "Middlesex." The connected lands were coveted by some of the new comers, and the holders being unwilling to sell, a device to frighten them was contrived by the solicitors. An egg, which had written upon it with melted tallow, "Woe to Middlesex," was put in vinegar till all the shell was corroded but the portion protected by the tallow. The egg, with this ominous inscription, was placed in the barn of a prominent resident, where it was soon found. It is reported that such a fear came over the inhabitants, that easy terms were made with the deluded people for the purchase of their lands.

FITCHBURG.

BY EBEN BAILEY.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT—SURFACE AND GEOLOGICAL FEATURES—STREAMS—
INDIAN INHABITANTS—EARLY SETTLERS—INCORPORATION AS A TOWN—PROM-
INENT EARLY CITIZENS—FIRST TAXES—EDUCATION—ACADEMY—PRESENT
SCHOOLS.

FITCHBURG, in the north-eastern portion of Worcester County, Mass., is about fifty miles by rail from Boston. Its territory is about six and a half miles long by four and a half miles broad, and, according to a survey made in 1830, it contains 17,879 acres. It is bounded on the north by the town of Ashby, in Middlesex County; on the east by Lunenburg and a portion of Leominster; on the south by Leominster and a portion of Westminster; and on the west by Westminster and a portion of Ashburnham.

The surface is very uneven, and there is but little level land. There are spurs of hills running in all directions, seemingly thrown up at random by the hand of nature. These hills and corresponding valleys afford most picturesque scenery to an observer on the highlands. The most level land lies alongside the river, which runs through the most thickly settled portion of the city, and upon which its numerous manufacturing establishments are situated. Rollstone Hill, of solid granite, rises three hundred feet from the river, and is quarried to a considerable extent for building material. Pearl Hill, in the northerly portion of the city, is a very considerable elevation, and on one side rises abruptly in the form of a precipice. From its summit an extensive view may be obtained.

The foundation of Fitchburg is mica-slate, gneiss and granite. In the neighborhood of Mt. Vernon Street, the rock is a sort of garnetiferous slate. Rev. Peter Whitney, in his history of Worcester County, published in 1793, says of Fitchburg: "It is a very hilly and uneven but fertile town. The hills are large, high and steep; however, on them there is not broken, poor and waste land. In general, the soil is excellent." It was formerly believed that gold and silver ore would be found hidden in the interior of Pearl Hill, but no

search has yet revealed it. Rev. Peter Whitney says: "It is not improbable that from Pearl Hill will sometime be dug large quantities of the precious metals, as everything at this time favors the conjecture." Rufus C. Torrey, in his history of Fitchburg, published in 1836, says: "Upon the elevation formerly known as Appletree Hill, situated east and north-east of the village, there are indications of the existence of mineral coal; and the high and increasing price of fuel will soon, it is presumed, cause a thorough examination into the matter." (Appletree Hill was the hill lying back of what is now Pleasant Street.) There are no natural ponds within the limits of Fitchburg, and the ponds made by the dams on the mill-sites are not large. A branch of the Nashua River runs through the city, and furnishes it with water-power. Baker's Brook flows through the easterly portion, and empties into the former stream. Phillips Brook, which has its source in Ashburnham, flows through the northern part of Westminster, and empties into the Nashua in West Fitchburg.

It is a saying that "happy is the people whose annals are uninteresting." Had there been no cruel, vindictive red men, no sudden and terrible Indian massacres, no weeks and months of apprehension and anxiety, the general history of New England would have been less interesting, and there would have been a lack of that fascination which the history of many of the towns of New England now possesses.

Fitchburg, as an incorporated town, never suffered from Indian depredations; but that portion of the town of Lunenburg which was afterwards set off to form Fitchburg was visited at least once by a band of Indians, fully intent on deadly mischief; and, although they did but comparatively little harm at the time, it was not from lack of intention.

Just previous to the landing of the Pilgrims, a fatal disease swept away a large portion of the Indian inhabitants of New England; so that, although there were a number of tribes within its limits, they were mostly at a distance from each other, and a very large portion of the territory was practically uninhabited, being only occasionally visited by parties of Indians, bent on war, on hunting or fishing.

This town was probably within the limits of the territory of the Pawtuckets or the Pennacooks, but there are no indications of any permanent stay here, although it is certain that the Indians occasionally visited or passed through the place. Arrow-heads and implements of Indian manufacture have been found here at various times and in various places, though never in large quantities.

The inhabitants of that portion of Lunenburg afterwards set off as Fitchburg, shared the general excitement and alarms incident to the French and Indian war, and in 1748 they received a visit from the Indians. The occasion of this raid was as follows:—John Fitch lived in the northern portion of the town, which was afterwards set off from Fitchburg to form a portion of the

town of Ashby. His house, which was also a garrison, was nearly opposite the present residence of Paul Gates in Ashby. One day, while at work in the woods, he cut down a tree, which unfortunately fell upon the wigwam of Surdody, a certain half-tamed Indian, who lived near by. Fitch did not deem it necessary to offer him any recompense or apology, nor did Surdody ask any. Bent on revenge, he quietly departed for Canada, and succeeded in inducing a party of his race to return with him by promising them prisoners and plunder. On their arrival, they divided into several parties, and reconnoitered the vicinity. It was on Saturday, the 2d of July, 1748, that the Indians appeared in the vicinity of Pearl Hill. Stephen Shepley, Esq., says in a paper which was carefully written by him on this subject:—

“On the south-easterly slope of the hill the Gibsons lived; they were several brothers, all good fighting men, famous for great strength and courage. The house of Isaac Gibson, who lived where the widow of Levi Kendall now resides, was fortified and called Fort Gibson, and could afford protection to all the Gibsons in case of danger. It is said that the Indians, after carefully watching these hardy, athletic men, did not dare to attack them. Reuben Gibson, who lived where A. V. Jones now resides, went to his house and said to his wife, ‘The Indians are about; I must go with you to a place of safety.’ He took his horse from the barn, put on saddle and pillion, both mounted and were off at once. As soon as he had seen his wife safe with her friends, he returned and found everything unmolested: even the bread his good wife had placed in the oven that morning was baked and ready for use.

“On Sunday, the 3d of July, a party of Indians were on the hills about the centre of Lunenburg; but, seeing men going to the meeting-house with guns in their hands, they skulked back to their comrades, telling them that the whites were thick as the leaves on the trees, and that it was hopeless to attack them.”

On the 5th of July, 1748, the garrison of John Fitch was attacked. Two soldiers who were with him were killed, but he kept up the fight for some time, his wife loading the guns and he firing them. At last the Indians told them that if they would surrender, their lives would be saved; otherwise they would be burned with the garrison. They finally surrendered, and the Indians kept their word and saved their lives, although Surdody did his utmost to have Fitch killed. The family of John Fitch, consisting of himself, his wife and five children, the youngest a babe less than five months old, were taken to Montreal. They were ransomed the following fall, and all returned safely, with the exception of Mrs. Fitch, who died on her way home.

On the day after the capture of Fitch, Deacon David Goodridge was fired upon by a party of Indians. Mr. Goodridge had lost his cow, and was searching for her on horseback. He had reached the farm of Deacon Amos Kimball, and entered into conversation with him as he was hoeing corn in a field which was surrounded by a brush fence. While thus occupied his dog began to bark furiously, and while endeavoring to discover the cause, he saw some Indians lying flat on the ground, with their guns pointing through the fence. He

immediately shouted to Kimball, "Indians! Indians!" and started down the hill, the savages firing upon him as he went. In his flight he lost his hat, which the Indians secured. Goodridge hastened to Page's garrison on Pearl Street, and gave the alarm, and in a few hours a company of soldiers arrived from Lancaster. They followed the trail of the Indians for some distance, but did not overtake them. Amos Kimball was probably fired upon at the time that Goodridge retreated. This account differs slightly in some respects from Mr. Torrey; but we think our information in regard to the day of the occurrence is correct.

The soldiers who followed the Indians discovered a piece of bark stuck on a tree, on which Fitch had written a request not to pursue them further, as his captors would probably kill him if overtaken. John Fitch married again, his second wife being Mrs. Elizabeth Pearce of Lunenburg. He was prosperous and influential in Fitchburg, and afterwards in Ashby, when his neighborhood was set off in 1767 to form a portion of that town. He died April 8, 1795, aged eighty-seven years, at the house of a relative in Ashby.

There seems to have been some difference of opinion in the past as to the year in which this Indian raid occurred; but Mr. Shepley's researches have fixed the time as July, 1748, although he differs from Peter Whitney, Mr. Torrey, and the monument erected to John Fitch in Ashby. These last authorities, however, all differ from each other, and the written records by which Mr. Shepley fixes his dates must set the matter at rest.

Well may we honor our first settlers, for they were courageous, hardy, enterprising men, who struck out into the unknown forest, and by their honest toil laid the foundation of our prosperity and comfort, and if we raise to them no material monument, we can do no less than give to them their due mention in history.

The first settler within the present limits of Fitchburg was, undoubtedly, a man by the name of David Page, who lived very near Pearl Street on the Moses Wood estate, on the opposite side of the street, and south-westerly from the house. His dwelling was garrisoned, a stockade extending around it consisting of sticks of timber hewn on two sides to about the thickness of six inches, and driven closely together at a distance of about ten feet from the house. He turned the little brook which flows there from its course, and conducted it for some distance underground, and then through the garrison, that he might be supplied with pure water if besieged. It must have been soon after the settlement of Page that John Scott moved on to his farm on the Scott Road, as he was living there in 1734. Jonathan Wood, a man of considerable note, was living, in 1735, in the vicinity of "Baker's Bridge." Samuel Poole lived near the present residence of J. A. Cutting, on the Mt. Elam Road, and his brother, James Poole, near the junction of Rollstone Road and the old turnpike in 1740. David Goodridge and David Carlile were also very early settlers, the former living on the Bemis place in South Fitchburg, and the latter

on the road leading to Stephen Shepley's farm, not far from the bridge over the brook. Before 1745, Isaac and Reuben Gibson, Timothy Bancroft, Ephraim Whitney, Thomas Dutton, William Henderson and John White were all living in the north-easterly and easterly portions of the town.

In 1743 Amos Kimball moved into the limits of Fitchburg from Bradford, and, in 1749, he was followed by his cousin Ephraim. They were active, enterprising young men, who bought land extending back some distance from the river, and along the same from the Old City as far as the River Street railroad crossing, taking in the whole of Rollstone. Amos built a house in the rear of the present residence of Samuel Hale, and Ephraim some distance farther back from the river, near Everett Street. These two men built the first dam on the river, and erected a grist-mill and a saw-mill very nearly on the spot now occupied by the grain-mill of Joseph Cushing on Laurel Street. The Kimballs employed a man named Hodgkins to tend their mill, and he erected a little hut for himself near by.

In 1745 there were four garrisons within the present boundaries of Fitchburg. One was owned by Samuel Poole, and one by Samuel Hunt, who kept a tavern on Pearl Street, near David Page's former residence. There were also garrisons at Isaac Gibson's and Joseph Spafford's.

At the time of the incorporation of Fitchburg, in 1764, there were forty-three or forty-four families living within it, and the number of inhabitants was not far from two hundred and fifty. The following citizens were living here at that date :—

Amos Kimball, Ephraim Kimball, Samuel Pierce, William Steward, Phineas Steward, Robert Wares, Samuel Poole, James Poole, Kendall Boutelle, Francis Fullam, Silas Snow, Nehemiah Fuller, Ephraim Osborne, Hezekiah Hodgkins, Solomon Steward.

The above lived in the southerly portion of the town.

James Litch, Charles Willard, Abraham Smith, Edward Scott.

The above lived in the northerly portion of the town.

Ebenezer Bridge, Reuben Gibson, William Chadwick, Nicholas Danforth, Ezra Whitney, Isaac Gibson, Isaiah Witt, Thomas Gerry, Joseph Spafford, John White, Thomas Damary, Jesse French, Thomas Dutton, William Henderson, Ephraim Whitney, Timothy Bancroft, Samuel Hunt, Timothy Parker.

The above lived in the vicinity of Pearl Hill and in the easterly part of the town.

David Goodridge, Jonathan Holt, Samuel Hodgkins, Jonathan Wood, Samuel Walker, Phineas Goodell.

The above lived in the vicinity of South Fitchburg.

John Fitch lived in that portion of the town which is now Ashby.

As early as the year 1757, some of the citizens of the westerly portion of Lunenburg desired to be set off into an incorporated town. There were various reasons for this desire. One, perhaps, was that some of them were



THE REUBEN GIBSON HOUSE, PEARL HILL, FITCHBURG, MASS. (Built 1744).



THE JOSEPH SPOFFORD HOUSE, FOOT OF PEARL HILL, NORTH-EAST PART OF
FITCHBURG, MASS. (Built in 1744-5.)

men of prominence in Lunenburg affairs, and, from experience, thought themselves fully capable of managing a town of their own. Another, and the chief reason, was that the distance to the church, which was used both for religious worship and for the transaction of town business, was so great as to be very inconvenient. Even in our time we might justly complain of the distance; but then matters were far different. In those days all traveling was done on horseback over rough roads, which were merely bridle-paths. Streams must be forded, bars taken down, and the spreading boughs and limbs of trees avoided. Thus, for those people in the westerly part of Lunenburg, it was a long and tedious ride to church and to town meeting, and the remedy was a church and parish of their own.

As early as 1757 Samuel Hunt and others petitioned to have the westerly part of Lunenburg set off, that it might be incorporated into a separate town; but the town of Lunenburg declined to assent. The project, however, was not dropped, but was presented at other town meetings for a number of years, until finally on Jan. 25, 1764, the following vote was passed:—

“Voted, That at the request of Dea. Benj. Foster, Dea. Samuel Putnam and others, the lands in said Lunenburg which lie west and westwardly of the line hereafter described should be set off from said town, that so the said lands and the inhabitants thereon may be formed by the General Court into a town or district as they shall think proper.” (Here follows a description of the line which corresponds with the easterly boundary of Fitchburg.) This was granted on condition that “the inhabitants should pay their minister’s tax as heretofore they had done, until they should be formed into a district.”

The people in the westerly portion of Lunenburg, having been so far successful, appointed a committee consisting of John Fitch, Amos Kimball, Samuel Hunt, Ephraim Whitney and Jonathan Wood, to wait upon the General Court and obtain an act of incorporation. They attended promptly to their duty, and, on the 3d of February, the act which created the town of Fitchburgh received the signature of the governor. The town was in all probability named for John Fitch, who headed the committee on incorporation, and who was the same person formerly taken prisoner by the Indians. This, however, has not been undisputed, some believing it to have been named for Col. Timothy Fitch, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who owned extensive tracts of land within the limits of the new town. Both men might have been remembered in naming the town. It will be noticed that the incorporated name terminated with the letter *h*, but the use of that letter was but temporary, and Fitchburg was incorporated as a *city* without it.

The act of incorporation ran in the usual manner, except that instead of having the privilege of sending a representative to the General Court, the two towns of Lunenburg and Fitchburg were to unite in sending one.

It is noticeable that, in the September following, it was voted by the town of

Fitchburg, "that a portion of the town be set off to John Fitch and others, in order to make a Town or Parish among themselves." It was not, however, until three years afterwards that this portion of the town was set off to form part of the town of Ashby.

In accordance with the act of incorporation, a town meeting was called March 5, 1764, by virtue of a warrant issued by Edward Hartwell, Esq., of Lunenburg, directed to Amos Kimball, one of the constables of Fitchburg. This meeting was held in the tavern of Capt. Samuel Hunt, which was situated where the late Milton M. Cushing resided, on the estate formerly owned by Moses Wood on Pearl Street. Amos Kimball, David Goodridge, Samuel Hunt, Ephraim Whitney, and Reuben Gibson were chosen selectmen.

Owing to the river and the peculiar physical formation of the town, there was much occasion for the rebuilding of bridges and the repairing of roads. The spring freshets and the heavy rains in the fall would often damage the roads or carry away the bridges, and town officials found plenty to do. In addition to what must always be done in a town just starting from the wilderness, there were numerous ecclesiastical matters to claim the attention of the town officers, as the parish and the town were then identical. Town meetings in those early days were quite numerous, and sometimes matters apparently trivial occupied the serious consideration of the town. Town meetings were held in Samuel Hunt's tavern until the erection of the church, after which they were always held in the latter place.

We give here a list of town officers elected in those times: selectmen, town treasurer, town clerk, constables, surveyors of highways, tything-men, deer-reeves, hog-reeves, fire-wards, surveyors of clapboards and shingles, culler of hoops and staves, leather sealer, field-drivers, fence-viewers, surveyor of wheat, school committee.

The following are some of the prominent men in town affairs, as taken from the early records, their names figuring often as town officers: Thomas Cowdin, Amos Kimball, Ephraim Kimball, John Fitch, David Goodridge, Samuel Hunt, Ephraim Whitney, Reuben Gibson, Phineas Steward, Kendall Boutelle, Jonathan Wood, Isaac Gibson, Isaiah Witt.

The following were the highest tax-payers in 1771: Thomas Cowdin, Amos Kimball, David Goodridge, Ephraim Kimball, James Poole, Moses Thurlow, John Thurston, Isaac Gibson, Reuben Gibson, Abraham Gibson, John White, Joseph Low, Ebenezer Bridge.

Thomas Cowdin paid the highest tax; viz., £13 11s., and his property was valued at £121 4s. The valuation of his real estate was £85, and of his personal property £36 4s. He was possessed of three horses, three oxen, seven cows, fourteen sheep, and four swine. The column headed "money" in the valuation list is blank throughout; but Stephen Shepley states, that according to the valuation list of 1764, which he has seen, but which we were unable to find, John Fitch and another man, whom we think was Ephraim Whitney, had money at interest.

The valuation of the town in 1771 was:—

Real estate,	£1,951 00s. =	\$6,503 33
Personal estate,	557 10 =	1,858 33
Total valuation,	£2,508 10s. =	\$8,361 66
The total town tax was, in 1771,	£115 3s. 4d.	
County tax,	2 10 8	
Total tax,	£117 14s. 0d. =	\$392 30

Judging from this tax-list there were from seventy-five to eighty families then living in Fitchburg.

We will here notice an article in the warrant for town meeting, January, 1770. It ran as follows:—

“To see if the town will relieve the Widow Mary Upton for Distresses occasioned by Frowns of Divine Providence, and abate her husbands rates on Isaac Gibson’s and Ebenezer Bridge’s tax lists.”

It was voted in town meeting to “abate Mr. Upton’s *pole* tax.”

The educational growth of Fitchburg has not been rapid, but none the less has it been real and substantial. The first schools were kept in private houses. We have the record of a school having been kept in William Chadwick’s corn-barn, which was near the present Pearl Hill school-house; and a school was kept for a considerable time in Samuel Hunt’s tavern. In 1764 the town voted to keep two schools, and the sum of £8 was appropriated for that purpose; but the next year the appropriation was reduced to £3; and in June, 1770, the town voted “not to have any school this winter but to keep the money till next fall.” In 1777 the annual appropriation had risen to £30.

Just when the first school-house was built is uncertain, but in the year 1800 it stood on Main Street, opposite the Common, and just above Crocker’s Hall, which is on the corner of Circle Street. It was a low, unpainted, wooden building, which stood with its end to the street. There were at least two other school-houses in town at this time: one near the present residence of Edwin Works, and one in the vicinity of Pearl Hill.

In 1811 the centre district, or District No. 1, was divided, and District No. 12 was set off in the Old City; the town voting to give the people of that locality \$90 to assist them in the erection of a building for school purposes. The next year a brick school-house was erected, which still stands, forming a portion of the dwelling-house on the upper corner of Crescent and Blossom streets.

The old school-house in District No. 1 was succeeded, in 1815, by a more modern and substantial structure, which was painted yellow, and contained two rooms. It stood on the spot where D. H. Merriam now lives, for about twenty-

five years, when, having become entirely insufficient to accommodate the number of pupils sent there, a new, brick school-house was erected on West (now Main) Street, which is still standing. It was erected in 1840.

In 1830 there were twelve districts and twelve school-houses in Fitchburg. In 1846 the brick school-house in the Old City was superseded by the erection of the Day Street school-house, which building was enlarged in 1869. In 1859 the present grammar school-house on High Street was built, and was used for both high and grammar schools till 1869. It 1874 it was enlarged by an addition of four rooms.

About 1830 a number of the citizens formed an association called the High School Association of Fitchburg, which was an important supplement to the educational powers of the town. Here was obtained by many of our most respected citizens a knowledge of the higher branches of study, which is so essential to a well-balanced mind. The directors of this association were Benjamin Snow, Francis Perkins and Dr. Charles Wilder. Dr. Jonas A. Marshall was secretary and treasurer. A building called the Academy was erected in 1830 at a cost of \$1,200, on land given for school purposes by Capt. Zachariah Sheldon. The building stood just in front of the present high-school building, and the land at the time it was given was part of a field of rye.

The Academy was let to private persons for school purposes. Beniah Cook, A. B., was principal of the first school kept in the building, and Ezra W. Reed was his assistant. Almost all the studies known to the ancients or moderns were advertised to be taught in this school. In a later school kept by Messrs. Cragin & Waldo, Hebrew was placed in the list of studies. About thirty scholars were attending in 1835. This academy was moved when the present high-school building was erected, and is now a part of the Rollstone House.

In 1849 the town voted to establish a public high school, and purchased the academy of the High School Association; and a high school and two lower schools were kept in the building till the erection of the High Street grammar-school house. The present high-school building was erected in 1869.

The early school committees were chosen for prudential purposes only, until 1808, when the town commenced to choose an additional committee for examining teachers; and after 1827, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, school committees were chosen, having and exercising substantially the powers of our present boards. The first school committee under this arrangement, chosen in 1827, consisted of Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Rev. Rufus A. Putnam, David Brigham, Ebenezer Torrey, Ivers Jewett, Abel Fox and J. A. Marshall.

In 1845, the town purchased the school-houses of the various districts, a proceeding somewhat unusual for the Massachusetts towns at that time.

In 1835, the school returns furnished to the Legislature showed that there were attending the common schools in Fitchburg, five hundred and sixty scholars between the ages of four and sixteen; average attendance, four hundred and sixteen; children not attending school any portion of the year, forty-



FITCHBURG SAVINGS BANK BLOCK.



HIGH AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL BUILDINGS, FITCHBURG, MASS.

one; average wages of teachers per month, exclusive of board, winter, \$16.67; summer, \$4.30; amount of money raised by tax for common schools, \$1,237.50; estimated amount paid for tuition at the academy and private schools, \$705.

In 1878, the number of children in the city between the ages of five and fourteen, inclusive, was two thousand two hundred and thirty-five. The number between the same ages attending school was one thousand nine hundred and three; and there were two hundred and fifty-four pupils of fifteen years of age and upwards. The salaries of experienced teachers for grades below the grammar school was \$380 per year of forty weeks. The amount appropriated for schools was \$33,700. The city now has about forty schools and nineteen school-houses.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY PROVISION FOR PREACHING — FIRST CHURCH BUILT — MINISTER SETTLED — "SODOM" — CONTEST OF EAST AND WEST VILLAGES — LOCATING OF NEW CHURCH — RISE OF NEW DENOMINATIONS — SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS — BOARD OF TRADE.

THE early religious history of Fitchburg, like that of other New England towns, is very closely interwoven with its secular history. The settlement of a minister, the building or repairing of a church, were matters which it behooved the assembled wisdom of the town to meet and deliberate upon.

One of the very first acts of the newly incorporated town of Fitchburg was to vote in town meeting, Nov. 26, 1764, "To have Sabbath days preaching the winter ensuing." It was also voted "To have preaching in Thomas Cowdin's house," and the committee on preaching were instructed "to apply to Peter Whitney and Mr. Russell first." Accordingly the committee applied to, and secured the Rev. Peter Whitney, who came and preached in the tavern of Thomas Cowdin (who had succeeded Samuel Hunt in the tavern on Pearl Street), during the summer. This Thomas Cowdin was a man of will and energy, and proved himself a power in the town.

The committee to "manage and take care of building the meeting-house in town," consisted of David Goodridge, Ephraim Whitney and Thomas Cowdin, and the sum of £50 was appropriated to commence the work. Thomas Cowdin offered to give an acre of land for the building, and his offer was accepted. The spot selected was near the corner of Mt. Vernon and Crescent streets, and between Mt. Vernon and Blossom streets. When built, the little church looked down on the winding stream below, on the rude dam and mills of the Kimballs, and across the river to the residence of Amos Kimball or Hale's Hill.

Up the valley was a forest of pine trees and hemlocks, with a narrow road extending through it.

The church was built piece by piece, and was never a very handsome or comfortable structure. From time to time numerous votes were passed with reference to its completion. One of them had reference to the pulpit. It being voted "that the town provide a place for the minister to preach in." The meeting-house was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1766, but we see by the records that in 1771 a sum of money, to be obtained by the sale of some land belonging to the town, was appropriated to finishing the church.

In town meeting, Sept. 22, 1766, John White, Kendall Boutelle, Solomon Steward, John Thurston and Ephraim Kimball were chosen a committee to "lay out and dignify the pews," and it was also voted that "the highest payer on real estate have the first choice in the pews."

As before stated, there was preaching during the winter of 1764-5, in the tavern of Thomas Cowdin. In the year 1766, there was no preaching, and the inhabitants were obliged to attend religious services in Lunenburg. In 1767, application was made to Rev. Peter Whitney, to Rev. Samuel Angier, and to Rev. John Payson to come and preach. Mr. Angier came and was invited to settle, but, chiefly on account of some difficulty with Dea. Amos Kimball, he declined.

In May, 1767, the town appointed "a day of fasting and prayer, in order to ask Divine assistance in giving some gentleman a call to settle in the gospel ministry in this town."

During the summer of 1767, Rev. John Payson preached for the people, and in November he consented to become their pastor. He was ordained Jan. 27, 1768, the church having been "embodied" on the 9th of the same month. Mr. Payson was a son of Rev. Phillips Payson of Chelsea, and a brother of Rev. Samuel Payson, who had been settled in Lunenburg. He seems to have been an exemplary pastor and a truly Christian man, but loving quiet and seclusion, and shrinking from the active affairs of life. He was possessed of a constitutional infirmity of mind which finally resulted in confirmed insanity. However, he had lucid intervals and continued to preach till 1794, going through the services with perfect propriety, when frequently he did not have a really lucid interval during the week. In May, 1794, the pastoral relation between Mr. Payson and the town was dissolved, after twenty-six years of ministerial service; the town agreeing to pay him the sum of \$530. He continued to reside in Fitchburg, but in May, 1804, while on a visit to his brother-in-law in Leominster, he committed suicide. He died in the 59th year of his age, and was buried in the old cemetery on South Street, where a large stone which lies horizontally on four supports, marks his last resting-place. It was placed there by his son and bears a long Latin inscription.

The old cemetery on South Street contains the graves of most of the early settlers of the town, and is a place to be preserved and held in honor, never

to be disturbed by the vandal hand of progress. The first "grave-yard" was near the first church, but on account of the ledge of rock it was found not to be a suitable place, and the few bodies which had been interred there were finally exhumed and placed in the cemetery on South Street, the land for which was given by Dea. Amos Kimball, "in consideration for the love and respect which he bore to the people of Fitchburg."

The town constituted the parish in those early days, and every one was expected to attend Divine worship regularly and constantly. If not, his name was reported by a committee appointed for that purpose, and he was fined. We have the account of a Mr. Abel Baldwin, who was fined for non-attendance at church. He was brought before Thomas Cowdin, Esq., who lived in the Old City, to be tried, and after receiving sentence and paying his fine, proceeded to curse the place and named it Sodom, which name that portion of the town bore for many years; or, as Mr. Torrey says in his history of Fitchburg, written in 1835: "It is called Sodom unto this day."

After the resignation of Rev. Mr. Payson, the Rev. John Kimball was employed to preach for the town for about one year, and then an invitation was given to the Rev. John Miles to "settle," but the invitation was declined. In April, 1797, the church proposed to give Rev. Mr. Noyes a call, but the town, which was identical with our modern parishes, refused to concur, and proposed Rev. Samuel Worcester, by a vote of forty-three to twenty-four. This proposal was acceded to by the church, and Mr. Worcester was ordained in September, 1797. Mr. Worcester was to receive as his salary, \$333.33 per annum, with the improvement of the town's land.

About 1786, the western portion of the town, in the neighborhood of Dean Hill, was quite prosperous, and constituted a little village of itself. The people there began to consider that they were of sufficient importance to set up for themselves. They considered the fact that they had the best land, and that it was advisable to rid themselves of the poorer portion of the town in the valley along the river, which they regarded as a useless expense, on account of the numerous freshets, and consequent repairs of roads and bridges. They also considered it a grievance to be obliged to travel so far to church, for which they were taxed equally with those who lived in the neighborhood, and therefore they petitioned to be set off, that they might join a portion of Westminster and Ashburnham and be incorporated into a town. This petition the citizens of Fitchburg, assembled in town meeting, refused to grant.

The first meeting-house, although it had been built but twenty years, was already too small to accommodate the inhabitants, and it became necessary to build a new one, and, accordingly, in September, 1786, a vote was passed "to build a new meeting-house in the centre of the town, or the nearest convenient place to the centre." Of course all knew that the present location in the Old City was not in the centre, nor the "nearest convenientest place"

thereto, and the struggle now commenced to find that unknown spot. It took ten years and ninety-nine town meetings to decide it.

Whatever might be said by the people in the west of the town about their distance from the church, their real objective point was, undoubtedly, to be set off into a new town; accordingly, without waiting to see whether the citizens of Fitchburg would accommodate them in the location of the new church, they proceeded to build a meeting-house of their own very near the Westminster line. It was a plain, unpainted structure, was finally left to decay, and received the appellation of the "Lord's Barn." In 1790, this dissatisfied section petitioned to the General Court to be set off into a town with the people of the northerly part of Westminster and a portion of Ashburnham. The petition set forth in glowing language the superior advantages of their high and fertile locality over the low, sunken land of the eastern portion of the town, and depicted the imposing spectacle of a church on one of their noble hills. These arguments had such an effect upon the members of the Legislature that an order was sent to the town of Fitchburg and others interested, to show cause, if any they had, why the prayer of said petitioners should not be granted.

"The town," says Mr. Torrey in his history, "now saw the necessity of going to work in earnest. After conferring with committees from Westminster, Ashburnham and Ashby, the people of Fitchburg drew up a spirited remonstrance. In this remonstrance they denied every statement set forth in the petition, alleging that the latter was entirely the work of fancy, and a specimen of outrageous poetical license; that the petitioners were actuated solely by interested views; that their object was to escape from the onerous burden of contributing their just proportion towards the maintenance of some of the most expensive bridges that were ever created. They declared that if the petitioners should succeed in their object, the remaining portion of the town would be completely overwhelmed by that grievous nuisance, the Nashua River."

This remonstrance must have had its effect, for the prayer of the petitioners was not granted; but the west was now determined to prevail in the location of the new church. The strength of the two sections was nearly equal, but there seems to have been a small party which held the balance of power, and which inclined now to one side and then to the other in a most aggravating manner. At last, after repeated votes and reconsiderations, it was finally decided in September, 1794, "to erect a meeting house in the centre of said town or in the nearest convenientest place thereto, to accommodate the inhabitants, for Divine worship." Three disinterested non-residents were chosen "to centre the town and discover the nearest convenientest place." This committee was composed of Josiah Stearns, Esq., and David Kilburn of Lunenburg and Benjamin Kimball, Esq., of Harvard, and they found the centre of the town to be about seventy rods to the north-east of the pound, on what is

now called Pound Hill; but, taking all things into consideration, they decided that the nearest convenient place was a point somewhat to the east of that place, a short distance from the corner of West and Caldwell streets.

The town rejected their report — years, twenty-nine; days, thirty-six — and so, after all, nothing had yet been accomplished. Finally, in October, 1795, a vote was passed in town meeting to locate the meeting-house "at the crotch of the roads, near Capt. William Brown's," and there it was built in 1796. This spot was directly in front of the present Unitarian Church.

The "meeting-house" question was now settled, but ecclesiastical troubles of a still more serious nature were destined to afflict and disturb the town. In Fitchburg, as in many other New England towns, the religious opinions of a large portion of the people had become quite liberal, and differences of opinion on religious questions were becoming of sufficient importance to become a large part of the serious business of town meetings.

The towns then constituted the parishes, they built and owned the churches, and every citizen was taxed for the support of the minister, unless he could show a certificate from the proper authority of "his attendance upon some other public teacher, when he may have the tax assessed upon him transferred to his own instruction." The various town meetings were also parish meetings, and considered civil and ecclesiastical questions indiscriminately. The leaven of heterodoxy, however, was creeping into New England society, and the people, to a great extent, turned away from the rigid doctrines of their forefathers and drifted towards Unitarianism. In most places there was finally a separation of the original church, and a formation of two societies, one Unitarian and the other Orthodox.

Fitchburg was agitated in this way for about twenty-four years, during which time many ecclesiastical councils were called and numerous stormy debates were held, both in town meetings and out of them, for neighbor was divided against neighbor, and one member of a household against another.

In 1801, a majority of the people became dissatisfied with Rev. Mr. Worcester, who succeeded Mr. Payson, and a separation of the parish into three societies took place. The number of Sundays which each society was entitled to use the meeting-house was apportioned according to the amount of taxes paid by each. The society in the east part of the town was to occupy the meeting-house twenty-four Sabbaths, Rev. Mr. Worcester's society was to occupy it seventeen Sabbaths, and the society in the west eight Sabbaths. The Methodists and Baptists were also allowed its use for three Sabbaths.

The members of the church sustained Mr. Worcester, but he finally asked for a dismissal, and this was the occasion of a dispute as to which should appoint the council to dismiss him, the church or the town. Mr. Worcester and the church claimed the sole right of appointing the council, which claim the town denied, and accordingly voted that they considered Rev. Mr. Worcester dismissed and their contract with him null and void. They ordered the

doors of the meeting-house to be closed and not to be opened except by order of the selectmen. Arrangements were finally made by which Mr. Worcester was dismissed by a regularly convened council, which was held in June, 1802, and his pastoral relations ceased the following September. The result of this religious war seems to have been the dissolution of the parochial powers of the town and the division of the church into two societies.

The seceding society settled the Rev. Titus Theodore Barton in 1804, and Rev. William Bascom was ordained by the other society. In 1805, the society of Rev. Mr. Barton built a small house of worship on the spot where the present Calvinistic Church now stands, on the corner of Main and Rollstone streets. It was enlarged in 1828 and used till the present brick building took its place, in 1844. The old church was bought by Chedar Marshall, taken down and removed to the corner of Main and Laurel streets, where it now stands, although additions have been made to it.

Mr. Barton was dismissed in 1812, and at the same time and at his own request, a dismissal was granted to Mr Bascom by his society. The two societies were then reunited for a time, but their differences were irreconcilable, and in 1823 a final separation took place. Rev. Rufus A. Putnam was ordained over the Calvinistic Church and Society, formerly Mr. Barton's; and Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Jr., was ordained over the Unitarian Society, formerly Mr. Bascom's, which worshipped in the meeting-house owned by the town. The present Unitarian Church was built in 1837.

We have seen that in the year 1801 the Baptists and Methodists had obtained sufficient numbers, and were of that degree of importance, that they were granted the use of the meeting-house for three Sabbaths during the year, and as early as 1787 we find that seventeen professed Baptists were exempted from paying any tax toward the support of Rev. Mr. Payson, they having preaching of their own.

The first organized society of Baptists in Fitchburg were called Freewill Baptists, and were incorporated in 1810 under the name of "The First Baptist Society of Fitchburg and Ashby." The first minister was Rev. Benjamin Tolman, and their meeting-house was built on the Ashby Road, not far from the line between the two towns. It was quite small, and, in 1836, had the appearance of a barn.

The Village Baptist Society was formed in March, 1831, and incorporated in February, 1834. Rev. Appleton Morse was the first pastor. Their church was built in the autumn of 1833, and is still standing on Main Street, above the Common. In 1853 a new church was built farther down the street, at a cost of \$25,000. It was dedicated March 1, 1854. This society was originally organized as a branch of the Baptist Society in Princeton.

The Methodist Church and Society was formed in March, 1834. The first minister was Rev. Joel Knight, and the church, which stands near the foot of the Common, on Main Street, was built in 1840.



RESIDENCE OF CHARLES T. CROCKER, FITCHBURG, MASS.



RESIDENCE OF MRS. S. W. PUTNAM, FITCHBURG, MASS

In 1843 a portion of the Calvinistic Congregational Society cut themselves off from the parent stem, chiefly on account of their anti-slavery views. They formed a society and built a church, and had preaching until about the close of the war. The building has since, in 1875, been remodeled, and now contains the post-office.

The Universalist Church and Society was organized in October, 1844, and their church was built in 1847.

The Episcopal Church and Society was organized Oct. 7, 1863. The Rev. H. L. Jones was the first rector. Their church, which is a fine stone building, was built in 1867, and consecrated in April, 1868.

The Catholic Society was organized in 1847, and the first church was built in 1848. A new and fine brick edifice was erected in 1870. In 1878 a handsome Catholic chapel was built in West Fitchburg.

In 1868, owing to the insufficiency of the Calvinistic Church on Rollstone Street to contain the increased congregations, a division took place and a society was formed in the Old City, called the Rollstone Congregational Church and Society. The Rev. L. W. Spring was their first pastor. They built a fine brick church on the corner of Main and Snow streets in 1869.

The Second Adventists have had preaching in Fitchburg for some years. Their chapel was dedicated May 19, 1872. They had preaching for about two years previous.

In 1874 a Protestant mission-chapel was built in West Fitchburg.

Societies.—In looking over the files of the "Fitchburg Sentinel" for 1839, we find a list of officers of the "Society for the Detection of Thieves." Ebenezer Torrey was president; Samuel Willis, treasurer; and Asa Partridge, secretary. There was a standing committee of twelve members, and a pursuing committee of twelve. At that time there was no police force, and a sheriff and one or two constables were not sufficient to prevent thieving. This society did some good work in breaking up one or two organized gangs of thieves.

The Fitchburg Philosophical Society was organized about 1828. It was a literary society, and the exercises consisted mainly of lectures and debates. It was before this society that Nathaniel Wood read his lectures on the history of Fitchburg, which formed the basis of Torrey's history. The Philosophical Society purchased Rees' Encyclopædia, as the beginning of a library. It was succeeded about 1838 by the Fitchburg Library Association, which took the Encyclopædia as the basis of a library, and, in turn, this latter association handed its books over to the Fitchburg Athenæum.

The Fitchburg Athenæum was organized in 1853 for the purpose of loaning books to members, and, according to its constitution, "to furnish facilities for intellectual, moral and social improvement, by the establishment and maintenance of a library, reading-room and lectures."

The Fitchburg Public Library was established by the town of Fitchburg in 1859, the books of the Athenæum being donated to it by the members. The

appraised value of the library in 1872 was \$6,500. The number of books on hand in 1859 was 3,731; in 1878 the number had increased to 11,987. The number of persons taking books in 1878 was 3,497; the number of books delivered was 40,618. The library is now about to be moved into more commodious and convenient quarters.

The Worcester North Agricultural Society was incorporated in 1852, and is devoted to the interests of the farming population in towns within its district, which includes Fitchburg, Leominster, Sterling, West Boylston, Princeton, Lunenburg, Ashburnham, Westminster, Gardner, Templeton, Royalston, in Worcester County; and the town of Ashby in Middlesex County.

Edwin V. Sumner Encampment, Post 19, Grand Army of the Republic, was instituted Aug. 16, 1867. The E. V. Sumner Relief Corps was organized in January, 1878.

The Fitchburg Benevolent Union was organized March 6, 1876. Its object is to have one comprehensive, unsectarian organization, which, as far as possible, shall distribute charity wisely, and endeavor to help the poor to help themselves.

In September, 1841, the reformed drunkard and temperance lecturer, John Hawkins, visited Fitchburg and lectured to a large audience. As a result, one hundred and thirty signed the total abstinence pledge that evening; and a Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society was formed, and a temperance reading-room was established over the post-office. There was a great temperance revival in the town, and, by December, nearly one thousand had signed the pledge. There have been temperance societies and temperance revivals since, but we cannot mention all. There are now in Fitchburg four organized temperance societies; viz., a Reform Club, a Woman's Temperance Union, a lodge of Good Templars, and a society of the Temple of Honor.

The Aurora Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was organized June 9, 1801, at Leominster, from whence it was removed to Fitchburg March 17, 1845. The Charles W. Moore Lodge was instituted Oct. 9, 1856. The Thomas Royal Arch Chapter was instituted at Princeton Dec. 1, 1821, and removed to Fitchburg Nov. 13, 1847. The Jerusalem Commandery of Knights Templar was instituted Oct. 13, 1865. The Freemasons of Fitchburg have some of the finest rooms in the State in the two upper stories of the Fitchburg Savings Bank Block.

Mount Rollstone Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was instituted Dec. 12, 1845. King David Encampment was instituted Oct. 18, 1870. The rooms of the Odd Fellows are at present in the upper story of the Rollstone National Bank building.

The Fitchburg Board of Trade was organized in May, 1874. In 1876 the board moved into a suite of rooms fitted up for its use in J. M. Carpenter's building, opposite the Baptist Church.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS AND IMPROVEMENTS — NEW STREETS — STAGE-COACHES — NEWSPAPERS — RAILROADS — MILLS — PUBLIC WATER-SUPPLY — SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AND COURT-HOUSE — INCORPORATION AS A CITY — AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS — STATISTICS OF POPULATION.

At the time of the incorporation of Fitchburg in 1764, there were four roads leading through the town — roads which were hardly traversable by an ordinary wagon, and over which most of the travel was on horseback. One road led through what is called the Old Lunenburg Road, Pearl Street, Main Street, Prospect Street, Flat Hill and Williams Road to Winchendon. Another road cut across from the Old Lunenburg Road, running near Winchester Wyman's, through the Fisher Road and Scott Road, and finally joined the Flat Hill Road; this was called the Crown Point Road. A third road was across a somewhat insecure bridge over the river, in the Old City, through South Street. A fourth road was through South Fitchburg to Westminster.

The early settlers located all around the town on the hills, shunning the little stream, the sandy soil, and the pitch-pine forest in the valley, which latter afforded an excellent shelter for deer, partridges and wild turkeys. One of the first frame-houses was built by Amos Kimball on the Samuel Hale farm, and is now a portion of the old house in the rear of Mr. Hale's present residence. The carriages of those times were rough ox-carts, mostly without tires, and running on the felloes. When tires were used, they consisted of strips of iron fastened to the felloes with broad-headed nails. The plows were made of wood, both mould-board and land-side being covered with strips of iron; old saw-plates were preferred for that use. The plow-points were generally made of Groton bog-iron, and were very brittle. The hoes were of iron, and very thick and heavy; and shovels were often made of wood, and shod with iron.

In 1764, when the town was incorporated, there were about two hundred and fifty inhabitants within its present limits, and forty-three or forty-four houses. There was then one tavern and no store. Capt. Samuel Hunt, who kept the tavern on the Moses Wood place, on Pearl Street, soon sold to Thomas Cowdin, who kept the place for about ten years, and then removed to a house situated where the American House now stands; this house was afterwards called the "Boutelle House," and was taken down about 1835.

About two years before Thomas Cowdin moved into his new tavern, Ephraim Kimball, son of the Ephraim who came from Bradford, opened a store in his dwelling-house, near Cushing's Mill; and in a few years Joseph Fox, who began business in a small way, opened a store near by. The land in the rear of the American House and east of Blossom Street was covered with a fine growth of white-pine timber.

During the war of the Revolution, Fitchburg continued to grow to some extent, and at its close there were the meeting-house, Kimball's saw and grist mill, Cowdin's tavern, Fox's store, a baker's shop, and half a dozen houses between the American House and the Common. The meeting-house upon the hill back of Main Street was a small, shabby, yellow structure; the red store of Joseph Fox was below, and, in the rear of his store, his house, with large, projecting eaves, standing between Main Street and the stone-mill of Joseph Cushing. The mill and residence of Dea. Ephraim Kimball were near by. Up the road, now Main Street and near the present residence of Ebenezer Torrey, were a baker's shop and a dwelling-house, and beyond, towards the west, were two or three houses and a blacksmith's shop. Pine-stumps, hard-back and grape-vines were plentiful by the side of Main Street. Such was the village of Fitchburg in 1786.

The erection of the new church near the head of the Common, in 1796, changed somewhat the centre of growth in the village. The new meeting-house formed a new nucleus, and the upper portion of the village began to increase, while the Old City came to a stand-still.

In 1830, there were quite a number of houses on West and Mechanic streets, but not a single house on the north side of Main Street, between a point just below the present residence of Ebenezer Torrey and the house then owned by Oliver Fox, Esq., near the present corner of Main and Prichard streets (this latter not being then laid out). A few years later, a number of gentlemen, among whom was Ebenezer Torrey, bought the land extending back for quite a distance in the rear of Main Street, between the points just described, laid a portion of it off into streets, much as it is now, and sold it in building-lots.

In 1830, there were in Fitchburg, 235 dwelling-houses, 2 meeting-houses, 1 academy, 12 school-houses, 1 printing-office, 2 woolen manufactories, 4 cotton-mills, 1 scythe factory, 2 paper-mills, 4 grist-mills, 10 saw-mills, 3 taverns, 2 hat manufactories, 1 bellows manufactory, 2 tanneries, 2 window-blind manufactories, and 1 chair manufactory.

In 1835, the appearance of the village was somewhat as follows: We should find a store on the corner of Main and River streets, and further down, not far from the Common, the Baptist Church, in the basement of which was a book-store and bindery. Near the head of the Common was the Unitarian Church, used for town meetings and public purposes. On the corner of Main and Rollstone streets was the Orthodox Church, and, just below, a grocery-store, over which was the tailor's shop of Daniel Cross, while further down was the tavern situated on the site of the Fitchburg Hotel. Just beyond the tavern was a store, and over it the printing-office. On the other side of the street, where the store of J. F. Bruce now is, was the store of Benjamin Snow & Son, and just above, in the building where is now the law-office of E. B. Sawtelle, was a hardware store. The building was then turned with its side



UNION PASSENGER STATION, FITCHBURG, MASS.



FITCHBURG WOOLEN MILL COMPANY'S MANUFACTORY, FITCHBURG, MASS.

to the street. Above was the Fitchburg Bank, and a tavern on the present site of the Roll-stone House.

There were perhaps forty dwelling-houses in the upper portion of the village. There was a cotton-mill where is now the mill of H. W. Pitts, and the woolen-mill in Factory Square was substantially the same as is the present factory of the Fitchburg Woolen Mill Company. In Newton Lane there was a cotton factory.

In the Old City, there was a store in the rear of the present store of I. C. Wright, and there were about a dozen dwelling-houses. There was also the stone cotton-mill on Laurel Street, and a paper-mill on Water Street.

Fitchburg was at this time quite a flourishing little place, which for ten years previously had grown quite rapidly. In the year 1800, it contained 1,390 inhabitants, but in 1835 the number had increased to about 2,700. There were a number of stone bridges and a dozen dams on the Nashua, and the roads had been much improved within a few years, although the roads to Ashby were still billy and crooked. There was stage communication daily with Boston, Keene and Lowell, and stages left three times a week for Springfield and Worcester, and returned on alternate days. There were mail-stages, which answered to our express-trains; and there were also accommodation stages between Fitchburg and Boston. Those were halcyon days for hotel-keepers, and the stage-driver was a man of importance.

A growing town must have a newspaper to quicken its energies and create a local spirit. The first newspaper of Fitchburg was published in 1830 by Jonathan Whitcomb and one Page, under the firm-name of Whitcomb & Page. The paper was called the "Fitchburg Gazette." Mr. Whitcomb sold, after a time, to Beniah Cook, who had previously been a teacher in the academy, and he conducted it for about a year. A few years after, another newspaper was started, called the "Worcester County Courier," which was printed at first by Mark Miller, and afterwards by George D. Farwell. It was a Whig paper, and quite an enterprising sheet.

The Democrats, not wishing the Whigs to have the whole field to themselves, bought out the "Gazette," and converted it into a Democratic weekly, called the "National Republican and Worcester County Star." It was edited and published by Mark Miller, the first printer of the "Courier"; but this gentleman proved himself a "wolf in sheep's clothing," for, having obtained the confidence of the people and been appointed postmaster, he collected numerous subscriptions for the paper, and decamped for Albany.

Soon after this, John Garfield bought out the "Courier," and procured the services of William S. Wilder, as editor. Now, Wilder, although obliged to write for the Whigs, was a Democrat at heart, and could not resist the temptation presented by the absence of Mr. Garfield for a few weeks to pour forth the suppressed feelings of his heart in the columns of the paper. Great was the wrath of the proprietor, on his return, to find his paper turned into a

Democratic organ, and his subscription-list depleted beyond recovery. He gave up the "Courier," and published, for a short time, a paper called the "Times."

On Dec. 20, 1838, the first number of the "Fitchburg Sentinel" was issued by John Garfield, in conjunction with E. W. Reed as editor. It was a weekly sheet, somewhat smaller than the present "Daily Sentinel." Mr. Reed, in his first editorial, says: "We present this day to the reading community a paper which we intend to devote to the interests of the Farmer, the Mechanic, the Manufacturer, and also to the interests of our Common Schools." He also says it is his intention to have a paper so conducted that the wives and children of those who patronize it "might have something to read without being obliged to cull it from the records of political bitterness and strife, which fill so many of our Public Journals."

In the first number, there are about two columns of advertisements, about two-thirds of one column being occupied by an advertisement of "Richardson's Vegetable Family Pills." We find an advertisement of the Fitchburg Academy, kept by Cragin & Waldo:—"Mr. Cragin will devote himself wholly to the English Department. The Classical Department will be under the direct care of Mr. Waldo, who will teach the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and German Languages. The pupils will be taught to exercise their own reasoning powers, and to consider their studies and the hours of school as pleasures, and not tasks. Good board can be obtained in the village for \$2 per week."

We find also in this number advertisements of Newton & Green, hardware; Fessenden & Wilder, carriage, harness and trunk manufactory, rear of the Nashua River Hotel; cash dry-goods store, J. Haskell, agent; Spaulding & Evans, furniture; whip-manufactory, George Marshall, agent; Franklin book-store, in the post-office; and one advertisement under the head of "To Let," and one "For Sale." These constituted all the advertisements in the paper. There was also a notice that the Fitchburg Choral Harmonic Society would "give a Concert of Select Music, Wednesday Evening, Dec 26th, assisted by E. Cushing, Esq., of Boston on the Organ."

The "Sentinel" prospered, and by July, 1839, there were eight columns of advertisements, and the paper had been somewhat enlarged. It continued to be published by Mr. Garfield until 1841, when W. J. Merriam purchased and carried it on until December, 1850, when he sold to Elisha and John Garfield. In 1853 J. F. D. Garfield took the place of John: but he sold in 1856 to Elisha, who carried it on alone until 1864, when John Garfield again purchased one-half, and, in 1865, the whole of it. Mr. John Garfield afterwards had as partners, J. M. Blanchard, C. C. Stratton, and Bourne Spooner. In 1873 the firm took the name of the Sentinel Printing Company, John Garfield having gone out and J. E. Kellogg having taken his place. The first number of the "Fitchburg Daily Sentinel" was issued May 6, 1873. It, and the weekly, still continue to be published.

The "Fitchburg Reveille" was started in 1852, at the desire of some of the

leading Whigs, with John J. Piper as editor. In 1869 it was taken by J. L. and H. F. Piper. In November, 1875, the publication of a "Daily Reveille" was commenced. The owners sold out in a few months, and the name was changed to the "Daily Press," which was conducted and edited by Ezra S. Stearns. This paper was afterwards purchased by the "Sentinel" Printing Company.

At various times other papers and periodicals have been published in Fitchburg, and have lived for a longer or shorter period, such as a ladies' magazine in 1832, called the "Panacea for Ennui"; and soon after, a religious paper called the "Christian Advocate," published for about nine months by William Cushing. In 1842, a temperance paper, called the "Cold Water Cup," was published for about six months by William C. Elleck; and, in 1847, a workingman's paper called the "Voice of Industry," was published, and soon removed to Lowell, where it was published for several years.

We have already spoken of the church which was built at the head of the Common in 1796, after a long and arduous struggle as to its location. This building was used for a meeting-house and town house until 1837, when it was removed to the spot where it now stands, — the corner of Main and Circle streets, — and reconstructed into a town house, for which it was used until the erection of the present City Hall in 1852.

About 1840 we find the people of Fitchburg alive to the subject of railroads. In December, 1841, we find the following notice in the "Fitchburg Sentinel," under the head of "Railroad Meeting": "The citizens of Fitchburg are requested to meet at the Town Hall, on Monday evening next, to hear the report of the committee on correspondence." This was the commencement of a movement, persistently and successfully carried out, to build a railroad from Boston to Fitchburg. Alvah Crocker was the conspicuous and moving spirit in this enterprise, which was of the greatest importance and value to Fitchburg. The Fitchburg Railroad was completed in 1845, and a stone depot was built nearly on the site of the present one. It was taken down and a new one built in 1878.

The town continued to grow. The Fitchburg Railroad was followed in a few years by the Cheshire and Vermont and Massachusetts railroads. New churches, school-houses, roads and sidewalks kept pace with its prosperity. The private residences grew every year more costly, but there was and is no large and handsome public park. The Common, however, in front of the Unitarian Church, small as it is, is invaluable. Perhaps forty years ago it was not in as good condition as now, for we find the following vote on the records of a town meeting, November, 1840:—

Voted. That a committee of three be chosen, who may be permitted if they see fit, to receive any donations given them by the ladies of Fitchburg, or in any other way, and to appropriate the same in beautifying the Common, provided that they do nothing to injure said Common, nor be authorized to charge the town for any expense incurred by them."

From 1840 to 1860 the town continued to grow steadily. New paper-mills were built in West Fitchburg; the chair business enlarged wonderfully; the iron business was introduced by the Putnam Brothers, and grew rapidly; and various other branches of industry were commenced and prospered. The Fitchburg and Worcester Railroad went into operation in February, 1850, and the Agricultural Branch Railroad, which was afterwards consolidated with the Fitchburg and Worcester, under the name of the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg Railroad, went into operation in 1865.

About 1864 the subject of furnishing the town with a plentiful supply of pure water began to be agitated. The town was growing rapidly, and had been prospering during the war. Many new dwelling-houses had been erected, and the area of the village was extending, particularly in the direction of Myrtle Street and Highland Avenue. The tendency is, that in any large place the wells will become contaminated; and this consideration, together with the increased safety and convenience to the town in case of fire, led to a serious consideration of the subject.

April 11, 1864, a committee was appointed in town meeting to ascertain "the best method of furnishing the more elevated streets with a proper supply of water, in case of fires, and hydrants to conduct and distribute the same." It was not till April 9, 1866, that this committee reported that they had procured an act of incorporation, and had secured land covering the necessary sites for dams, &c.; and they tendered the same to the town without compensation. This report was accepted, but not acted upon. At the same meeting a committee of twenty-five was raised to take the whole subject into consideration, and report at an adjourned meeting. This committee reported in May, recommending that a committee of five be appointed to make a survey and present plans and estimates to the town. Such a committee was appointed, and made an elaborate and favorable report in August of the same year; but the subject was indefinitely postponed.

In November, 1869, the subject of a general water-supply was again brought before the town, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Hon. Alvah Crocker, Hon. Ebenezer Torrey, and Moses G. Lyon, Esq., to obtain from the legislature a charter for supplying the town with pure water. The charter was obtained, but a motion to accept it was defeated in town meeting April 25, 1870. The friends of the measure were not discouraged. In August of the same year they again brought the subject before the town, and this time it was accepted, and a board of water commissioners appointed, with instructions to present full plans and estimates to the town. They reported; their report was accepted, and they were authorized to go on and construct a system of water-works, which was accordingly done.

The Fitchburg water-supply is taken from the Scott and Shattuck brooks,—tributaries of Fallulah or Baker's Brook. There are three reservoirs,—Scott, Overlook and Marshall. The water for the high-service supply is taken from



RESIDENCE OF SAMUEL L. CROCKER, FITCHBURG, MASS.



RESIDENCE OF MRS. EUGENE T. MILES, FITCHBURG, MASS.

Overlook, and for the low service from Marshall Reservoir. The three reservoirs will contain at present one hundred and seventy million gallons of water. With Scott Reservoir completed, and another reservoir on the Shattuck Brook, there will be a storage capacity of over three hundred and forty million gallons.

Overlook Reservoir is four hundred feet above the Fitchburg Railroad track at the depot, and Marshall Reservoir has an elevation of two hundred and sixteen feet. These water-works have already proved themselves invaluable in cases of fire, and although a large debt was incurred in their construction, it is expected that the water-rents will extinguish it in a reasonable time.

In 1868 the town purchased the estates of William W. Comme and Isaac Hartwell, which estates covered the square in front of the Court-house, for the purpose of erecting thereon a soldiers' monument or memorial hall. In 1874 a handsome monument was erected upon the grounds. The Court-house, a fine stone building, conveniently arranged, was built in 1871. The jail in South Fitchburg was built in 1859, and partially burned in 1876, and rebuilt the same year.

Fitchburg was incorporated as a city in 1872. The first mayor was Hon. Amasa Norcross.

The years following the war were years of high pressure. Manufacturers and traders prospered, money was freely spent by individuals, and real estate advanced rapidly in price. The growing town demanded improvements, and money was freely granted for them. All at once the great cloud of business depression shut down upon us, and found Fitchburg, like many other cities and towns, burdened with debt; but this debt is gradually being reduced, and the outlook for the future is hopeful.

The business interests of Fitchburg have predominated for a long period, but there was a time when the farming interests were almost the only ones. At that time the people, being all farmers, lived on the hills, where the best tillage land was found. But farming was not then play, nor were the crops large. The soil of Fitchburg is not of the richest; but if enriched and carefully cultivated it yields good returns. The farmers of Fitchburg have always been a worthy and substantial class of its inhabitants. Agricultural fairs, under the auspices of the Worcester North Agricultural Society, have been held each year for a long time.

In 1877 the hay crop was estimated at 3,500 tons, and the milk product 200,000 gallons. The corn crop, the best for years, consisted of about 8,000 bushels of shelled corn. One farmer harvested about 1,940 bushels of shelled corn. The quantity of oats, rye and barley raised was 2,000 bushels, and 20,000 bushels of potatoes were dug in spite of the potato bugs. The value of eggs and dressed poultry produced was about \$5,000, and of pears and grapes \$7,000. The value of the agricultural products of Fitchburg for 1875, according to the State census, was over \$200,000.

The increase of population in Fitchburg from 1765 to 1875 has been as follows:—1765, 259; 1776, 643; 1790, 1,151; 1800, 1,390; 1810, 1,566; 1820, 1,736; 1830, 2,169; 1840, 2,604; 1850, 5,120; 1860, 7,805; 1870, 11,260; 1875, 12,289.

The increase of valuation of Fitchburg from 1831 to 1875 has been as follows:—1831, \$406,879; 1841, \$721,486; 1850, \$2,039,864; 1861, \$3,714,437; 1871, \$11,067,361; 1875, \$12,518,742.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL EVENTS — POSITION DURING THE REVOLUTION — MINUTE-MEN — LEGAL SCALE OF PRICES — DEPRECIATED CURRENCY — SHAYS' REBELLION — DIVISION OF THE COUNTY — SLAVERY AGITATION — RESPONSE TO CALL OF 1861 — MILITARY MOVEMENTS — CELEBRATION OF THE HUNDREDTH YEAR.

THE early settlers of New England were democrats in a broad, unpartisan sense. Local self-government has nowhere been better exemplified than in the town governments of our forefathers. For the sake of liberty they came to this land; for liberty they endured the perils and hardships incident to a new and rugged country; and they were determined to maintain these dearly-bought liberties at all hazards. The first encroachments upon their rights were resisted with determination, and when they became convinced of a design to make them mere dependencies, subservient to the will of the English Government, they took up arms and declared their independence, but not without a struggle between their love of liberty and their feelings of loyalty.

From the town of Boston came the speeches, the circulars and pamphlets which fired the heart of the country round about, and nerved the people for the step which they were finally forced to take. Owing to the stubborn resistance of the Colonies, the odious stamp act was repealed by the English Government, but the next year the revenue act was passed, which contained the obnoxious principle, taxation without representation, and the people were awakened to resistance.

In September, 1768, the selectmen of Fitchburg received from the selectmen of Boston a letter requesting them to call a town meeting to take into consideration the critical condition of public affairs, and to choose an agent to meet them in Boston and show there the views, wishes and determination of the people of Fitchburg upon the subject. The citizens of the town met accordingly, and chose, in connection with the town of Lunenburg, the Hon. Edward Hartwell, of the latter place, to be their agent.

The British Ministry determined to press their measures, and the people

continued to resist, until their leading spirits began to recognize the necessity of preparation for possible open rebellion, and accordingly they determined to ascertain the sentiment of the various towns throughout the Commonwealth on the subject. As a result the town of Fitchburg received another letter from the town of Boston in December, 1773, requesting the citizens to meet and pass such resolves concerning their rights and privileges as they were willing to die in maintaining, and to send them to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston. A town meeting was held accordingly, and we cannot refrain from giving here a portion of the record, as entered upon the book of the town clerk:—

“At a legal town meeting, held in Fitchburg on the first day of December, 1773, in order to take into consideration the letters of correspondence from the town of Boston, — the town made choice of Mr. Isaac Gibson as moderator for the government of said meeting. These said letters were read before the town, and after the town had deliberated upon them with zeal and candor, it was unanimously agreed to choose a committee of seven men, and chose Mr. Isaac Gibson, Capt. Reuben Gibson, Messrs. Phineas Hartwell, Ebenezer Wood, Ebenezer Bridge, Kendall Bontelle and Solomon Steward as a committee to consider of our constitutional rights and privileges, in common with other towns in the Province, together with the many flagrant infringements that have been made thereon, and to report at the adjournment, and then this meeting was adjourned to the 15th of the same month.”

At the adjourned meeting the committee presented quite a lengthy, argumentative and forcible report, which is entered in full upon the pages of the town records.

The report, after referring to the many late infringements of their liberties, of the value of those rights and liberties, and the necessity of vigilance and combined endeavor to preserve them, goes on to speak of the enemies of liberty as “the enemies of our lawful sovereign, King George, and his illustrious family.” After supplicating the Deity to preserve the people of Great Britain from political lethargy, it proceeds to say: “And we are fond of having our little obscure names associated with our American brethren, as instruments in the hand of God to save Britain from that complete destruction which is now meditating and visibly impending.” The report concludes as follows:—

“And with respect to the East Indy Tea; forasmuch as we are now informed that the town of Boston and the neighboring towns have made such noble opposition to said Tea’s being brought into Boston, subject to a duty so directly tending to the enslaving of America, it is our opinion that your opposition is just and equitable; and the people of this town are ready to afford all the assistance in their power to keep off all such infringements.”

To the General Court of 1774 Dr. John Taylor of Lunenburg was chosen representative. It was deemed appropriate that his constituents should give him written instructions. As he was chosen jointly by the citizens of Lunen-

burg and Fitchburg, a committee consisting of three gentlemen from the former place, and Isaac Gibson and Phineas Hartwell of the latter, were appointed to draft written instructions by which he should be guided in the House of Representatives. They were as follows:—

“Dr. JOHN TAYLOR—SIR: As you are chosen by the towns of Lunenburg and Fitchburg to represent them in the Great and General Court for the present year, we think it our duty, under the present alarming circumstances of public affairs, to give you the following instructions, viz.: That you bear testimony against all riotous practices and all other unconstitutional proceedings, and that you do not by any means whatsoever, either directly or indirectly give up any of our charter rights and privileges; and that you use your endeavors that those that we have been abridged of may be restored to us, and that you use your influence that provision may be made for discountenancing all unwarrantable practices with respect to bribery in those that set themselves up as candidates for representatives for the people, either by way of treats or entertainments, which may have been too frequent a practice in many places.—and further we would have you move in the General Assembly that there might be a Congress and Union with all the Provinces, and in case anything extraordinary should happen or appear, that you should immediately notify your constituents. There are many things lesser in importance that we must leave discretionary with yourself, trusting that you will often revolve in your mind how great a trust is devolved upon you, and that you will give constant attendance so far as you are able, to the business to which you are appointed; and we hope that you will be actuated by a spirit of impartiality, free from private views and sinister ends.”

We do not know to what extent Dr. John Taylor profited by his instructions, but they were certainly worthy of serious consideration, not only by him, but by every subsequent representative to the Great and General Court.

The time for action was approaching, and the Provincial Congress, which met in the autumn of 1774 at Concord, drew up a plan for the defence of the Province, and voted that at least one-half the militia be enrolled as minute-men. Capt. David Goodridge was sent as a delegate from Fitchburg to this Congress, and as his services were to be paid for by contribution, the town voted that, if there should be any overplus after paying him, it should be appropriated to the purchase of powder; and about fifty dollars in money was also appropriated for the purchase of powder, lead and flints. In November forty men were enlisted to form a company of minute-men. At the same meeting it was voted to indemnify the constables for refusing to pay over the money which had been assessed by the Province into the hands of Harrison Gray, Esq.; also, “to indemnify the assessors for refusing to return the names of such constables, though requested.”

On the tenth day of January, 1775, Capt. David Goodridge was chosen a delegate to the Provincial Congress, which was to meet at Cambridge on the first day of February. A committee was also chosen to review and inspect the minute company, and Joseph Fox was appointed to receive any articles which



RESIDENCE OF RODNEY WALLACE, FITCHBURG, MASS.



RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM H. VOSE, FITCHBURG, MASS.

the inhabitants of the town might see fit to contribute to the relief of the poor of Boston, who were now suffering under the vengeance of the British Parliament for the tea affair.

The eventful 19th of April arrived and found the little town ready for action. So rapidly did the news spread that at nine o'clock in the morning the alarm was fired in front of the store of Dea. Ephraim Kimball, in the Old City, where the guns and equipments of the minute-men were kept. The company had spent the previous day at drill, and at the summons the members promptly assembled in front of the little store, and being joined by a few volunteers, about fifty men soon took up their line of march for Concord, under the command of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge, who afterwards became Colonel. They arrived at Concord in the evening, in time to see some dead bodies and some wounded British soldiers.

We who have, during the war of the Rebellion, sent so many of our most promising young men to battle and danger and death, can appreciate the feelings of this little community throughout that long day and the next. They knew not the issue, nor how terrible would be the struggle; and their heroism and self-sacrifice were tested. But while the young and the strong marched to the conflict, those at home were busy providing for them. A large wagon was filled with provisions and sent on towards Concord, under the care of Thomas Cowdin, Jr.

The following are the names of the Fitchburg minute-men: Ebenezer Bridge, David Goodridge, Nicholas Danforth, John Thurston, Isaac Gibson, Isaac Gibson, Jr., Reuben Gibson, Samuel Gibson, Abraham Gibson, Phineas Hartwell, Jonathan Holt, Ephraim Haywood, Joseph Holt, Benjamin Kemp, Joseph Low, Abraham Jaquith, John Putnam, Daniel Putnam, Jonathan Page, Joseph Phelps, Jonathan Russell, John Soley, Samuel Locke, Phineas Sawyer, Jr., William Thurlo, Jacob Upton, William Tidmarsh, John Vinnia, Kendall Boutell, Elijah Carter, Nehemiah Fullam, Francis Fullam, Joseph Fox, David Goodale, Ezekiah Hodgkins, Joseph Wheeler, James Pool, Jacob McIntire, David Peirce, Asa Perry, Seth Phillips, Jonathan Wood, Isaac Holden, Samuel Burbank.

The above list was obtained from Alonzo P. Goodrich, and was copied from a paper once in the possession of his great grandfather, David Goodridge. In addition to these minute-men there was a training band of one hundred and twenty-eight men, a few of whom, including at least John Goodridge, went with the minute-men to Concord.

The services of the Fitchburg minute-men not being needed, most of them returned, and the provisions not consumed were sold, and the proceeds, amounting to \$48.50 were given to the Rev. John Payson, on the principle that what is not given to those who fight should be given to those who pray.

It was now necessary to organize a permanent army to defend the towns around Boston. Fitchburg and Lunenburg, as their part in the work, enlisted

and sent forward a company of volunteers to serve for eighteen months. John Fuller of Lunenburg was captain of this company, and Ebenezer Bridge of Fitchburg was lieutenant. About thirty men from Fitchburg were constantly in the army until the evacuation of Boston by the British, in 1776.

From ten to a dozen of the inhabitants of Fitchburg were engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill. John Gibson, son of Isaac Gibson, who lived near Pearl Hill, where Mrs. Levi Kendall now resides, was killed in that engagement. He enlisted in Ashby, in the company of Capt. Wyman, and on the roll is written against his name, "killed June 17." The next year the selectmen of Fitchburg petitioned to the Committee of Clothing of Massachusetts Bay, for the sum of twenty-five shillings, for the benefit of the heirs of the deceased John Gibson, as he had not drawn a coat. John Gibson was twenty-eight years old, and was married to Hannah Martin of Lunenburg. He was possessed of great bodily strength, and when last seen was opposing the enemy in the entrenchments with the breech of his gun.

Two of the Gibson family, Jonathan and Nathaniel, were in the battle of Bennington. One of their descendants carried a Hessian drum which was captured in that battle, to the celebration of the Centennial anniversary of the battle of Bennington in 1877. This drum is owned by Francis Boutwell of this city.

In March, 1776, the town, by order of the General Court, chose a committee of correspondence, consisting of Reuben Gibson, Kendall Boutelle, Asa Perry, John Putnam and Silas Snow.

The Continental Congress at Philadelphia was now seriously considering the question of a public Declaration of Independence, but before committing themselves beyond retreat its members were anxious to know just how fully they would be supported by the various Provinces. The General Court of Massachusetts assured the Congress that the people of that Colony would undoubtedly support them. But to make matters sure they asked each town to act for itself upon the measure. The answer of Fitchburg was as follows:—

"Voted in town meeting, that if the Honorable Continental Congress should for the safety of these United Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, that we, the inhabitants of the town of Fitchburg, will, with our lives and fortunes support them in the measure."

This was on the first day of July, at which time Congress, although unknown to them, had actually committed itself to the irrevocable step.

Upon the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence received its final passage by Congress, and copies were at once made out and sent to the several Colonies. Upon its reception at Boston, the authorities sent copies to the various towns in the Province, requesting that it be read to each congregation by the minister on the afternoon of the first Lord's Day after its reception, and that it be entered upon the records of each town "as a perpetual memorial

thereof." Accordingly we find it entered in full upon the records of the town of Fitchburg; and we have no doubt that on the "first Lord's Day after its reception," the Rev. John Payson rose in his pulpit in the little church on the hill, and solemnly and slowly read to the assembled congregation that instrument, then so new, but now so time-hallowed — the Magna Charta of our liberties. We fancy we see the grave, but earnest faces turned towards the minister, with looks of sympathy and approval, and, as he read the concluding paragraph, the stern disapproving look of Thomas Cowdin, Esq., and a few other honest but loyal souls.

In February, 1776, the warrant for town meeting ran thus: "In his Majesty's name," &c. In May, the warrant ran as follows: "In the name of the writ to us directed, these are in the name of the Governor and people of Massachusetts Bay." After the Declaration of Independence the warrants ran thus: "In the name of the State of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay."

In October, 1776, the question was submitted to the town whether it was willing that the Representative House, together with the Council, should make a form of government for the State of Massachusetts Bay. The answer of Fitchburg was in the negative: —

"Firstly,—Because the present House were never elected by the people to establish a form of government for this State, but for ordering and governing the prudential affairs of this embarrassed State, as necessity calls for their strict attention thereto. Secondly,—Because a large number of our worthy inhabitants of this State are now engaged in the service of the United States in opposing our unnatural enemies, who, we apprehend, ought of right to have an equal voice in establishing a form of government for this State, as those that are not engaged in the army. But provided the present House of Representatives, together with the Council, should proceed to make a form of government, Resolved, that it is the opinion of this town that said form of government should be made public for the perusal and inspection of the inhabitants, before the ratification thereof by the assembly."

The people, having put their hands to the plow, could not turn back, nor did they wish to do it; but none the less did the evils of war press heavily upon them. Not, as with us, were those evils mitigated by busy workshops and looms, and good wages in good money. Prices were high, but there was no money but a depreciated paper currency, and trade was embarrassed. The General Court tried to remedy the evil of high prices, and, to effect this, divided the State, in 1777, into districts, ordering a committee to be chosen in each, whose duty it should be to make a scale of prices which it should be unlawful to exceed. This scheme, however, like such schemes in general, proved a failure. Fitchburg, Groton, Shirley, Townsend and Lunenburg comprised one district. These are a few of the prices as fixed by the committee: —

Labor of men in summer, per day,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$0	50
" " " " winter, " "	.	.	.	.	.	.		25

Wheat, per bushel,	\$1 11
Corn, " "	56
Pork, per pound,	06
Butter, " "	12½
Beef, " "	06
Lamb, mutton and veal, per pound,	04½
Potatoes, per bushel,	17
Good sheep's wool, per pound,	33
Men's shoes, per pair,	1 33
Hay, per ton,	10 00
Pine boards, per thousand,	3 67
Wheat flour, per 100 pounds,	3 67
Dinner, roasted and boiled,	17
Mug of W. I. Flip,	15½
" " N. E. "	12½
Good cider, per barrel,	1 83
Yard-wide cotton cloth,	58
House-maids, per week,	42
Horse for one person to ride, per mile,	03¼

Our fathers were stern and strict with those whom they suspected of being disloyal or lukewarm in the cause of independence. Phineas Hartwell was appointed, in the year 1777, to procure evidence that might be had of any who might be charged by the freeholders with having an "inimical" disposition towards any of the United States. "More than one inhabitant of the town," says Mr. Torrey, "was threatened with a coat of tar and feathers, and even with the destruction of his house. They were even compelled to mount the head of a barrel, and, in this conspicuous though humbling position, promise to the assembled majesty of the town a greater love for the American cause, and a more strict obedience to the will of the people." Our good friend, Thomas Cowdin, was among this suspected class, and he was debarred from all town offices till the end of the war.

In 1778, the town approved of the Articles of Confederation sent out by the Continental Congress, and, about the same time, the new State Constitution was also approved, the vote in regard to the latter standing: for the Constitution, 22; against it, 4.

The burdens of the war pressed more and more heavily upon the people. The condition of the finances grew daily worse, and the evils of a paper currency were never more plainly seen. The Continental money became at last worth almost nothing. So greatly did it depreciate that at a town meeting held in February, 1780, it was voted that the inhabitants should be allowed three dollars per hour for labor on the highways. In July, it was voted to raise \$166,000, to hire soldiers with. In the October following, a committee of the town contracted for 4,800 pounds of beef, and agreed to pay \$26,000 for it, or \$5.42 per pound. In March, 1781, Phineas Sawyer and John Carter

were fined \$900 each for refusing to serve as collectors of taxes, which sum was considered as equal to \$10 in hard money, as that was the usual fine in such cases. At the same meeting, the town appropriated \$20,000 for highways.

The town found it difficult to raise soldiers, and, as with us during the Rebellion, large bounties were offered to induce men to volunteer. These were sometimes as high as three hundred dollars, and were paid in notes, payable in produce.

The depreciation of money must have been heavily felt by the Rev. John Payson, who ministered to the town in spiritual affairs. He was settled at an annual salary of £60, which was punctually paid him, but which, a few years after the commencement of the war, must have amounted to a mere pittance. However, the town took pity upon him, and in March, 1777, appointed a committee to carry a subscription among the inhabitants, that they might contribute "the necessities of life, or anything they pleased for his support." The committee reported that Mr. Payson expressed himself as well pleased with the result of their labors. In October of the same year, he received \$1,000, and in November \$266 more, as his salary for the year, the whole being equivalent to about \$180 in hard money. In 1780, it was voted to pay him \$11,000 to make up for past depreciation.

At this period, notes were generally given, payable in so many bushels of corn, and such notes were used as a substitute for money. It was a common thing to stipulate to pay either in produce or in "hard money." For instance, the town voted to pay John Thurston 106 bushels of corn "for the services of his son Stephen in the Continental Army." In 1781, when "nine Continental men" were called for, it was voted to pay them each \$100 in hard money, and an agent was despatched to Boston to borrow the same on the town's credit.

In May, 1780, the present State Constitution was submitted to the people, and adopted unanimously by the town of Fitchburg (65 votes being cast). In September, John Hancock received 63 votes for governor, and James Bowdoin 1. In October, Capt. Thomas Cowdin was chosen to represent the town in the first General Court under the new Constitution. It seems remarkable that Capt. Cowdin, if he, as reported, was lukewarm in the American cause, should have been the man to be thus honored. At any rate, the people must have believed in his honesty and sincerity.

In September, 1782, David McIntire was chosen a delegate to the convention at Worcester, assembled "to take into consideration the grievances Worcester County labored under"; and in March, 1784, he was appointed to attend a convention at the same place, called by request of the town of Sutton. In May, 1784, it was voted to raise £80 to discharge an execution in the hands of the high sheriff against the town for "difficiency of beef."

At last the war was over; but there never was a war that was not followed by crime and suffering, and the Revolution was no exception. Business was at a standstill, and there was very little money. Almost every one was in

debt, and creditors pressed most urgently for payment. The State of Massachusetts, to maintain her credit, was obliged to tax the people heavily; and they became impatient, and finally turbulent, at seeing their property everywhere seized on execution. Petition after petition, and remonstrance after remonstrance, were sent to the legislature, but without satisfaction; and at last a portion of the people broke into open rebellion.

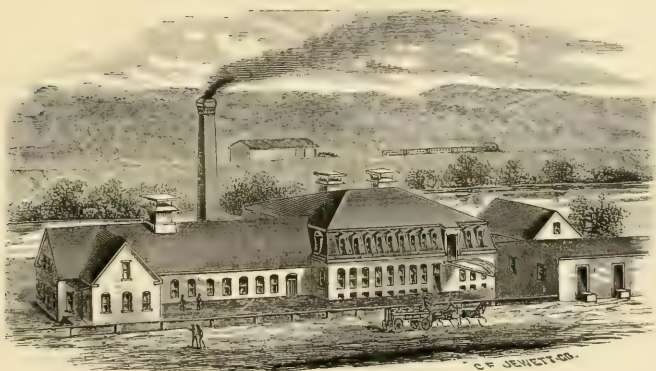
Shays' Rebellion is undoubtedly a blot upon the history of Massachusetts, yet we would find some excuse for it. There were undoubtedly grievances hard to bear; and yet they could not have been such as to justify resistance to law. The people of Fitchburg, as well as of the neighboring towns, were largely and warmly in sympathy with the Shaysites. Though they did not break into open rebellion, they were on the very verge of it, and used much strong language. Some of the taxes ordered by the General Court were not collected. But the people of Fitchburg were always prudent, and proceeded cautiously. In June, 1786, Robert Burnham, Daniel Putnam, Thomas Stearns, Elijah Willard and Phineas Hartwell were chosen a committee to take into consideration the circumstances of the town and its burdens, and to petition to the General Court for a redress of grievances. At the same meeting, Elijah Willard was appointed a delegate to a convention of the people of the county of Worcester, "to take into consideration the public affairs of the Commonwealth"; and it was voted that the town would defend his property if he should be taken in person for his attendance; "provided he behaved himself in an orderly and peaceable manner; otherwise, he is to risk it himself."

The State Government proceeded to put down Shays' Rebellion promptly by force of arms. A company of soldiers was sent from Lancaster to Fitchburg to examine into the loyalty of the people. They were quartered in Thomas Cowdin's tavern, in the Old City, for a few days, and were then removed to the old tavern-house on Pearl Street, which they made their permanent quarters, and from which they used to sally out at night, seize upon suspected persons, and bring them before Esquire Cowdin, who, true to his natural disposition, remained loyal to the government. Esquire Cowdin, upon investigating facts, compelled them to take the oath of allegiance or go to jail.

As might be expected, a large portion of the people were indignant at these proceedings. People who might otherwise have been peaceable and quiet were probably made pugnacious by the presence of a military force among them, and a collision between the latter and the people was imminent. The Gibsons of Pearl Hill were threatened with a nocturnal visit; but those doughty yeomen dared the soldiers to lay hands on them, and, their strength and valor being so well known, they were unmolested. Joshua Peirce was seized, brought before Esquire Cowdin, and, upon refusing to take the oath, was held in custody and harsh measures were threatened; but he was finally released through fear of the people. Dr. Jonas Marshall was also sought, but he secreted himself in the cellar of Upton's tavern, and threatened to furnish the



RODNEY WALLACE'S PAPER MILL, FITCHBURG, MASS. (Old Mill)



RODNEY WALLACE'S PAPER MILL, FITCHBURG, MASS. (New Mill).

entry of his residence with a trap-door, that unwelcome visitors might suddenly find themselves in the cellar. The soldiers were soon sent to Townsend, and the people were relieved of their unwelcome presence.

It seems to have been the opinion of our ancestors from an early period that the county of Worcester might and ought to be divided. In October, 1764, the year of the incorporation of the town, a committee was chosen to confer with committees of some of the neighboring towns in relation to the matter. Again, in August, 1784, Dea. Kendall Boutelle and Thomas Stearns were chosen delegates to a convention in Westminster, holden for "the purpose of dividing the county of Worcester, or devising means for that purpose"; and, in the May of the next year, Dr. Jonas Marshall, Capt. Thomas Cowdin and Elijah Garfield attended a convention at Lunenburg, held for the same purpose. At various times since, efforts have been made in the same direction, but uniformly without success.

It appears from a remonstrance sent to the General Court in 1804, that the number of legal voters was then one hundred and eighty-one.

The town appears to have given an overwhelming majority of votes for John Hancock for governor in eleven different years between 1780 and 1794. The largest vote in opposition to him was given for Elbridge Gerry in 1788; the vote standing, John Hancock, thirty-nine; Elbridge Gerry, twelve. In 1794 Mr. Gerry received but two votes; but he came to the front in 1800, when he received a majority, and the same for two years more. In 1803 he received sixty-three votes, and his opponent, Caleb Strong, the same number. He then seems to have been out of the field for six years, when he again appears, and received a majority of votes from 1810 to 1813. From 1816 to 1823 John Brooks appears to be occasionally in the majority and occasionally in the minority as a candidate for the same office. In 1835 Edward Everett received one hundred and fifty-one votes, and Marcus Morton eighty-five.

The question of slavery appeared as a "cloud no bigger than a man's hand" upon the political horizon; for years it waxed larger and larger until it covered the sky, and amid thunders and lightnings and tempest it passed away. The history of Fitchburg in regard to the slavery question is, of course, much like the history of other towns in New England. A small band of earnest enthusiasts gradually leavened society, until, in 1860, Fitchburg was on firm anti-slavery ground.

The political campaign of 1860 was an intensely exciting one for Fitchburg. The interest centered in the contest for representative to Congress from this district. Eli Thayer of Worcester, who adopted the "squatter sovereignty" platform, was run by the Democrats and a portion of the Republicans against Goldsmith F. Bailey of Fitchburg, the regular Republican candidate. It was a close contest, but Mr. Thayer was defeated. Mr. Bailey served but a short time in Congress, when he was obliged to retire from duty on account of his health. He died of consumption in May, 1862.

The following is the vote of Fitchburg for President, governor, and representative in Congress for 1860 :—

For President.—Whole number of votes, 1,331. Lincoln, 927; Douglas, 231; Bell, 161; Breckinridge, 12.

For Governor.—Whole number of votes, 1,327. John A. Andrew, 911; E. D. Beach, 232; Amos Lawrence, 173; B. F. Butler, 11.

For Representative in Congress.—G. F. Bailey, 685; Eli Thayer, 613.

The news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached Fitchburg upon the 13th of April, 1861, and this was succeeded by the news of the call of the President for seventy-five thousand volunteers. There were then two companies of militia in town, whose services were at once tendered to Gov. Andrew; but the State quota was already filled. On the 19th of April came the news of the attack on the sixth regiment at Baltimore. On the 20th a public meeting was held in the town hall, at which the following resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted :—

“ *Resolved*, That we respond cordially to the proclamation of the President of the United States; that we declare our unflinching resolution to support our government in its struggle to maintain its honor, integrity and existence.

“ *Resolved*, That we will use our utmost endeavors to secure a vote of the town whereby the sum of \$10,000 shall be raised by direct tax, which sum of money shall be appropriated to provide for the support of the families of any of the soldiers who may be called out during the present war, and for fitting out and equipping such men.”

On the 27th of April, at a legal town meeting, the sum of ten thousand dollars was unanimously appropriated for the benefit of the soldiers and their families.

All was now excitement and patriotic ardor. Men, women and children were anxious to show their patriotism. On Thursday, the 16th of May, the two Fitchburg companies paraded the streets; flags were thrown to the breeze from the high and grammar school building on High Street, and from the grammar school building on Day Street. Speeches were made, and poems read, interspersed with music suitable to the occasion. In the evening there was a presentation of flags to the military companies by the ladies of the town.

Something, however, was done of a more serious nature than the making of speeches, the raising of flags and the marching of processions. The President issued a call for three-years troops, and Capt. James Savage, Jr., of Boston, opened a recruiting office in Fitchburg, May 1, 1861, and raised a company in about a week. A large majority of the men, however, were from other towns, owing to the fact that Fitchburg men preferred to go with the two Fitchburg companies, the Fusileers and Guards, which were already organized. The company was designated as company D, second Massachusetts regiment. It was mustered into the United States service May 11, 1861, and left the State July 8 to join the army of the upper Potomac. It was afterwards with Gen. Banks in the Shenandoah Valley in 1862, and was engaged in the battle of

Cedar Mountain. It afterwards took part in the battle of Antietam. In 1863 it was engaged in the Chancellorsville campaign, and took part in the disastrous battle of that name. Most of the company re-enlisted at the end of three years, served in Tennessee and Georgia, and accompanied Sherman on his "march to the sea." It was mustered out of service July 14, 1865.

The next company which enlisted from Fitchburg was the Fitchburg Fusileers, which, on the 11th of May, 1861, voted to volunteer for the war. The Fusileers left the town on the 28th of June, and their departure was the occasion of a public demonstration by the citizens. They were incorporated into the fifteenth Massachusetts regiment, and were soon engaged in the battle of Ball's Bluff, where they lost heavily. In 1862 they served with McClellan on the Peninsula, and afterwards took part in the battle of Antietam. They served in the Shenandoah Valley campaign, and were engaged in the battle of Gettysburg. The regiment accompanied Grant through the "Wilderness," and was mustered out at Worcester July 21, 1864.

The Washington Guards left town July 19, 1861, and were mustered into the United States service as company D of the twenty-first Massachusetts regiment. They joined the expedition of Gen. Burnside, then fitting out for North Carolina; were engaged in the battle of Newbern; afterwards returned to Maryland; took part at the battle of Antietam, and, later, in the battle of Fredericksburg. In 1863 the regiment went West, and was part of the force which was besieged for some time in Knoxville, Tenn. It afterwards took part in the battles of the Wilderness, and was engaged at Petersburg. It was mustered out of service Aug. 30, 1864.

Company F, twenty-fifth Massachusetts regiment, left Fitchburg about the 1st of October, 1861, for camp at Worcester, and soon after went to Annapolis to join Burnside's expedition. This regiment went out under the command of Col. Edwin Upton of Fitchburg. It took part in the battle of Roanoke Island and in the capture of Newbern. It afterwards came home on a furlough, and returned in March, 1864, to Virginia, where it was engaged in the battle of Coal Harbor, and for a short time before being mustered out was stationed in North Carolina.

In July, 1862, the President called for three hundred thousand more men, and, in response to this call, it was determined to send out another company from Fitchburg. A citizens' meeting was held on Saturday, July 12, at which meeting it was unanimously

"*Resolved*, That, as citizens of the town of Fitchburg, we are desirous of giving an earnest and practical response to the appeal of his excellency the governor of Massachusetts to the several towns of the Commonwealth, and of taking effective measures to do our share in support of the administration of the United States in its renewed efforts for the suppression of the rebellion."

Measures were taken at the same time to call a town meeting, and a committee was chosen to canvass for recruits.

At the town meeting held July 19, measures were taken for the first time for offering bounties. It was voted at that time to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each recruit, the sum not to exceed in all \$10,100.

A company was formed which was incorporated into the thirty-sixth regiment as company A, and left town for camp Aug. 1, 1862. The thirty-sixth regiment first joined Burnside's command in Maryland; was afterwards engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg, and went West in 1863, to take part in the siege of Vicksburg. It afterwards went through a terrible marching-campaign in Mississippi, during which it lost many men from disease and exhaustion. The company was afterwards at the siege of Knoxville, and, later, was taken to Virginia, and went through the battles of the Wilderness, and took part in the siege of Petersburg. It was mustered out June 21, 1865.

In August, 1862, there was a call for nine months men, to which the town responded promptly by raising two full companies in a few days. A bounty of one hundred dollars was voted to each man. These companies were companies A and B of the fifty-third Massachusetts regiment, which was placed under the command of Col. J. W. Kimball of Fitchburg. These two companies left Fitchburg for camp the last week in September; were mustered into service Oct. 17, 1862, and left camp November 29, to join Gen. Banks's expedition for the South. The regiment followed the fortunes of the expedition in Louisiana; was present and actively engaged at the siege of Port Hudson; was present at the surrender, and arrived home Aug. 24, 1863, where it was given a grand reception by the citizens of Fitchburg and the surrounding towns. It was mustered out Aug. 31, 1863.

In October, 1863, the President called for three hundred thousand more men, and it was determined to raise another company in town. Recruiting was commenced, but it was February before the company was filled. It was designated as company F, fifty-seventh Massachusetts regiment. The company left the State with the regiment April 18, 1864, for Annapolis; joined the Ninth Army Corps; was marched to the front, and soon engaged in the battles of the Wilderness. It took part in the assault at the explosion of the mine before Petersburg, and, during the remaining time of service, was stationed in the vicinity. It was mustered out July 30, 1865.

Under the call of the President for one year men, issued July 18, 1864, a company of heavy artillery was raised in Fitchburg. These men received a bounty of \$200 each. The company left town August 13, and the State September 13. It saw no active service, but faithfully and efficiently performed duty in garrisoning forts on the Virginia side of the Potomac. It was mustered out June 17, 1865.

In May, 1862, two companies from Fitchburg offered themselves for the defence of Washington, under a call of the President for three months men. Gov. Andrew called upon the militia on the 26th, and on the same evening two companies from this town were on their way to Boston. But the

troops were not needed at Washington and the companies returned, after being quartered two nights in Faneuil Hall.

Under the drafts of 1863 and 1864, two hundred and fifty-six men were drawn from Fitchburg; two hundred and forty-one of them in 1863, and sixteen more in 1864. Most of these furnished substitutes or paid commutation.

All these companies served faithfully and creditably in whatever situations they were placed, and Fitchburg mourns to-day for many of its best and most promising young men, who died for their country at the post of duty. Her precious "Roll of Honor," contains the names of thirteen commissioned officers and one hundred and twenty-nine enlisted men, who died in battle, or from wounds or disease.

The town of Fitchburg appreciated the privations, sufferings and sacrifices of her soldiers, and did what she could to mitigate them. Besides the assistance which was rendered to the families of volunteers by the town in its corporate capacity, there were various committees and organizations, the duties of which were to aid and relieve those who on bloody battle-fields, in camp or in prison, were upholding for them, through trial, privation or death, the political institutions of the country.

In April, 1862, the town voted "that the selectmen be authorized to pay for the support of the families of volunteers such sums as they think their circumstances may require." This vote was repeated each year of the war, and the money thus appropriated was in addition to the State aid authorized by the legislature.

The Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society of Fitchburg, was organized in September, 1861. A detailed account of the work of this society would fill a volume. Suffice it to say that the eloquent and grateful letters received from various companies, thanking them for aid received, show a great and good work, ably and indefatigably performed.

The Soldiers' Relief Committee had its origin at a meeting of the citizens held in the town hall, on the 26th of September, 1861, "to organize for the more effectual aid and comfort of the soldiers in the field, from this town, and their families." The committee then raised for that purpose, did a good work in sending relief to sick and wounded soldiers, and to our men in the rebel prisons.

Soon after the close of the war the question began to be agitated of erecting some memorial to the soldiers. After considerable discussion in various town meetings, it was finally decided to erect a soldiers' monument, which was accordingly done. It was finished in 1874, and dedicated June 26, at which time there was a large demonstration of citizens, and military and civic organizations. An oration was delivered by Gen. N. P. Banks. The monument was designed by Martin Milmore, and cost about \$25,000. The whole cost, including land and monument, was \$75,000.

One event which happened in the last year of the war we will mention here, and that was the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Fitchburg. The exercises of the day were held June 30, 1864, in a large tent which was pitched upon a lot of land on Circle Street, belonging to Walter Heywood, Esq. The exercises of the day were interesting and appropriate. The oration was delivered by the Hon. C. H. B. Snow, since deceased. The Scriptures were read by Rev. Ebenezer Bullard, a former pastor in the town, from a Bible which formerly belonged to Col. Zachary Fitch, and was printed in London, in 1739. There was a large procession representing the different kinds of business, and a dinner was given in the town hall to about five hundred guests.

CHAPTER V.

MANUFACTURING INTERESTS — THE BURLEIGH DRILL — THE GAS COMPANY —
STATISTICS — BANKS — SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS — INSURANCE COMPANIES —
MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS.

THE Nashua River, which was once thought to be the curse of Fitchburg, proved to be a blessing. In the little stream which wound its way through the wooded valley was wealth, not in nuggets of gold or precious diamonds, but wealth latent in the power that would drive the machinery which would eventually build up in that desolate place a thriving and populous town and city. Through its means, the low, sunken valley, which was shunned and reviled, was to become the populous centre of busy life.

Amos and Ephraim Kimball have the honor of being the manufacturing pioneers of Fitchburg. Seeing the advantages of the water-power supplied by the river, they built, in 1750, a dam across the stream, just above the mill of Joseph Cushing on Laurel Street, and very near the location of the present dam. Here they erected a saw and grist mill. The dam not being a very substantial one, and being carried away every spring by the freshets, was replaced in a few years by a better one, built of logs and V shaped. As early as 1793 a fulling-mill, a clothiers' works, a carding machine, and works for grinding scythes had been built on this water privilege. By this time both Amos and Ephraim Kimball were dead, but the son of Ephraim, also named Ephraim, who seems to have had something of the spirit of his father, built in 1794, in conjunction with Jonas Marshall, the second dam across the river, near the site of H. W. Pitts' cotton-mill on West Street. Here they built a saw-mill.

The manufacture of cotton goods was early commenced in Fitchburg. In

1807, Ephraim Kimball, grandson of the first Ephraim, built a third dam, substantially where that of the Fitchburg Woolen Mill Company now is, and a cotton-mill was erected, which is now a part of the mill of the same company. It was built and operated by a company of about thirty individuals, including the workmen, who were obliged to take shares. This was one of the first cotton factories in the State. The company, or rather corporation, failed in 1816, and the property was purchased by Messrs. Putnam & Perkins, who sold it to Messrs. Towne & Willis in 1822, who put in woolen-machinery.

The first attempt at cotton manufacturing was not a financial success, but Capt. Martin Newton made a second venture in 1810. On election day of that year he put in operation two spinning-frames, in a little building near Joseph Cushing's mill. He succeeded in making of it a profitable business, and, in 1812, in connection with Solomon Strong and Jonathan Flint, he built what was afterwards called Newton's Factory, in Newton Lane, where the business was continued. The building is now owned by the Putnam Machine Company,

In 1813, John and Joseph Farwell, and Nehemiah Giles purchased the water privilege made by the dam built by Messrs. Kimball & Marshall, on West Street, and built there what was called the "Red" or "Roll-stone" mill, for the manufacture of cotton goods. It was bought by Messrs. Putnam & Perkins about 1816, and it was afterwards owned by Gen. Ivers Jewett, and was purchased by Messrs. Towne & Willis in 1833. The mill was managed after 1834 by Levi Sherwin, who in 1843 bought one-fourth interest in it, and in 1857 the other three-fourths. In 1874 he sold it to H. W. Pitts, who built in 1876 a fine brick mill to take its place.

A cotton-mill was built on Phillips Brook, in West Fitchburg, in 1815 or 1816, by Isaiah Putnam, Joseph Howard, Philip F. Cowdin, and Samuel Phillips. As early as 1828 this mill was run by Perkins & Baldwin. It was swept away by the flood of 1850, caused by the breaking away of the Ashburnham reservoir in the spring of that year.

The stone mill, now occupied by Joseph Cushing, was built for a cotton-mill by Oliver Fox, in 1826. No derrick was used in the work, but oxen were driven with their loads up an inclined plane to the top of the building. It was leased as a cotton-mill by Percy Atherton, and afterwards by Ivers Phillips, and still later by N. F. Ackley. It was purchased by Mr. Cushing, in 1868, and used as a flour and grain mill.

The duck-mill in South Fitchburg, now run by Oliver Ellis as agent, and owned by George Blackburn & Co., was built about 1818. Not far from this is another good brick mill owned by the same parties but not running.

The woolen business was also commenced at an early date in Fitchburg in a small way. In 1793, Ephraim Kimball had a custom card and a fulling and dressing mill near his saw and grist mill in the Old City, and in 1798 there were clothing-works there, where cloth was dyed, fulled and sheared.

As before stated, Messrs. Towne & Willis bought the first cotton-mill and turned it into a woolen-mill. An addition was made to it in 1834, and others have since been made. Various changes have taken place in its ownership and management. Since 1867 the business has been done under the name of the Fitchburg Woolen Mill Company. William H. Vose has been sole manager and agent of this mill for upwards of thirty years.

A woolen-mill, which stood near the paper-mill of George W. Wheelwright & Sons, was built in 1823, and was pulled down some years ago. A woolen-mill was built by Hollis Hartshorn in South Fitchburg, in 1832, and was burned in 1836.

In 1845 there was a little cotton-mill, owned by Col. Ivers Phillips, on the Sanborn Road, where is now the woolen-mill occupied by T. E. Hopkins. It was soon changed to a flannel-mill, and was swept away by the flood of 1850, and rebuilt, and burned in 1852. Mr. Phillips again erected a mill here for the manufacture of hosiery, &c. The mill has been leased and run as a woolen-mill by various parties since 1861. The mill below this, at one time occupied by Whitman & Miles, was fitted up with woolen machinery in 1863. It is now owned by Col. Ivers Phillips and Edwin Works. It is operated by James Phillips, Jr., in connection with his other mill.

The mill near the corner of the West Fitchburg Road and the Sanborn Road was built in 1864 by Alvah Crocker, C. T. Crocker, George F. Fay and others, for the manufacture of woollens. Messrs. Rockwell & Phillips purchased it in 1872, and commenced a very flourishing business in the manufacture of worsted goods. Their business continued to increase, so that in 1875 they hired the mill on the upper part of West Street, which mill had previously commenced running in 1865, under the name of the Booth Worsted Company. They put in machinery here, and ran it until they enlarged their own mill. In 1875 Mr. Rockwell retired from the firm, and the business has since been conducted by James Phillips, Jr. He is now running the original mill, which is much enlarged, in addition to the mill above it. He employs two hundred and fifty hands, and is producing \$800,000 worth of worsted and woolen goods annually, which is about the amount that all the woolen-mills in the city were producing in 1876.

The iron business of Fitchburg is large and important, and Fitchburg machinery is known and appreciated throughout the United States, and even in foreign countries, and to no other enterprise is the prosperity of Fitchburg more attributable. The pioneers in the business in this town were the Putnam brothers, Salmon W. and John, who came to Fitchburg in 1838, and commenced a small business, mainly in repairing. Their business and reputation rapidly increased until 1858, when, from this beginning, Salmon W. Putnam organized and incorporated the Putnam Machine Company, now so widely and favorably known, and of which he was chosen president and general business manager; continuing in the position until his death, which occurred on the twenty-third day of February, 1872.



PUTNAM MACHINE COMPANY'S WORKS, FITCHBURG, MASS.



WOOLEN MANUFACTORY OF JAMES PHILLIPS JR., FITCHBURG, MASS.

The Putnam Machine Company commenced business with a capital stock of \$40,000, which was afterwards increased in 1866 to \$160,000, with a surplus to \$320,000. They continued business on Water Street, in the old quarters of the Putnam Brothers, until 1866, when, their business having outgrown the capacity of their shops, they were forced to enlarge their facilities of manufacture. Deciding to change their location, they purchased various parcels of land, including the Atherton estate in Newton Lane, amounting in all to some over twenty-six acres. They "broke ground" in July, 1866, for their present extensive works, which in that year were erected at a cost of over \$200,000.

The main machine-shop, in which the working tools are located, is a building of brick, one story high, running north and south, 625 feet long and 48 feet wide, supported in the centre by thirty-five iron columns, upon which the main line of shafting for driving the entire machinery is fastened. The building is devoted to seven different departments of work, but is without partition or obstruction to the sight from end to end. It is lighted by two hundred and eighty-four large windows, five hundred gas-burners, and heated by over six miles of steam-pipe, and has a floor room of 37,000 square feet. From its west side extend seven wings, six of them being 52 by 36 feet, and one 52 by 44 feet; each of these being devoted to the setting up and delivery of machinery made in the corresponding department, and are all furnished with powerful cranes for handling the heavier articles, while between these wings are spaces for the temporary accommodation of castings used in each department.

Extending from the east side of the main building are five small wings, twelve feet square, suitably fitted up as offices for the superintendents of the various departments. The large wings are furnished with folding doors, opening to a roadway which extends the whole length of the shops to the main line of the Fitchburg Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel Line, which passes by the southern end of the company's works, so that a machine, when complete, can readily be transferred to the cars and freighted without delay to its destination. At the extreme south end, and connected with the main machine-shop, is located the blacksmith-shop, with its forges and heavy hammers. The engine used in driving this machinery is sixty-five horse-power, one of their own manufacture, and is located in a building adjoining the blacksmith-shop. Engines, being a specialty of this company, have gained for the concern a very wide and enviable reputation, as their work is to be found distributed throughout the whole country.

Parallel with the main machine-shop, and divided from it by the roadway on the west side, are located the iron and brass foundries, pattern and box shops, store-house and other buildings for various purposes, all arranged systematically for the saving of labor and convenience of supervision.

The general plan of the buildings, and the most minute details of the arrangement of machinery, were devised throughout by their late president, Salmon W. Putnam, and they combine facility, effectiveness and economy of operation.

The class of machines manufactured by this company are such as are known and termed machine-shop and special railroad tools, which are of great number and variety; and to their credit might be mentioned, as a fact, that the first two fully equipped machine-shops in China were furnished throughout by them with steam-engines, shafting and hangers, lathes, planers, drills and other tools complete. It was also the mission of this company to manufacture the compressors, rock-drills and other tools used in the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel.

The late president has four sons surviving, who are actively engaged in the business of the company. Charles F. Putnam is the president and financier, who was elected on the death of his father to succeed him in the general management of the company. Salmon W. Putnam, is the superintendent-designer of the company, having in charge the pre-arrangement and mechanical construction of the different machine and special railroad tools which, during the past ten years, have been constructed after his designs and drawings, and on which he has received numerous letters-patent from the United States for new adjustments and designs. Henry O. Putnam is superintendent of that department of manufacture devoted to the building of special tools, such as car-wheel borers, slotting and paring machines, bolt cutters, nut-tapping machines, car-axle lathes, compressors, rock-drills, &c. George E. Putnam, the youngest son, is actively engaged in the office affairs of the company, in connection with his brother, the president.

The history of this company since its incorporation and increase of its capital stock has been one of continued prosperity and success, and since the panic of September, 1873, it has continued to run its entire works, and maintain a large proportion of its machinery in motion, with nearly its full complement of men.

The Simonds Manufacturing Company, whose works are situated on Main Street, some distance below the American House, did business under the name of Simonds Brothers from 1864 to 1868, at which time they were incorporated under the name of the Simonds Manufacturing Company. They originally manufactured mowing-machine knives and machine-knives, but have now given up mowing-machine knives, and manufacture saws and machine-knives.

The Fitchburg Machine Company was incorporated in 1867, and have since carried on their business of machine-making in a large and convenient shop on Summer Street, built by Sylvanus Sawyer. C. H. Brown & Co., who make very fine steam-engines, formerly occupied part of the same building, but in 1877 they built a large and convenient shop nearly opposite.

The Fitchburg Steam-Engine Company, on Water Street, have made a specialty of the manufacture of steam-engines, and are also building a patent power-loom. The business carried on by this company was organized in 1870, and has a firm foothold in this and foreign countries.

The Rollstone Machine Company, just below, was organized in 1877. They make a specialty of woodworking machinery, including lathes, band saws and saw benches.

In 1845 Page & White were manufacturing edge-tools in Rockville, in a building now used as a woolen-mill. They were succeeded by Whitman & Miles, who did business there from 1856 till 1864, when they were incorporated under the name of the Whitman & Miles Manufacturing Company, and moved into new and commodious buildings farther up on the main road, where they carried on a large and successful business, manufacturing principally mowing-machine knives. In 1876 they moved to Akron, Ohio, where they had already a branch establishment.

The early process of tunneling rock was entirely by hand. Besides being a slow process, it was attended with much inconvenience and danger, on account of the want of ventilation in a tunnel of any considerable length. In 1866 Charles Burleigh of Fitchburg invented the Burleigh rock-drill, an instrument which has entirely revolutionized the business of tunneling rock, and made possible works of that nature which without it would never be attempted.

The machine consists mainly of a drill attached to a piston, which is a solid bar of steel, and is operated by compressed air. This compressed air serves the double purpose of driving the drill and ventilating the tunnel, which last it does to perfection. Soon after this invention Mr. Burleigh's drills were put to work in the Hoosac Tunnel, and from that time the work proceeded steadily and rapidly to completion. These drills were used in removing the obstructions at Hell Gate, are used in the Sutro Tunnel, Nevada, and have been quite extensively used in Europe. A company called the Burleigh Rock-Drill Company was organized in 1867, with a capital of \$150,000, to manufacture and sell these machines, and also the Burleigh Patent Air-Compressor. With these drills, holes may be made from three-quarters of an inch to five inches in diameter, to a depth not exceeding thirty feet, at a rate of from two to ten inches per minute, according to the nature of the rock.

About the year 1800, John & Joseph Farwell commenced the manufacture of scythes near the corner of West and River streets, and this business was continued there for about twenty years. About 1830, Alpheus Kimball & J. T. Farwell started a scythe manufactory in West Fitchburg, near the site of Rodney Wallace's lower paper-mill. After a few years Mr. Farwell left the firm, and, in connection with Abel Simonds started a scythe manufactory above, near the junction of the Phillips Brook with the Nashua. Abel Simonds afterwards carried on these works alone.

About 1848 A. P. Kimball and John Chandler commenced the manufacture of scythes in South Fitchburg.

Edwin Richardson commenced the scythe business at the same place in 1852, and continued the manufacture until within a couple of years.

Paper-making is one of the most valuable of the manufacturing interests of Fitchburg. The first paper-mill was built in 1804 by Thomas French, on the site of the Rollstone Machine Company's works, on Water Street. The dam then built was the third on the river. This was called the Burbank Paper-Mill,

and was owned by Gen. Leonard Burbank. It was afterwards owned by Crocker & Gardner, and later by Alvah Crocker. The second paper-mill was built by A. Crocker & Co., in West Fitchburg, on the present site of Rodney Wallace's upper mill. Commencing with this mill, Alvah Crocker continued to increase his business, buying more mills and making more paper. In 1850 the firm of Crocker, Burbank & Co. was formed. This firm owns seven paper-mills, but two of them have been consolidated, and one is not running, so that they are now really running five large paper-mills, and producing about fifteen tons of paper per day.

The Snow Mill, or Upper Mill, was built in 1839 by S. S. Crocker. Benjamin Snow, Jr., bought it in 1847, and Benjamin Snow, Jr., and Samuel Whitney sold it, in 1862, to Crocker, Burbank & Co. The Cascade Mill was built about 1847. It was owned in that year by S. A. Wheeler, George Brown and Joel Davis. It was afterwards bought by Franklin Wyman, E. B. Tileston and Jonathan Ware, who sold it to Crocker, Burbank & Co. in 1863. The Upton Mill, on the road to William Woodbury's, was built in 1851 by Edwin Upton and Alvah Crocker, and came into the possession of Crocker, Burbank & Co. in 1859. The Lyon Mill was built in 1853 by Moses G. & B. F. Lyon, and bought of Moses G. Lyon by Crocker, Burbank & Co. in 1869. The Hanna Mill was built by George and Joseph Brown about 1852. It was afterwards owned by Samuel Hanna, who bought it in 1853, and sold it in 1860 to Crocker, Burbank & Co. The Whitney Mill, in Rockville, was built by Whitney & Bogart in 1847. It was afterwards owned by Crocker, Burbank & Co., then by Samuel Whitney, and later by William Baldwin, Jr., who sold it in 1868 to Crocker, Burbank & Co. The Stone Mill, below the Snow and Cascade mills, was built in 1854. One half of it was owned for some time by S. A. Wheeler and Joel Ames, and the other half by Alvah Crocker. Crocker, Burbank & Co. came into possession of one half in 1864, and A. Crocker sold the remaining half to Crocker, Burbank & Co. in 1871.

The present members of this firm are Charles T. Crocker, S. E. Crocker, George F. Fay and George H. Crocker.

In 1865, Rodney Wallace, in company with Stephen Shepley, Benjamin Snow, Jr., and S. E. Denton, bought the Lyon Paper-Mill and the Kimball Seythe-Shops at West Fitchburg, and began the manufacture of paper under the name of the Fitchburg Paper Company, Mr. Denton taking charge of the business at the mill. In 1868 Mr. Denton died, and Mr. Snow's health failing, Mr. Wallace purchased the interests of both gentlemen, and on the dissolution of his partnership with Mr. Shepley became sole owner of the concern. He made improvements in the mill whereby he increased the capacity of production from 2,500 to 6,000 pounds of paper per day. In 1876 he made further improvements by the erection of a substantial stone dam. In 1878 he built a new mill just below the old one, which is a fine structure of



OFFICE OF CROCKER, BURBANK & CO., PAPER MANUFACTURERS, FITCHBURG, MASS.



CROCKER, BURBANK & COMPANY'S "STONE MILL," FITCHBURG, MASS.

the kind, being furnished with all the modern machinery and conveniences for making paper. He is now producing about six tons of paper per day.

The paper-mill of George W. Wheelwright & Sons was built in 1864, and the manufacture of paper was commenced the same year. They are producing about three tons of paper per day.

Northern Massachusetts is the home of the chair business, and Fitchburg now contains a representative establishment of the kind, it being one of the largest and best arranged in the world. The chair business in Fitchburg was started by Levi Pratt, about 1816, in a little shop on the Pratt Road. Here, and in a larger shop which he built in 1833, he made chairs for upwards of thirty years. John D. Pratt moved to Fitchburg from Lunenburg and commenced making chairs at an early period. His shop was on Academy Street, near the residence of Charles Fessenden.

In 1845 Alonzo Davis commenced the manufacture of chairs in Newton Lane in connection with Augustus Rice. The building used by them stood where the building lately occupied by the American Rattan Company stands. It was afterwards burned. Mr. Davis soon moved into the Newton Factory, adjoining, and was in company there for a time with Hiram Wood, who was succeeded by John D. Pratt. Messrs. Davis & Pratt built a brick factory on Circle Street in 1855, and Mr. Davis afterwards assumed the entire business. This factory has not been running for a few years.

Walter Heywood, founder of the Walter Heywood Chair Company, and one of the pioneers in the chair business of the country, was born in Gardner in 1804, where he was early engaged in the manufacture of chairs. He removed to Fitchburg in 1841, where, in company with L. P. Comee, he kept a miscellaneous store, embracing dry-goods, groceries, &c. He soon, however, went into the chair business.

In the fall of 1844 he hired a small building near the cotton-factory on West Street, and commenced to make chairs. These premises soon proved too small for his purpose, and when Alvah Crocker erected a building on the spot now occupied by the Fitchburg Steam-Engine Company, on Water Street, the chair business of Heywood & Comee was removed to its upper story. This building was burned Dec. 7, 1849, and the firm of Heywood & Comee then dissolved.

Walter Heywood now devoted all his energies and capital to the manufacture of chairs. Immediately after the fire he secured a temporary shop in Newton Lane, and, on the completion of Mr. Crocker's new building, which he erected the next year, Mr. Heywood hired the whole of it. In 1852, Alton Blodgett, Lovell Williams and George E. Towne were taken into partnership, and in 1864, Mr. George H. Spencer, who is now superintendent and business manager of the company, was admitted into the firm. The firm was incorporated in 1869, under the name of the Walter Heywood Chair Company, with a capital of \$240,000. The buildings on Water Street, occupied by the company, were burned in July, 1870, and a lot on River Street, having an area of nine

acres, was purchased for the erection of new buildings. The present factory consists of three main buildings, two of which are three hundred feet by fifty, and one three hundred feet by forty, each factory being two stories high with an attic. There is also a building for office and store-rooms, a boiler-house and sheds. A railroad track belonging to the company, a quarter of a mile long, connects the premises with the main track of the Fitchburg Railroad. Everything is arranged for convenience and economy in doing business. The company has a large foreign trade and a large trade with California.

The grain business was inaugurated in Fitchburg by Amos and Ephraim Kimball, in 1750, and in a few years they ground the grain to supply thirty or forty families. Their mill has already been mentioned, and was in existence until after the Revolution. From about 1800 to 1822, there was a grist-mill near the corner of West and River streets, which was run in connection with the scythe-works there. In 1835, Sheldon & Pillsbury were manufacturing flour and grain at the upper end of West Street, on the site of what is known as the "Booth Worsted-mill," and they were doing a very considerable business. The mill was furnished with two runs of stones, a corn-cracker, and a flour-bolter. A large quantity of grain was brought to this mill from a distance.

About 1836, a mill was erected on the road to West Fitchburg, a short distance below the stone bridge of the Fitchburg Railroad, by Capt. Levi Pratt, who manufactured powder-kegs there for a time. Franklin McIntire and Ira Carleton afterwards carried on the grain business here, Mr. Carleton commencing about 1855. The Fitchburg Flour Company were the latest occupants. At present it is not running.

Joseph Cushing is doing a large business in flour, grain and feed. In 1868, he took the stone mill on Laurel Street, formerly occupied as a cotton factory, and converted it into a flour and grain mill. It is fitted up very conveniently for the business, and he has a turn-out connected with the main line of the Fitchburg Railroad, over which he runs a large number of cars. Mr. Cushing has five run of mill-stones, with a grinding capacity of two thousand bushels per day. Recently, machinery for making kiln-dried meal and for drying corn has been added to the mill, and he is now making kiln-dried meal for export. The storage capacity in his mill is fifty thousand bushels, and he handles from one hundred to one hundred and fifty cars of grain per month. He also has a saw-mill and lumber-yard on the opposite side of the river, and owns a considerable area of land in connection with his grain-mill, which he leases as a coal-yard.

The American Rattan Company was incorporated in 1852, for the manufacture of chair-cane from rattan. Previous to the organization of this company, chair-cane had been split from the rattan by hand. The machines invented by Sylvanus Sawyer and his brother Addison, made this a business of great importance, and for a long series of years this was one of the most profitable manufacturing establishments in the United States. The company did its manufacturing in Newton Lane. In 1875, it was consolidated with the Wake-

field Rattan Company of Boston, and in April, 1878, the business was taken from Fitchburg and united with the Boston establishment. Moses Wood was president of the company from its incorporation till his death, in 1869, and was treasurer of the same for all but the first three years. Mr. Wood was an honest, able and prudent business man, and the success of the American Rattan Company, and the Rollstone National Bank, of which he was also president, was largely owing to his management.

The only establishment in Fitchburg for the manufacture of shoes is that of E. M. Dickenson & Co. Mr. Dickenson commenced manufacturing shoes in Marlborough, Mass., in 1842. In 1854, he removed to Fitchburg and continued the same business on the corner of Main and Laurel streets. Soon after he built a shop on Oliver Street, where he remained for six years. During this time but little machinery was used, most of the work being done by hand. About 1860, he moved into S. F. Atherton's building in Newton Lane, and commenced the use of machinery. Here he remained for about ten years, making ladies', misses' and children's pegged shoes, and then moved into the building owned by the Simonds Manufacturing Company, on Main Street, below the depot, where he has continued to manufacture for nine years. The present firm, composed of E. M. Dickenson and E. F. Belding, was established Dec. 1, 1876, since which time they have manufactured machine-sewed work, making children's shoes a specialty. They employ from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five hands, and turn out one thousand pairs of shoes daily during the busy seasons. The amount paid out for labor is about \$30,000 per annum. Most of their shoes are sold in the West, although they have a large New England trade.

The Fitchburg Gas Company was organized in 1852, and went into operation the next year.

Want of space compels us to omit the history and even the mention of all of the manufacturing establishments and business firms of the city. There are many others which have helped to build up Fitchburg and add to its wealth and prosperity.

According to the State census of 1875, there were one hundred and four manufacturing establishments in Fitchburg, employing a capital of \$3,420,000, resulting in a yearly product of \$5,126,920. Of occupations kindred to manufacturing there were one hundred and nineteen, employing a capital of \$144,630; and a yearly product of \$700,471.

Fifteen establishments were employed in the manufacture of machinery of various kinds, machine-knives, &c., with a capital of \$1,236,600, and a yearly product of \$978,437. Four others were engaged in the manufacture of paper and paper pulp, with an aggregate capital of \$502,000, and an annual product of \$1,036,650. In the manufacture of woolen goods four more were occupied, with a capital of \$230,000, and an annual product of \$618,626. The annual product of chair-cane and reeds amounted to \$340,000.

The Fitchburg Bank was chartered Feb. 28, 1832, and the first meeting of the stockholders was held April 2d of that year, at which time the first board of directors was chosen, of whom the following were residents of Fitchburg: Francis Perkins, Ivers Jewett, Benjamin Snow, Abial J. Towne, Charles W. Wilder, Nathaniel Wood and David Boutelle. Francis Perkins was chosen president and Ebenezer Torrey cashier. Mr. Perkins held the office of president until his death, in 1859. Ephraim Murdock of Winchendon was then chosen in his place, but declined a re-election at the next annual meeting, which occurred in a few months. Ebenezer Torrey, who, until this time, had been cashier, was then elected president, which office he has held until the present time. Charles J. Billings was chosen cashier, and has since retained that office. The capital stock of the bank was originally \$100,000, but it was afterwards increased to \$250,000. It was re-organized into a national bank in 1865. The first banking-house was a small granite building, which was succeeded, in 1853, by a new brick building, built on the same spot, which is now occupied by Crocker, Burbank & Co., as an office. In 1871, the bank moved into its present quarters, a little distance below, on Main Street.

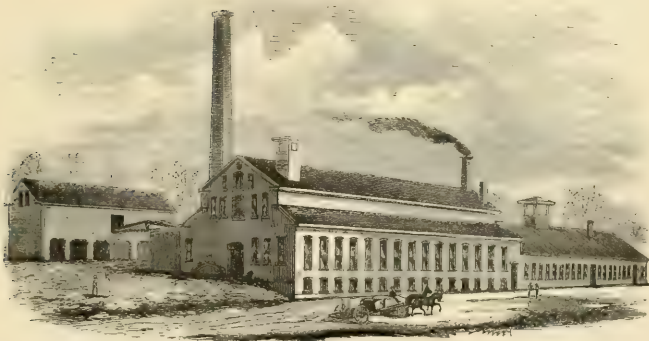
The Fitchburg Savings Bank was incorporated Feb. 12, 1846, and commenced operations the first of June. Francis Perkins was the first president, and Ebenezer Torrey the first treasurer. On the death of Mr. Perkins, Nathaniel Wood was chosen president. This bank erected a fine building on Main Street in 1871, in which they now have their rooms. The amount of deposits June 1, 1879, was \$1,839,488, made by 5,111 depositors.

The Rollstone Bank was incorporated, May 1, 1849, with a capital of \$100,000, and commenced business May 24. Moses Wood was the first president, and Lewis H. Bradford the first cashier. The first board of directors consisted of the following persons:—Moses Wood, Alvah Crocker, Kilburn Harwood, C. Marshall, J. W. Mansur, Benjamin Snow, Jr., Daniel Putnam, A. F. Lawrence, M. S. Morse, William Bennett, Jr., Leonard Burrage and Lyman Nichols. The capital was increased in a few years to \$250,000, and has since remained the same. Moses Wood remained president until his death in 1869, and Alvah Crocker succeeded him. Mr. Crocker was succeeded by Henry A. Willis as president, which office he now holds. L. H. Bradford served as cashier until 1856, when he was succeeded by William B. Wood, who resigned in 1858. Henry A. Willis was then chosen cashier, and upon his appointment to the office of president, John M. Graham, the present cashier, was chosen. The first banking-house of the Rollstone Bank was a small granite building, which stood where the Rollstone Bank Building now stands. This latter building was erected in 1869. It was organized as a national bank in 1864.

The Worcester North Savings Institution was incorporated May 26, 1878, and went into operation in June. The amount of deposits June 1, 1879, was \$1,397,859, made by 3,531 depositors.



CROCKER, BURBANK & COMPANY'S "SNOW MILL," FITCHBURG, MASS.



CROCKER, BURBANK & COMPANY'S "HANNA MILL," FITCHBURG, MASS.

The Safety Fund National Bank was incorporated April 17, 1874. Henry Allison was chosen president, and F. F. Woodward, cashier. This bank has a capital of \$200,000, and does business in Crocker Block, on Main Street.

The Wachusett National Bank was incorporated May 20, 1875, and commenced business the 1st of June, with A. W. Seaver as president, H. A. Blood, vice-president, and H. L. Jewett, cashier. O. H. Lawrence is now president, William O. Brown, vice-president, and George E. Clifford, cashier. The bank commenced business with a capital of \$500,000, but it has since been reduced to \$250,000. A banking-house was built on the corner of Main and Day streets in 1875. Until this building was finished their business was done in Belding & Dickenson's Block.

The Fitchburg Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized June 29, 1847. Nathaniel Wood, the first president, served in that capacity for over twenty-six years, and as treasurer for twenty-four years. The first secretary was Ivers Phillips, who was succeeded by Abel Thurston in 1850. Mr. Thurston held the office of secretary for upwards of fourteen years. He was succeeded, on his death in 1864, by Charles Mason, and he by L. H. Bradford, who is now president, succeeding to that office on the resignation of Nathaniel Wood. E. P. Downe is the present secretary.

The Fitchburg Co-operative Savings Fund and Loan Association was incorporated in November, 1877. Jabez Fisher is president, J. F. Simonds, secretary, and George E. Clifford, treasurer. Monthly payments are made by shareholders, and money is loaned on real estate.

We do not know when the first company of militia was organized in Fitchburg, but it was probably soon after the Revolution. The oldest inhabitants remember the two military organizations, which were known by the names of the north and south companies. They had their annual parades and sham-fights. Each man furnished his own weapon, and most diverse were the fashions of their arms.

The annual musters of fifty years ago were "red letter" days in the year for men, women and children. On the night before muster the companies used to come marching in from Lunenburg, Leominster, Ashburnham and Westminster with their music and camp equipments, pitch their tents on the muster-field, and camp for the night. The next day there was a gathering of the people, from near and from far, to witness the evolutions of the military. There were two companies from each of the five towns, making ten companies; and a company of cavalry made up from all the towns. There was a company of artillery from Leominster; and two companies of riflemen, one from Ashburnham, and one from Westminster.

Besides the show of military there were various other amusements for the benefit of pleasure seekers. Among other things booths were erected for dancing, and for that day the people gave themselves up to pleasure. Musters were held in different places, sometimes on the flat in the region of Hartwell, Fox and Oliver streets, and sometimes on the flat where the works of the

Heywood Chair Company are now situated. The citizens turned out in a body and removed the stumps in the latter field, to make it suitable for the purpose. A field nearly in the rear of the American House was also used for musters.

The Fitchburg Fusileers, the oldest existing military organization in Fitchburg, was chartered Dec. 14, 1816. John Upton was the first captain, and Alpheus Kimball the second. Very many of our oldest citizens have belonged to this company, which has always had a good reputation for military discipline and appearance. Dr. Jonas A. Marshall was prominently connected with this company in its early days.

The Washington Guards were organized in July, 1855. John B. Proctor was the first captain. Both the Fusileers and the Guards volunteered and served creditably in the war of the Rebellion.

CHAPTER VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL MATTERS — THOMAS COWDIN — JOSEPH FOX — OLIVER FOX —
THADDEUS MCCARTY — JONAS MARSHALL — ASA THURSTON — RUFUS C. TORREY
— ALVAH CROCKER — S. W. PUTNAM — ALFRED HITCHCOCK — E. T. MILES.

ONE of the best ways of studying history and of becoming thoroughly familiar with the life and spirit of any period, is to learn as much as possible of the personal history of the men who then lived and played their part upon the world's stage. Their habits of thought, their modes of expression, the difficulties with which they struggled, and their manner of meeting them, mirror the times, and are most interesting and instructive.

Even if space would permit, we have not the material which would enable us to give a complete biography of any of our ancestors of one hundred years ago, but we wish it were possible. We wish that we could annihilate the years that divide us from them, and see them with our own eyes; that we could enter into conversation with them and learn of their hopes and their fears, their joys and their sorrows. We wish that we could visit Thomas Cowdin's tavern, and discuss with the group assembled round the open fireplace the latest news from the town of Boston, the prospect of the crops, the settlement of the minister, or the damage done to the roads and bridges by the last rain. All this is impossible, but we will endeavor to outline the lives of a few of the representative men of those and later times, as space and material will allow us. There was no "milk and water" about our early ancestors. They came here to struggle with the forces of nature, when to do so was almost a struggle for life. Their natures, like their muscles, were toughened; and yet they were kindly, genial men, who could be touched by joy or sorrow as truly and as sensibly as we.

We will first sketch the history of the man, who, above all others, was prominent in Fitchburg for a long time after its incorporation. Thomas Cowdin came to Fitchburg in the summer of 1764. He was born in the town of Stow in 1720, and as soon as he was of sufficient age was apprenticed at Marlborough, to a blacksmith, where he served out his time. Then he went to Worcester, and set up a forge on Main Street. While here he belonged to a company of cavalry. Just previous to the breaking out of the old French war the Indians were exceedingly troublesome, and troops were sent to the frontier to quiet them. Cowdin was pressed into the service, and sent to Charlestown, No. 4, now Charlestown, N. H. While stationed there he was selected to convey some despatches to Fort Dummer. With two other soldiers he commenced his perilous journey through the woods, and it was not long before they came suddenly upon an Indian encampment. They were discovered at once, and nothing remained for them but flight, so they separated and ran for their lives. Two of them barely escaped and returned to Charlestown, but Cowdin bent his flight towards Keene, then called Ashuelot, where he arrived safely. A company of soldiers was sent with him to Fort Dummer, where he delivered his despatches. While returning to Charlestown he met squads of men, who had been sent in search of him, and other despatches had been sent to Fort Dummer upon the supposition that he had been captured, and very likely killed. He served at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745, as a sergeant, was engaged in battle and met the enemy, where he loved to meet them, in the thickest of the fight.

In 1755 war broke out between England and France, and Cowdin enlisted as ensign, and was engaged in the expedition to Nova Scotia. He served seven years and rose to the rank of captain. A portion of the time he was employed in returning convalescent soldiers to the army, and in arresting deserters. At one time he was set on the track of a deserter whom he found was making his way towards the State of New York. He followed him with characteristic celerity and promptness, and at length found him one Sabbath morning attending divine service in a Dutch meeting-house in that State. Cowdin did not hesitate, but entered and seized the culprit at once, much to the surprise and consternation of the congregation. A severe struggle ensued, in which Cowdin barely escaped with his life; but he finally overpowered and secured his prisoner. He then took him to Boston, where he received orders to deliver him at Crown Point. So, alone through the woods, for that long distance, he journeyed with his prisoner, who well knew the fate which awaited him at his journey's end, threading each day the lonely forests, and lying down each night to sleep by the side of the doomed man. He delivered his prisoner safely at Crown Point, from whence he was taken to Montreal and shot.

We do not know what induced Cowdin to make Fitchburg his permanent home, but a few years after the occurrence just related, he moved into town, having purchased the tavern and business of Capt. Samuel Hunt, who removed

to Worcester. In those days the tavern-keeper was, by virtue simply of his occupation, a man of importance, and the daring, fearless soldier who could tell to his guests long and interesting stories of his adventures in the army, became at once an influential man, and probably a most popular host. He showed his worldly wisdom at once by offering to the town the land for the new meeting-house; and, while increasing in popularity and influence, he also prospered in business, for, in 1770, we find him the highest tax-payer in town. He held many town offices. He was town clerk for a long time, and that office seems to have been generally held by the most prominent men. Undoubtedly he was a leader of the people till the breaking out of the Revolution, when he showed himself too loyal to King George to suit his fellow-townsmen, and for a time his name is absent from the town records. Cowdin was by nature a loyal man. He had served too long as a soldier under the English flag to throw off his allegiance lightly. He showed the same characteristic during Shays' Rebellion, when he probably rendered himself obnoxious to the citizens by acting as a trial justice, to compel all suspected persons to take the oath of allegiance.

Cowdin's original farm comprised the Moses Wood estate on Pearl Street, and extended down to Main Street on both sides of Blossom Street. In about ten years after moving into town, he built a new house in the Old City on the spot where the American House stands, and there continued his occupation of landlord while he lived; and, after his death, his wife succeeded him in the business.

Thomas Cowdin was a natural-born leader. He loved to rule, and for a long time he was probably the autocrat of Fitchburg whose word was law. He died in 1792, having had two wives and been blest with eleven children,—eight sons and three daughters. The following is the record of his death upon the book of the town clerk:—

“Thomas Cowdin, Esquire, departed this life at Fitchburg, April 22, 1792, in the 72d year of his age. Being the Lord's Day morning at ten o'clock.”

Some of our most respected citizens are among his descendants, and in them we may still find traces of Cowdin blood.

In 1772 Joseph Fox came to Fitchburg from Littleton, and commenced to make shoes in the Old City. But shoemaking was too small a field for his enterprising spirit, therefore he soon commenced making trips to Boston on horseback, bringing home goods of various kinds in his saddle-bags, and retailing them from his shoemaker's bench. Finding himself successful in this limited sphere, he took another step and opened a store on the corner of Main and Laurel streets, on land which is now owned by Belding & Dickenson. He continued to prosper, and before his death he had acquired a large property.

Oliver Fox, second son of Joseph, was born Oct. 23, 1778. He was a good example of a Yankee,—restless, active, enterprising, always looking out for a chance to make money. He was perhaps the wealthiest and most influential man in Fitchburg in his time. Captain Fox, as he was called, was possessed of



CROCKER, BURBANK & COMPANY'S "UPTON MILL," FITCHBURG, MASS.



CROCKER, BURBANK & COMPANY'S "LYON & WHITNEY MILLS," FITCHBURG, MASS.

a large amount of real estate in Fitchburg. All the land on the south side of Main Street was his, and between it and the river, from the stone bridge over the river at Laurel Street, as far west as the residence of Mrs. Alvah Crocker, except of some property in Newton Lane. On the other side of Main Street, he owned all of Mt. Vernon Hill, and all the land included between Main and Pleasant streets, from the corner of Main and Prichard to Grove streets. He lived on the corner of Main and Prichard streets, and the land to the north and west constituted his farm; the flat portion between Main and Prichard streets being his mowing. He also owned the land where the fair-ground of the Worcester North Agricultural Society now is, and land in South Fitchburg, now belonging to Walter Heywood.

Captain Fox was quite a public-spirited and liberal man. He built the stone mill now occupied by Joseph Cushing, which was quite an enterprise for those times, and was a public benefit. His health failing him, he went to Louisiana, and died at Alexandria in that State, of consumption, in 1832.

The first physician in Fitchburg was Dr. Thaddeus McCarty, who came to town about 1772, and married a daughter of Thomas Cowdin. He was a man of good education, and quite skilful in his profession. At the time of the prevalence of the small-pox in 1776, he labored steadily to prevent the spread of that terrible disease. In 1781 he left town and went to Worcester, and afterwards to Keene, N. H., where he died. He was succeeded by Dr. Peter Snow, the father of Dr. Peter S. Snow, and grandfather of the late C. H. B. Snow.

Dr. Jonas Marshall, who lived in the easterly part of the town in 1785, was quite an active, influential man. His son Jonas, in his early days, carried on a tannery near the livery-stable of S. M. & E. B. Dole, and was a wealthy and influential man in the town; and *his* son, Dr. Jonas A. Marshall, who is still living, was for a long while a practising physician, and was associated with Dr. Otis Abercrombie, under the firm-name of Marshall & Abercrombie.

Another son of the first Dr. Jonas Marshall was Dr. Benjamin Marshall, the father of Chedar Marshall, the latter of whom came into possession of the homestead and considerable of the real estate formerly owned by Oliver Fox.

Perhaps the most remarkable man Fitchburg ever produced was born on one of the north-western hills of the town, on the Ashby West Road. His name was Asa Thurston. He was the son of Thomas and Lydia Thurston. He was born on the 12th of October, 1787, and grew up on his father's farm until he was about fourteen years old, obtaining the usual amount of education at the district school. He was now apprenticed to Joseph Farwell, to learn the scythe business at Farwell's scythe-shop on West Street. He was at this time a strong, robust young fellow, brimming over with superabundant vitality, which no hard day's labor could suppress. He was a wonderful wrestler and jumper: it was a frequent amusement of his to jump into and out of an open hogshead without touching the sides. Amusement he was fond of, loving dancing and music and gay companions

In the year 1805 he was attacked with typhoid fever, which was then prevalent and fatal in Fitchburg. He barely recovered, but from that time there was a change in his character. From being, perhaps, too fond of pleasure, and without a high aim in life, he became a most zealous Christian, and resolved to devote his life to the ministry and to foreign missions. He fitted for college, and, in the year 1812, entered Yale College, and having completed his course there, he finished his preparation for the ministry at Andover Theological Seminary. Having now finished his education, he turned his attention at once to his life-work, and resolved to go as a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, the natives of which were then living in the deepest darkness and degradation. He commenced making preparations for his departure. His companion, selected like himself by the American Board, on recommendation of the Andover Missionary Society, was his class-mate, Hiram Bingham. It was considered advisable that both these young men should take wives with them. Mr. Bingham found his wife at the ordination, where he met a young lady who pleased him, proposed and was accepted. Mr. Thurston was already engaged, but the lady's parents strongly objected to her going from home to labor among savages, and she yielded to their wishes. But a wife must be procured, and a friend of Mr. Thurston's offered to assist him in his dilemma. He found a young lady of his acquaintance, who consented to see the young missionary. They met one evening, and, at its close, were engaged. In two weeks they were married, and she proved a most excellent wife. The lady to whom he had been previously engaged soon died disappointed and broken-hearted, and her mother followed her, broken down by grief at the death of her daughter.

On the 23d of June, 1819, Asa Thurston set sail for the Sandwich Islands, and he never returned. He died at Honolulu, of paralysis, March 11, 1868, being over eighty years of age. He was the master-spirit of that little band of missionaries that performed such a wonderful work in those benighted islands. Naked, besotted, degraded as were the inhabitants when he arrived among them, he lived to see more than fifty thousand converts to Christianity, and a most wonderful progress in civilization. He compiled a dictionary and grammar of the Hawaiian language, which he also spoke fluently, and translated portions of the Bible. He had great influence over several of the Hawaiian kings, and the value of his life-work cannot be estimated.

Rufus C. Torrey, the author of *Torrey's History of Fitchburg*, was born in Oxford, Mass., and came to this town about 1833. In a few years he went South, where he practiced law, was a judge for some time, and is at present a State Senator of Alabama. He is a brother of Hon. Ebenezer Torrey, who has been identified with the town for a half-century, and whose term of service as town and city treasurer comprises thirty-two years.

Nathaniel Wood was born in Holden Aug. 29, 1797. He graduated at Harvard College in 1821, studied law and was admitted to the bar in Boston, and came to Fitchburg and entered into partnership with Ebenezer Torrey in 1827.

He was an honest and able lawyer, and an active, enterprising citizen. He filled many offices of trust, was sent to the legislature several times, and died honored and respected at the advanced age of seventy-nine years, Aug. 2, 1876.

Individual ambition and energy move the world. The power of one man in moulding events seems often to be more than that of the aggregate of his fellow-citizens. Though we may sometimes exaggerate this power, and ascribe to such a man more than is his due, yet a strong individuality has often changed the history of towns, of States and of nations.

Alvah Crocker, from the year 1826 to the date of his death, was most closely identified with the history of Fitchburg, and had for a long time a great influence in the conduct of its affairs. He was born in Leominster on the 14th of October, 1801. His parents were poor, his father being a "vatman" in the paper-mills of Nichols & Kendall, and Alvah was put to work in the mills when he was eight years old. He was of an inquiring turn of mind, for we soon find him searching the library of his employer, Mr. Nichols, for general information; a process, by the way, which has often been the seed of great things in after life for many a boy.

Alvah had not only a desire for knowledge, but he had the will, the determination and the persistency to obtain it in spite of difficulties. At the age of sixteen he had saved fifty dollars, and with this sum he entered Groton Academy, which he attended for a time, but was obliged to leave in order that he might obtain more money. He would have been glad to have entered college, but he was not encouraged by his father. Still he managed in one way or another to obtain books, and continue his studies.

In 1820 he went to work in a paper-mill in Franklin, N. H., and in 1823 he removed to Fitchburg and entered into the employ of Gen. Leonard Burbank, the pioneer of the paper business of Fitchburg, who had erected a paper-mill where the works of the Rollstone Machine Company are now situated.

But Alvah Crocker could not be contented while working for others; his ambitious spirit urged him on to strike out for himself. Therefore, in 1826, we find him, with the help of borrowed capital, building a paper-mill of his own in West Fitchburg, in a birch swamp on the spot where the paper-mills of Rodney Wallace now stand. At that time a person must travel over the Westminster Hill Road as far as Daniel Eaton's, to reach it, there being no river road.

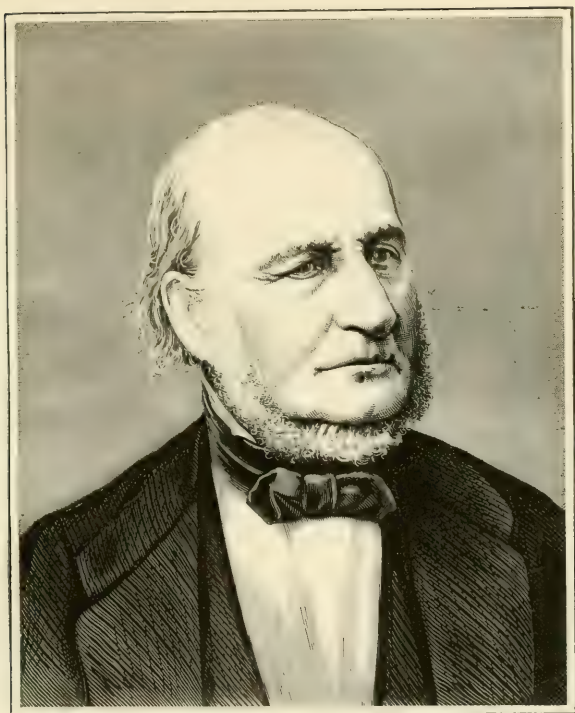
About this time Mr. Crocker's parents moved into town. His mother was a sensible, energetic woman, but his father was possessed of more of the spiritual, unselfish element of Christianity than of worldly wisdom. He was a Baptist by profession,—a most consistent and devoted one,—and scarcely ever entered into conversation with any one without introducing the subject of religion. To illustrate his simple kind-heartedness, we have heard the following anecdote: He was coming down the Kimball Road one day in winter, towards the mill, with a pailful of milk, when one of a number of boys who happened to be coasting at the time ran into the old gentleman, and, instead of stopping, took

him along down the hill with him. Of course the milk was spilled all over himself and the boy. When they reached the foot of the hill, the old gentleman drew himself up, looked down with a pitying expression upon the lad, and said in soothing accents: "*My dear little fellow, did I hurt you?*"

There were three elements of character possessed by Alvah Crocker which ensured his success in life,—hopefulness, prudence and pertinacity. He never despaired, but always worked on with unflagging zeal and energy till his end was accomplished. From the time that he commenced business for himself up to 1830, his life was a continual struggle to meet his obligations. The times were hard and he was in debt; a freshet injured his mill, and the manner of making paper was changing from hand-labor to machinery, necessitating an increased outlay to ensure successful competition. There were times when his affairs looked dark, but he persevered and weathered the storm.

At first he sold his paper on commission, but finding it more for his own interest, he took the whole business into his own hands, teamed the paper which he made to Boston himself, and sold it direct to the consumers. At this time he owed \$12,000 on his original investment, \$1,000 to his commission agents, and it required \$10,000 more to buy the machinery he needed.

Mr. Crocker early identified his private interests with those of Fitchburg. Naturally public-spirited, he saw also that whatever would increase the wealth, the population, or the business facilities of his adopted town, would benefit each individual, and would pay well for time and money spent in promoting its accomplishment. In 1835 Fitchburg had just reached its growing period. It had its newspaper, its mills, its academy, three churches, and its enterprising men. This was the time when the great advantages of railroads were beginning to be appreciated, and Mr. Crocker bent his energies towards the securing of a railroad from Boston to Fitchburg. In 1836 he was sent to the legislature, and then voted in favor of the \$1,000,000 subscription to stock in the Western Railroad. On his return he commenced to agitate and arouse the people of Fitchburg and the surrounding towns to the importance of obtaining railroad communication; and, having undertaken that work, he continued it till the railroad was built. At this time his motto was, "Northern Massachusetts must have communication with tide-water, or pale away into utter insignificance." His idea at first was to secure a branch road either from Lowell or Worcester; but later, in 1842, he came out boldly in favor of an independent route from Boston to Fitchburg. He was again sent to the legislature in the winter of 1843, where he labored incessantly and with characteristic zeal for his project. "Why, Crocker, where *is* Fitchburg?" he was asked one day. He gave the desired information with pleasure, as he always grasped at an opportunity to talk of his adopted town. In spite of much opposition and ridicule, a charter was finally obtained, and the Fitchburg Railroad was soon after built. Mr. Crocker rode into Fitchburg on the first locomotive March 5, 1845, and was the first president of the road.



Abraham Lincoln

Of late his prospects had much improved, but he had reached firm financial ground only through great difficulties. His character was firmly established as a man of foresight and ability, and he was ever afterwards a leading man. His wealth continued to accumulate during his life.

The building of the Fitchburg Railroad was most beneficial both to Mr. Crocker and the town. The stone depot, which was erected here on the completion of the road, was placed upon land belonging to him in the Old City. This was contrary to the expectation of many people who thought that it must be on higher land, for otherwise, the road could never be extended further to the west, owing to the heavy grade. The people in the upper portion of the town also wished to have the depot in their vicinity, and were displeased to have it located in the Old City. "Crocker, you never can get your railroad out of Fitchburg," was said to him many times, but three years afterwards the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad had commenced operations, and he was the first president. He was afterwards engaged prominently in railroad operations, especially in the Troy and Boston Railroad and in the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel. During the years 1847 and 1848 he delivered several hundred lectures in their behalf. He probably did more than any other man in the State to ensure the completion of the Tunnel. He was one of the Commissioners when the work was put into the hands of the State. He was possessed of a great amount of enterprise, endurance and vitality, and was constantly in some new project for which he would work with great energy. After making a success of his first paper-mill, he built and bought others. He soon took Gardner S. Burbank into company with him, and their business continued to increase. Mr. Crocker was prominent in urging on the consideration of the town the importance of a complete system of water works, and he contributed largely to the success of the measure.

In January, 1872, he was chosen Representative to Congress from the Ninth District, and was subsequently re-elected. He was a member at the time of his death, which took place Dec. 30, 1874. Mr. Crocker was a remarkable man, and a man who contributed largely towards making a name for himself and for the town in which he lived.

High on the list of men to whom the business interests of Fitchburg are largely indebted is the name of Salmon W. Putnam, whose ability, industry and energy founded the Putnam Machine Company, one of the largest institutions of the kind in the country, and who, not only in the counting-room, but in all the details of a large mechanical business, proved himself worthy of this compliment.

He was descended, in the seventh generation, from John Putnam, who, with his wife, Priscilla, came from Abbot-Aston, near Aylesbury, England, in 1634, and settled in Salem, Mass. John Putnam was the great grandfather of Gen. Israel Putnam, and an ancestor of Col. Rufus Putnam, chief engineer of the American army during the Revolutionary war. Rufus Putnam's elder brother, John, lived all his life at Sutton, and was by trade a scythe-maker; his son

John, the father of Salmon W. Putnam, was also a scythe-maker, and in early manhood worked some years at his trade in Peterborough, N. H. He afterwards removed with his family to Hopkinton, where, on the 10th of December, 1815, Salmon W. Putnam was born. He was thus naturally identified with working in iron and steel, being in the third generation of the works of this class.

His advantages for obtaining an education were very limited, being denied the means necessary to pursue any regular course of study until he had reached the age of fifteen, when he had contrived to save from his small earnings an amount sufficient to enable him to attend Appleton Academy in New Ipswich, N. H., remaining there three terms. After leaving here he continued his study, expending, from time to time, what money he could afford in the purchase of books of a substantial and instructive character, which assisted him in acquiring that fund of information which contributed so largely to his future prominence and success.

At the age of eight years he had left his home to earn his own living, and first entered a small cotton-factory in New Ipswich, and worked there several years as a "bobbin boy." From thence he went to Lowell, Mass., and obtained employment in one of the large manufacturing corporations of that place, being appointed overseer of a "spinning room" when only seventeen years of age. At the age of nineteen he went to Mason Village, N. H., to engage in the machine business with his brother John, where he remained until 1836, when he, accompanied by his brother, went to Trenton, N. J., with the intention of starting a machine-shop there; but, owing to the financial revulsion of 1837, the enterprise was abandoned. In 1838, he came to Fitchburg, and here engaged in the machine business, under the firm-name of J. & S. W. Putnam; their business at first being mainly repairing, only furnished work for the two brothers.

It was during the early years of this partnership that he began to show his mechanical genius, in way of inventions which served greatly to increase and benefit his business. Important among his inventions might be mentioned, the universal or self-adjustable box and hanger, the feed-rod for engine-lathes, movable and adjustable table for upright drills, and many others. He did not secure these to himself by procuring letters-patent on them, as he might have done to his great pecuniary emolument, and have thus obtained for himself a monopoly for years of those devices which were at once appropriated by others and have since come into universal use.

On the 7th of December, 1849, the machine-shop, with all its contents, was destroyed by fire, and the loss was estimated at twelve thousand dollars. Being without insurance, the accumulations of ten years were thus swept away. The debts, however, were all paid, and the next year the shop was rebuilt and again put in active operation.

In 1858, he organized a stock company under the name of the Putnam Machine Company, of which he was chosen president and general manager. For the position he was most thoroughly competent and from the beginning was not



A. W. Pittman

only the creator but the guiding and controlling mind of the enterprise. He was a thorough mechanic, an ingenious inventor and an enterprising man of business. He filled this position with eminent success and credit to himself until his death.

He died on the twenty-third day of February, 1872, and throughout the community there was at once a feeling of loss; and such was the place he held in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, that, on the day of his funeral, business was generally suspended. He was a director in the Rollstone National Bank, and held, during his life, many other public offices; his judgment in all matters, whether public or private, being always considered of great weight. Of his children he has left four sons, who are actively engaged in his business. As a man, a citizen and a father he was honored and respected.

In the list of the physicians of Fitchburg who have been both noble men and skilful practitioners, no name stands so high as that of Dr. Alfred Hitchcock, who was born in Westminster, Vt., Oct. 17, 1813, and died in Fitchburg, March 30, 1874.

In 1834 he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. David Allen, in his native town, and completed it at Dartmouth Medical College, in 1837, in which year he was married and moved to Ashby, Mass. Here he commenced to practice, and before long his abilities became known and recognized, and he was accorded a place in the front rank of his profession. In 1850, he removed to Fitchburg, where he resided until his death. He was sent to the legislature in 1847, and was a member of Gov. Andrew's Council in 1861, '62 and '63. Both as a man and as a physician Dr. Hitchcock took high rank, and especially in matters relating to his profession, his excellent advice and sound judgment were much sought.

Hon. Eugene Temple Miles, son of Dea. Jonas M. and Anstis (Kendall) Miles, was born in Framingham, Mass., Aug. 26, 1826. Dea. Miles, the father of the deceased, was a resident of Shrewsbury for many years, but the family were temporarily residing in Framingham at the above-named date. The name of Miles, or Myles, as it frequently appears upon the ancient records, belongs to a family of honorable mention in the annals of the Commonwealth. John Miles, the emigrant ancestor, was a resident of Concord as early as 1637, and in that town, or its immediate vicinity, he was succeeded by his son Samuel, while his grandson Samuel removed in 1729 to Shrewsbury, from whom Eugene T. Miles was of the fifth generation in descent, and the seventh generation since the emigration to New England. He received his early education in Shrewsbury, District No. Three. He was a good scholar, excelling in arithmetic and grammar. He afterwards went a few terms to Leicester Academy, where he completed his education.

In early manhood Mr. Miles was several years in the hardware trade in Worcester, as clerk, and for a short time the junior partner of Poole & Miles. In January, 1856, he removed to Fitchburg, where he continued to reside until

his death. During the first few months of his residence here, he was associated in business with A. G. Page at West Fitchburg, but in July of the same year (1856), Mr. Page sold his interest to Augustus Whitman, and the firm of Whitman & Miles entered upon a long and highly successful career. The business, as is well known to all our resident readers, was the manufacture of cutting-knives, including a variety of edge-tools and kindred wares. Under skilful management, the business constantly increased, when, in 1854, the firm were succeeded by a stock company, known as Whitman & Miles Manufacturing Company, and in 1869 extensive branch works were established in Akron, Ohio.

Capt. Miles has been honorably and prominently connected not only with the business of the place, but in the municipal affairs of Fitchburg for many years. He was a member of the board of selectmen in 1864, '65, '66 and 1872, and mayor of the city in 1875. He was long one of the directors of the Fitchburg National Bank, and one of the trustees of both of our savings banks. He has also been president of the Worcester North Agricultural Society, and a member of the State Board of Agriculture, and one of the vice-presidents of the Fitchburg Board of Trade since its organization.

Capt. Miles was an earnest and patriotic supporter of the Union army during the late war. Ever ready to aid the soldiers and their families, he finally concluded to go to the front, but his health and his business cares compelled him to resign his commission as captain of company A, 53d regiment Massachusetts volunteers, before the regiment left its quarters in New York for active service in the field. His labor in connection with the soldiers' monument, and the beautiful square in which it stands, and the admirable report, which, in behalf of the committee, he made at the time it was formally presented to the city, are subjects of record, and will long remain an enduring inscription to his memory, announcing at once his patriotic interest in the work, and his ability to give efficient shape to lofty impulses. It has been remarked by a gentleman who knew him intimately, that whatever he did he did well. His impulses were generous and lofty, his manners urbane, and his treatment of his associates kind and considerate. His kindness and unostentatious generosity to the poor, his many unspoken deeds of charity or liberal encouragement of people worthy of his pecuniary assistance, were such, that, at the time of his death, he was better known, perhaps, to all the citizens of Fitchburg, both rich and poor, than any other man.

The shining marks which death so loves are plainly written in our record. Within a few years there have gone from us Moses Wood, Salmon W. Putnam, Alvah Crocker, Alfred Hitchcock and C. H. B. Snow. To this list was added the name of Eugene T. Miles, who died on the twenty-sixth day of June, 1876; who, in devotion to the interests of his adopted city, in enterprise, in honesty of official life, as well as integrity in business affairs of every description, and in the estimable qualities that go to make up the companion and friend, was not inferior to any who have done honor to our city.



Eugene T. Miles.

G A R D N E R.

BY REV. WILLIAM D. HERRICK.

CHAPTER I.

INCORPORATION — LOCATION — PHYSICAL FEATURES — EARLY INHABITANTS — INDIANS — SHAYS' REBELLION — FREE AND PATRIOTIC SPIRIT — GROWTH AND PROGRESS — CHAIR BUSINESS — NATIONAL AND SAVINGS BANKS — CARE OF POOR — CEMETERIES — ROADS AND WAYS.

GARDNER was incorporated June 27, 1785. It received its name from Col. Thomas Gardner, who fell in one of the battles of the Revolution. Like many other towns of more recent date, its territory was composed of portions of the four towns of Winchendon, Ashburnham, Westminster and Templeton. It is somewhat unique in its situation, being upon the height of land between the Merrimac and Connecticut rivers, thus forming a watershed, from which its waters flow into the above-named rivers.

It is located in the north part of the county, and is bounded on the north by Winchendon and Ashburnham, on the east by Ashburnham and Westminster, on the south by Westminster and Hubbardston, and on the west by Templeton and Winchendon.

It has an area of twenty-one and seven-eighths square miles. Its distance from Boston, in a westerly direction, is fifty-eight miles; and north-westerly from Worcester, twenty-five miles.

Its average altitude is eleven hundred feet above sea level. Its highest point, Glazier Hill, near the centre of the town, is twelve hundred and ninety-four feet above the level of the sea. Its lowest point is eight hundred and ninety feet above sea-level. The latitude of Gardner, at the centre of the town, is 42° 30' N., its longitude 72° W. By consulting the map of the town its boundary line will be seen to be very irregular, owing to various causes not needful here to mention. The surface of the town is unusually rough and hilly. It embraces numerous cold, marshy lands, surrounding the base of mound-like elevations, which, scattered over the entire township, give to its surface great variety and picturesqueness. The town abounds in sluggish streams, some of which, emptying themselves into Otter River—the only

stream which attains the dignity of a river — find their way to the Connecticut, while others, flowing in a north-easterly direction, contribute to the head-waters of the Nashua.

Gardner has several artificial lakes or ponds, but few natural ones. Among the latter is Crystal Lake, a name given it by vote of the town. This lake is situated near the centre of the town, and is about one mile in length by one-half mile in breadth. It is beautifully bordered, in many places, by sturdy oaks and evergreens, coming quite down to its surface, and is chiefly fed by springs from the neighboring hills. It is unrivaled for beauty in all the surrounding country. Upon the north-western border of this lake is situated Crystal Lake Grove, which is under the control of the Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad Corporation, and is now a popular resort for summer excursionists from numerous towns and cities in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The hills of Gardner, with their varied locations and altitudes, afford an attractive feature of the landscape, some of which, as Glazier, Bickford, Lynde and Wright, deserve especial mention. The highest grade of the Fitchburg Railroad between the Atlantic and the Connecticut is in the eastern part of this town, where it reaches an elevation of eleven hundred and six feet above the ocean. The geographical elevation of the town is such as to render the climate quite severe in winter, exposed as it is to fierce, driving winds and storms, while in the summer months it enjoys almost constantly fresh, cooling breezes, that visit it from all quarters.

Originally the town was covered by a dense growth of timber of every variety. At present, however, under the stroke of the greedy axe of the chair and pail maker, these forests have nearly all disappeared.

At the date of incorporation Gardner had a population of about three hundred and seventy-five, embraced in sixty families, scattered far and wide over its entire territory, and accessible only by rough and circuitous roads. During the first few years succeeding the incorporation of the town the people were subjected to all those hardships incident to the first settlers of our New England towns; while they were free from the incursions of Indians, by which older towns were annoyed, they yet experienced all those inconveniences of poverty which were the result of an unpropitious climate and an unyielding soil, from which they sought to draw their scanty subsistence. For some years their chief employment was agriculture, to which the soil of the town was not naturally well adapted, although some portions of it, under the cultivation it has received, have been made capable of producing generous crops of all kinds of cereals raised in our New England States. It should be remembered that Gardner cannot be regarded as an agricultural township, although farming constituted almost the only employment of the early citizens for the first twenty years of the town's existence. It naturally followed that other means should be sought by which a subsistence could be eeked out.

Cooperage was the first mechanical business entered upon, including the manufacture of pails and tubs, by no other tools than the axe, saw and shave. Soon after, however, the making of chairs began, which has since grown to be the distinguishing business of the town, and of which mention will be more fully made in its proper place.

Although the early settlers were few in numbers and subject to all the privations of the men of their times, they were not unlike the settlers of all our New England towns in the exhibition of an invincible courage and an unyielding determination to win that success which subsequently crowned their endeavors. They at once, in their corporate capacity, applied their wisdom and energy to the public interests of the town and State, and showed a praiseworthy willingness to meet and discharge the duties which, as citizens, devolved upon them. Their town records indicate that they were alert and busy in providing for the public welfare at home and abroad. They first of all selected the ground, in the geographical centre of the town, for the burying-yard and meeting-house common. To this centre they made all their roads converge, and when the proper time came they erected the meeting-house for the accommodation of all the inhabitants. They greatly interested themselves in the political questions of their times, and, though yet in their infancy, they did not hesitate to express their views upon State matters, by their delegate, in the presence of the governor of the State, and to offer their advice as to the best method of redressing those grievances which arose from a depreciated currency. Although there is no evidence that any of the inhabitants actively participated in the Shays Rebellion, yet there is proof, from the early records, that they were not indifferent to the troubles which shook the state at that time, and called together the mob which followed to their disastrous results the schemes of Daniel Shays. More than once was the town called together to consider the question of sending delegates to the various conventions called to discuss questions of public interest, and to give direction to the delegate as to his conduct while sitting in convention. One of their instructions is worthy of record here, as showing the bold and daring spirit in which they undertook to bring about a reform in public matters. It is this :

"Whereas, The difficulties and tumults that are rising by reason of the scarcity of money and large salaries to support government, and high tax of officers at large, we desire that you will use your influence that these salaries may be taken down, and salaries given that may be handsome for their support and not too burdensome for the people at large, and that the lawyers and inferior courts may be annihilated, and also that the General Court might not make any grants of State lands to any person except it is to pay State charges. Also, that the General Court may be removed out of Boston into some country town."

This report of a committee chosen to draft these instructions, which the town adopted, bears date Sept. 25, 1786, a little more than one year from the

date of incorporation. It will be seen that they did not hesitate to express their opinion regarding public grievances, and the best methods of remedying the evils which prevailed.

In 1808 the town voted an address, prepared by Rev. Jonathan Osgood, the first minister, to President Jefferson, concerning the embargo, setting forth in strong language the evils which were befalling the country, at that time, through this hindrance to the country's commerce.

Politically considered, Gardner has always been strongly upon the side of the general government, for whose support it has contributed liberally of men and means. Early in the history of the anti-slavery movement many of the citizens warmly espoused the cause of the bondman, and labored continually for his release until the long-desired day came when human bondage in the land was declared at an end.

From the beginning of its history to the present time Gardner has enjoyed an almost uninterrupted growth in population and wealth. Beginning at its incorporation, with a population of only 375, it has advanced to about 4,000. It has continually increased in material strength, until now, May 1, 1879, its total valuation is \$2,187,072; total number of dwelling-houses, 754½.

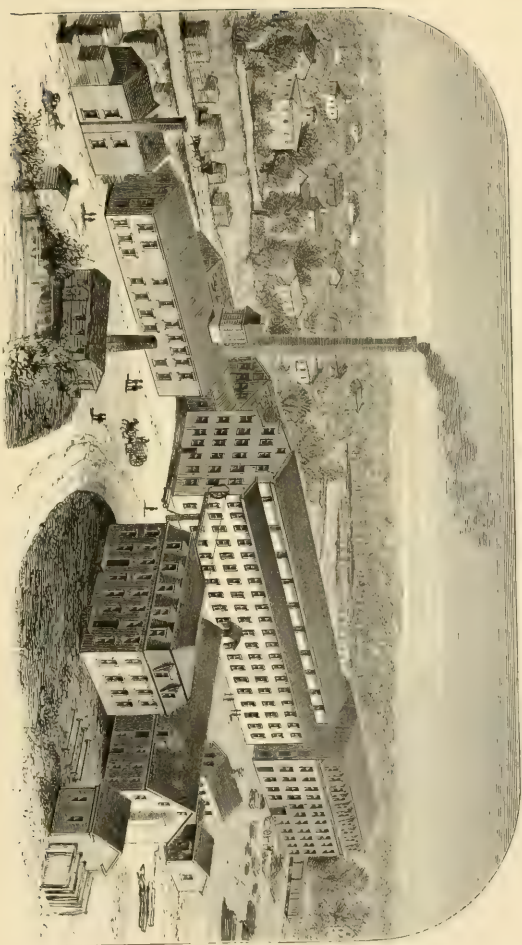
One great cause of this constant growth is the excellent railroad advantages which the town has for many years enjoyed, it being traversed in different directions by the Fitchburg, and Boston, Barre and Gardner railroads, whose junction is convenient to the numerous chair-shops here found.

The business interests of the town are centred largely in the manufacture of cane-seated chairs. This had, like all our American industries, a very small beginning. About the year 1805, Mr. James M. Comee began the making of wood and flag-seated chairs in one of the rooms of his house. These chairs were made mostly by hand, aided only by a foot-lathe. They were manufactured in small quantities, and carried by him to Boston and other cities and sold. Employing several young men as apprentices, as his business gradually increased, Mr. Comee found himself engaged in a profitable trade, by which he accumulated a handsome property for the times in which he lived.

The machinery then used in manufacturing chairs was so simple and inexpensive that the young men apprenticed to Mr. Comee, as their terms expired, began business for themselves, in various parts of the town, which finally developed into the numerous manufacturing firms here found.

There are, at the present date, eleven chair-firms, all actively engaged in business.

The following table represents the names, average amount of business, etc., done by each firm for the ten years directly preceding 1878; but since then there has been a large annual increase in the volume of business, as well as in the facilities, and number of operatives employed.



HEYWOOD BROTHERS & COMPANY'S CHAIR FACTORY, GARDNER, MASS.

Statistics of Business.

NAMES OF FIRMS.	Annual amount of business.	No. of Chairs made Annually.	Average value of a chair at the Shop.	Amount of capital required.	No. of operatives employed.	No. of Horse-power used.	
						Steam.	Water.
Heywood Brothers & Co.,*	\$700,000	450,000	\$1 25	\$500,000	467	125	10
P. Derby & Co.,	150,000	150,000	1 00	50,000	65	70	15
S. K. Pierce,	135,000	135,000	1 00	41,000	75	50	40
J. A. & I. J. Dunn, . . .	103,760	100,738	1 03	30,000	60	100	10
A. & H. C. Knowlton, . .	59,438	49,532	1 20	12,000	20	15	15
Conant, Ball & Co., . . .	58,280	31,000	1 88	40,000	35	25	25
E. Wright & Co.,	50,000	70,000	72	25,000	20	15	20
S. Bent & Bros.,	50,250	75,000	67	30,000	20	—	25
L. H. Sawin & Co., . . .	50,000	40,000	1 25	19,400	35	35	10
Wright & Read,	45,000	52,325	86	25,000	35	12	35
Thos. Greenwood,	19,906	13,271	1 50	8,000	7	—	35

* Including cane.

It will be seen by the above statement that the chair business of the town has made wonderful progress from its humble beginning in 1805, in the private dwelling of Mr. Comee, to the present time. Its average value for the ten years mentioned, has been \$1,422,034. The chairs annually made in town amount to above 1,000,000. Some of the above-named firms, besides their business in this town, have large warehouses in Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, New York, Baltimore, Chicago and San Francisco. Enterprise is characteristic of the business men of this place. Among these firms chairs of every variety are made, no two following exactly the same line. They are all well established in the markets of the world, and by their energy, industry and close attention to business, have gradually risen to competence, and sometimes to wealth.

It is worthy of remark that almost all the wealth now possessed by our business men has come to them as the direct result of their own industry and careful management. In this regard Gardner differs from many other towns, much of whose accumulation has been brought from sources from without.

While all the companies engaged in the chair business in this town are deserving of great credit for their contributions to the growth of the place, there are some of them meriting special mention on account of the magnitude of the business they have created, and the larger facilities and appliances with which their business is conducted. Among these may be named Mr. Sylvester K. Pierce of South Gardner, who, beginning with small means, has built up an extensive business, which he has for many years conducted alone with great success and consequent affluence. No less successful, and in much the same manner, has been Mr. Philander Derby, who from small beginnings has developed a large business, which he conducts in extensive shops of his own construction. Recently Mr. Derby has associated with himself his own son, Arthur P., and his sons-in-law George Hodgman and G. W. Cann, under the firm-name of P. Derby & Co.

The largest company, and the one most extensively engaged in the manufacturing of chairs, is that of Heywood Brothers & Co. This firm at the present time consists of the brothers, Levi and Seth, now well advanced in life; Charles Heywood, son of Levi; Henry and George, sons of Seth; and Alvin M. Greenwood, son-in-law of Levi Heywood, and Amos Morrill. There are in all twenty-two different buildings connected with the business of this firm, occupying an aggregate area of four and one-half acres. This company employ in their shops five hundred persons, whose average pay is \$1.50 per day. They make a great variety of chairs and cane-seated settees, in the construction of which a large amount of machinery is employed, much of which has been invented and constructed in their own shops, the inventors being Mr. Levi Heywood and Mr. Gardner A. Watkins, who has for several years been employed by this company, and is a gentleman of rare inventive genius.

One peculiarity of this company is their manufacture of bent work, and the woven-seated chair, the seat of which is woven in a loom of curious invention, and inserted in the frame of the chair by very great pressure by what is called a crimping-machine, the invention of Mr. Watkins.

Aside from the manufacture of a great variety of cane-seated chairs, the Heywood Brothers & Co. have recently engaged in the manufacture of rattan chairs, of varied and beautiful designs. Another important part of the business of this firm is its cane department, through which it not only supplies itself with its required cane, but most of the chair-shops in the town and vicinity. This cane is imported by this company from Singapore, being brought from the seaboard directly to the doors of their shops upon the cars of the Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad. Here it is prepared by being passed through its various processes, for its final use in the backs and seats of the multitude of chairs made in this and adjoining towns.

The business of this company exceeds, perhaps, that of all other firms here established, and is the result of steady growth, indomitable energy and skilful business management, which has made a market for its products in all parts of the world.

Aside from the chair business of the town, which is so extensive, there are several kinds of manufactures carried on here, such as the making of tubs and pails by Messrs. Amasa Bancroft & Co.; of bobbins by C. S. Greenwood's Sons; and of carriages, harnesses, tinware, stoves and other castings in the foundry of Levi Heywood & Co.; and a great variety of other business found in our most enterprising towns.

Gardner has a national bank, established in 1864, with a capital stock of \$100,000, which in 1875 was increased to \$150,000. The president of this bank is Mr. Charles Heywood, the first and only cashier is Mr. John D. Edgell, the assistant cashier is Mr. Volney W. Howe.

There is a savings bank organized June 22, 1868, of which Mr. Francis

Richardson is president, Mr. John D. Edgell treasurer, and Mr. Volney W. Howe, secretary.

There is also in town a printing-office, owned and conducted by A. G. Bushnell & Co., and which prints the "Gardner News," a weekly journal.

Considered in its different branches of business, Gardner enjoys the reputation of being one of the most enterprising and thrifty towns in the county. Nor is it underserving the reputation it has secured.

In the early days of its history Gardner, like other towns, farmed out its poor to the lowest bidder in town meeting, at the same time choosing a committee to "draw the conditions of sale." This method of caring for the poor continued till 1849, when the town voted to purchase a farm in the northern part, and to devote it, under regulations then made, to the support of its paupers. This farm consists of two hundred and thirty-five acres, having upon it a large, commodious house and convenient out-buildings, together with an excellent barn, forty by seventy-two feet, and costing about three thousand dollars. In the care of her poor Gardner has no cause for regret.

In 1860 a town hall was erected at the centre, whose audience room seats about nine hundred, and is heated by steam. Underneath it are stores and the post-office.

Aside from the original burying-ground, purchased at the time of incorporation in connection with the meeting-house common, Gardner has two cemeteries more recently set apart for burial of its dead.

Upon the western border of Crystal Lake, is the beautiful ground called Crystal Lake Cemetery, consisting of about ten acres. Situated as it is, upon a swell of land which rises gradually from the clear, beautiful waters of the lake, this cemetery, under the care it receives, forms an attractive spot for the last resting-place of the dead. It is divided into family lots of various forms and dimensions, interspersed with ornamental grounds, and contains several costly monuments. In South Gardner, there is Green Bower Cemetery, under the control of a company organized in 1849, since which time additions have been made to it, so that now it contains an area of about four acres. This also is beautifully located, and kept in a constantly improved condition.

From the commencement of its history, Gardner has paid great attention to its public roads. In reading its records for the first twenty-five years of its existence as a town, one would be led to conclude that this one subject alone occupied a large part of the public attention. Recently, the money which has been appropriated for roads has been expended under the immediate care of a road-master, employed by the selectmen. In 1870, the town chose a committee "to designate by name the different roads and streets" in the town, and, at the same time, voted "that the selectmen cause sign-boards to be put up at the termini of each street in town."

Gardner spends at present \$3,500 annually upon the repairs of her roads and bridges, keeping them by this expenditure in as good condition as the

nature of the soil and hills will allow. The rapid growth of the population, and the increase of dwellings make frequent demand for the laying out and building new streets.

In this, as in many other ways, is indicated the growth of this comparatively new township.

CHAPTER II.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS — MILITARY AND MASONIC BODIES — FIRE DEPARTMENT
— MUSICAL SOCIETIES — TEMPERANCE — REVOLUTIONARY AND REBELLION
RECORD.

AFTER the manner of all our New England towns, Gardner has not been wanting in various local organizations, some of which will here be mentioned. Very early in its history, there was formed in town a company of men to act as minute-men. The precise date when this company was formed cannot be ascertained by the records. However, as early as Oct. 9, 1797, the town passed this vote: "To make up to those men that turn out, to stand at a minute' warning, if they march, ten dollars a month, including what the Continent and the State give them."

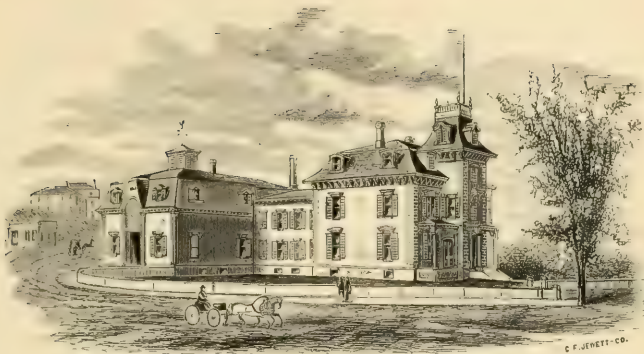
Aug. 10, 1812, there was an article in the town warrant "To see if the town shall choose a delegate to meet in county convention, at Worcester, Wednesday, the 12th of August, instant, to consult upon the alarming situation of our country, on the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain and her dependencies, and to petition the President of the United States, if they see fit, to bring about a speedy and honorable peace with Great Britain. Chose Rev. Jonathan Osgood delegate."

In accordance with the spirit above indicated, a military company was formed in 1813, called the Gardner Light Infantry. It was soon after ordered to South Boston, where it remained on duty till the close of the war.

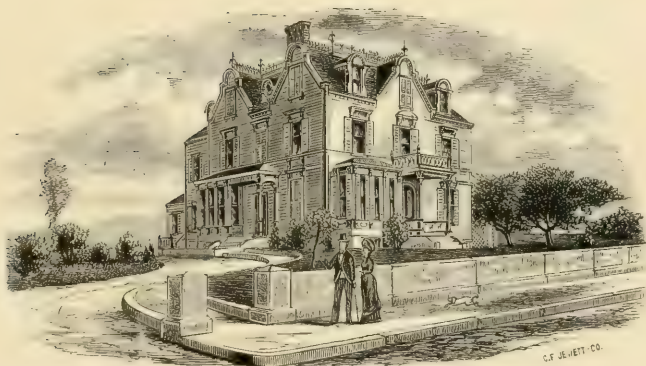
In 1844, another military company was formed called the Gardner Greys, which was regarded as a finely organized and equipped body of men.

In 1870, was formed the D. G. Farragut Post No. 116, G. A. R., with seventeen charter members. Assisted by an annual appropriation from the town, this Post, upon Decoration Day, strews the graves of its fallen comrades in different parts of the town with flowers furnished by the friends of their country's brave defenders.

Hope Lodge, F. and A. M., whose membership embraces many of the most worthy citizens of this and adjoining towns, was instituted March 22, 1864. This Lodge has, since 1865, occupied its elegantly furnished rooms in the attic story of the town hall, and is in a flourishing condition.



RESIDENCE OF LEVI HEYWOOD, GARDNER, MASS.



RESIDENCE OF SETH HEYWOOD, GARDNER, MASS.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows.—This is called the William Ellison Lodge No. 185, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and was instituted March 19, 1878, with a membership of thirty-two.

Fire Companies.—It was not till the year 1833, that the town took any public action looking toward protection from fires, by providing itself with fire-engines. At this time the town voted to lay out two hundred dollars toward the purchase of two fire-engines. Subsequently, larger and more efficient engines were procured, and fire companies formed. The company at the south village was formed Nov. 15, 1852, and was named Cataract Engine Company, No. 1. The company at the centre was formed Oct. 30, 1852, taking the name of Torrent Engine Company. Both of these companies are well organized and thoroughly drilled, and manifest great efficiency in the performance of their duties as firemen. Both also have been repeatedly successful in competing for prizes at the various firemen's musters which they have attended.

Almost from the date of incorporation, the people of this town have manifested great interest in musical culture. In 1791, the town voted "to grant some money to hire a singing-master." Beginning in this manner thus early, there has ever since that time been a commendable interest shown by the citizens in this most useful art.

In 1855, there were two bands in town, one at the south village, called the "Mechanic Cornet Band," consisting of nineteen members; the other at the centre, called the "Gardner Cornet Band," composed of eighteen members. The Gardner Cornet Band, after attaining great proficiency, was broken up by the departure of some of its members to the war, where they followed Sherman in his march to the sea, and has never since been re-organized.

The "Worcester County North Musical Association" was formed in 1851, and after meeting annually, alternately, in Athol and Gardner, finally, in 1871, settled upon this town as the permanent place for holding its conventions. Under its different directors it has achieved a worthy reputation and great popularity.

As a matter of history, upon a subject of such vast importance to the State and nation, it cannot be otherwise than pertinent to our present purpose, to notice the manner in which the temperance cause has been regarded and treated in this town.

Touched by the popular feeling which began to agitate the whole country, about the year 1824, the citizens of this town, at that time, began to consider the evils of intemperance, and to undertake measures for reclaiming the fallen and setting the youth upon paths of temperate living. About the year 1829, a temperance organization was formed, under the stimulus of the second pastor of the First Congregational Church, Rev. Increase S. Lincoln, called the Gardner Temperance Society, and was auxiliary to the American Temperance Society. This was evidently not a total abstinence society, for we find in its by-laws an article to this effect: "With a sacred regard to truth and honor, we

pledge ourselves to give at the annual meeting of this society, a strict and impartial account of what quantity of ardent spirits and wine we ourselves have personally drank, the preceding year, and what it cost. Likewise to give a true account of what we use in our families, and what we give those we employ and our families, and what it cost."

February 8, 1842, was formed the "Washington Total Abstinence Society of Gardner." Some of the duties assumed by those joining this society, were "to use their utmost endeavors to reclaim and restore to temperance those who are unfortunately addicted to drunkenness, to bring forward and reclaim all inebriates, wherever they may be found, and in no case to abandon a drunkard as irreclaimable." Here is seen the true spirit of the Washingtonian movement, which was instrumental in saving, by its moral suasion, so many fallen men. Out of this movement sprang cold water armies, which so greatly interested the children of the land, and set so many steadfastly in the ways of temperance.

In 1848 was formed the "Gardner Temperance Society," which continued till 1851, when a new constitution was adopted. Under this new constitution this society flourished for a number of years, when it ceased to exist for lack of interest. After this came a society called "Sons of Temperance," which had a brief life. Following this, in 1866, was a secret temperance organization, called "Philokalia Lodge No. 82, I. O. of G. T." The name of this society signifies "love of moral and personal beauty." This lodge became extinct in 1872, by the surrender of its charter. In 1876, was organized a "Reform Club," under the direction of Dr. H. A. Reynolds, at that time quite a celebrated temperance reformer. The badge of the club was the red ribbon. This order lasted a little more than one year, when it sunk out of sight, to be followed, in 1878, by the Murphy movement, whose badge was the blue ribbon. This reform gathered in hundreds, who took the pledge, many of whom held out for a time; most, however, finally succumbed to the power of habit, and went back again to their old practices. The object, in tracing thus minutely the history of the "rise and fall" of the temperance movements of this town, is to show the utter instability of this sort of temperance reformatory work, and the necessity of connecting it with that which is more permanent, if it shall be successful as a reform.

The following are the names of those citizens of Gardner who served in the Revolutionary war: William Bickford, Ebenezer Bolton, Josiah Baldwin, Jonathan Bancroft, David Comee, Joseph Clark, John Eaton, David Foster, Aaron Greenwood, Seth Heywood, Reuben Haynes, Timothy Kneeland, Samuel Kelton, John Mathews, Joseph Symonds, Josiah Wheeler and Jonathan Whitney. Two of these, William Bickford and Josiah Wheeler, also served in the old French war.

Immediately upon the proclamation of President Lincoln, declaring the South to be in a state of rebellion, and calling for seventy-five thousand vol-

unteers, for ninety days, for the suppression of the insurgents, Gardner called a town meeting to take needful measures to respond to the call for troops.

The first town meeting was called April 30, 1861, for the special purpose of raising volunteers, and for providing relief for their families during their absence.

The following votes were passed at this meeting :—

“Voted unanimously, That the selectmen be and are hereby authorized to purchase, at the expense of the town, clothing or uniforms (suitable for wear in active service), sufficient for the members of a volunteer militia company, which may be raised by enlistment of the citizens, or inhabitants of the town, and be organized agreeable to the laws of the Commonwealth, as a volunteer company of militia, on or before the first day of June next, Provided that said company shall pledge themselves to enter the service of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or of the government of the United States, to defend and sustain said government against traitors and rebels, which now, or may threaten its destruction, if called for by the proper authority, or authorities for that purpose.”

Although these were the only legal meetings held in town in the year 1861, yet there were numerous meetings of the citizens, for consultation and aid, in the efforts put forth by the town for carrying on the war for the Union. The town, not being able to raise a full company, fifty-seven young men volunteered and went into different regiments in the State then being raised. At a town meeting convened April 16, 1862, it was voted, “That aid be paid to the families of soldiers the same as last year.” July 23, 1862, it was voted :—

“That the selectmen be, and are hereby authorized to offer a bounty of one hundred dollars (in addition to the bounty now offered by government) for each and every volunteer who may enlist into the service of the United States, on or before the 15th day of August next, as a part of the quota of forty men, to be furnished, by the town of Gardner, under the late requisition of the governor of Massachusetts, and that the sum of \$1,200 be and is hereby appropriated by said town, for the purpose of carrying the same into effect. Also, that the selectmen be and are hereby authorized to draw their order on the treasurer of said town, in the sum of \$100 for each and every volunteer (not exceeding the number of forty), when they shall produce to them satisfactory evidence that they are mustered into the United States service, as a part of said quota of volunteers, to be furnished by said town; and that said selectmen constitute a committee, to procure necessary enlistment papers, and immediately open a recruiting office, under their own superintendence.”

Aug. 23, 1862, it was voted “That the town pay one hundred dollars to each and every volunteer, who has enlisted or may enlist, under the last call of the President of the United States, to fill our quota of nine months men, before the 3d of September next, the bounty to be paid when mustered into service.” “Voted to appropriate \$6,000 for the purpose of carrying into effect the votes passed under this article.” Voted “that the selectmen be

authorized and instructed to draw their orders on the treasurer of the town, to pay the volunteers, in accordance with the votes passed at this meeting." Voted, "To instruct the selectmen to call a town meeting, as soon as may be, and insert an article in the warrant, to see if the town will borrow money to defray the appropriations made at this meeting."

Sept. 1, 1862, it was voted "That the treasurer be authorized to borrow such sums of money, under the direction of the selectmen, as shall be necessary to defray town expenses, not exceeding \$8,000."

Oct. 11, 1862, it was voted "that the town pay to each of the volunteers, who have enlisted, or who may enlist into the service of the United States, from this time, for nine months, over and above the town quota, not exceeding twenty-three, \$100, to be paid when mustered into service."

There were from this town fifty volunteers in 1862, who, with about the same number from Templeton, formed company G, fifty-third regiment Massachusetts volunteers. These were enlisted for nine months. Aside from these, there were forty-five men who volunteered for the service, thirty-five of whom were in the thirty-sixth regiment Massachusetts volunteers, three in the naval service, the remainder being in different regiments; making ninety-five men who voluntarily entered the United States service in 1862.

June 27, 1863, it was voted "That the selectmen of the town are hereby authorized to draw from time to time upon the treasurer, at their discretion, in accordance with the laws of the Commonwealth, for the purpose of rendering the necessary aid to the families of those who have been or may be engaged in the military service of the United States."

After the year 1862, business having greatly revived, it became difficult to find young men who were willing to enlist in sufficient numbers to fill the quotas of the town; consequently it became necessary to hire recruits wherever they could be found. Recruiting was mostly done in Boston, through the agency of brokers. For this purpose the sum of \$2,375 was raised by individual subscriptions, which was afterwards refunded by the town.

April 4, 1864, it was voted "That the sum of \$125 be paid to each recruit, for the purpose of filling the quotas of this town, under the last call of the President of the United States, in accordance with the act of the legislature, in relation thereto: Provided, that no money shall be paid any recruit until he has been credited to the town, as a part of its quota."

April 20, 1864, it was voted "That the town refund to the subscribers the amount of \$125 for each recruit furnished under the call of the President, Oct. 17, 1863." It was voted at the same meeting "That the town appropriate the sum of one dollar per week, for each of the members of the families of persons, who are, or may be, mustered into the service of the United States, as a part of the quota of this town, to be supplied under the direction of the selectmen in accordance with the statutes of this Commonwealth." It was also voted "That the sum of \$2,375 be raised and applied, under the direction of the



RESIDENCE OF HENRY HAYWOOD, GARDNER, MASS.



HEYWOOD BROTHERS & COMPANY'S PAINT SHOP, GARDNER, MASS.

selectmen, for the purpose of refunding the money paid out by individuals, in procuring men, to fill the quota of this town, under the call of the President, Oct. 17, 1863."

June 1, 1864, it was voted "That the selectmen be and are hereby authorized to pay \$125, for each and every recruit, who has enlisted since May 1st, 1864, and been duly mustered into the United States service, to the credit of the town of Gardner, and for whom no town bounty has been paid." It was also voted, at the same meeting, "That the selectmen be authorized to pay \$125 for each and every recruit, who may enlist under their sanction, or under the sanction of any responsible committee of the citizens of Gardner, under any or all calls or orders of the President of the United States, issued between March 1st, 1864, and March 1st, 1865." It was also voted "That the town treasurer be authorized to borrow such sum or sums of money, from time to time, as may be necessary, to meet the orders of the selectmen, in accordance with previous votes passed at this meeting."

During the year 1863-4, there were twenty-seven enlistments from this town.

The whole number of men furnished by the town for the war was two hundred and ninety-eight, which was a surplus of nineteen above all demands. Six of these were commissioned officers.

Pecuniary Cost of the War to the Town. — The following sums show the cost of the war to the town : —

Raised and expended by the town,	\$23,062 27
Raised by voluntary subscription,	13,343 70
Paid State aid to soldiers or families,	17,363 12
Soldiers' Aid Society and other channels,	1,000 00
Paid since close of the war,	11,905 46
<hr/>	
Total,	\$66,674 55

There is another item of cost of no little importance to the citizens of this town. Of the whole number drafted, twenty-five were accepted, none of whom went to the war, but procured substitutes, for whom they paid \$300 each, making the sum of \$7,500, which, added to the above, makes the whole cost of the war to this town, \$74,174.55. Of the whole number of soldiers credited to this town, 9.61 per cent. were killed or died before reaching home.

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATIONAL MATTERS — HIGH SCHOOL — RELIGIOUS HISTORY — ORIGINAL CONDITION — RISE OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS — EMINENT CITIZENS — TOWN HISTORY.

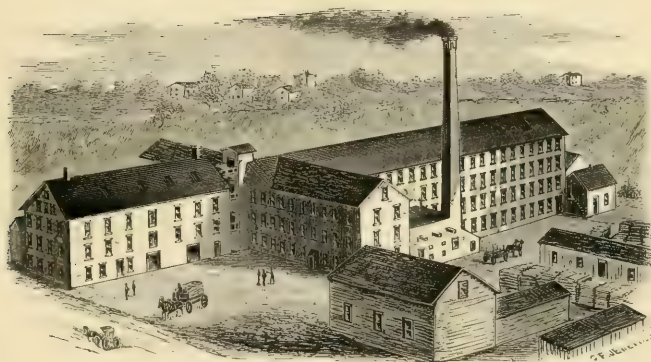
THE school system of Gardner forms an interesting portion of its history. In it we discover the foundations of future growth and increased intelligence. In the warrant of the first annual town meeting, March 7, 1786, was an article, "To see if the town will grant money for schooling, and act anything relating to schools as they shall think best when met." Whereupon the town voted to divide its entire territory into "four squadrons," and that the committee chosen for this duty should report at an adjourned meeting. At this meeting, March 14, the town voted to accept of the report of the committee, which was to divide the town into four squadrons or districts, namely, South, West, North and East, giving the names of the families residing within the limits named by the committee.

At a town meeting, held April 3, 1786, a vote was passed "To divide one-half of the school money into four equal divisions; and the rest of the money to be divided into the said divisions, according to the number of scholars from twenty-one years down to four years old. Each squadron to provide their own school master or mistress, and have liberty for to say how much shall be kept in a woman's school, they not exceeding more than one half of the money in a womans school." Voted, "To choose four persons, one in each squadron, to provide a school and to take the number of the children in the several squadrons." It appears from the town records that, up to the year 1791, there was but one school-house in all the town, and that "so old and shattered that it is not fit to keep school in, and schools kept in private houses, and very small too, are not convenient for the schools." It would appear from these records that the schools, at the commencement of the town's history, were convened for some years in private dwellings, and were of very short duration.

In 1794 the town voted to redistrict its territory, making seven squadrons instead of four. At this date seven members of a committee were chosen to redistrict the town, and to "appoint the places where the school-houses shall stand." At an adjourned meeting this vote was reconsidered, and so no definite action was taken. The following year, 1795, there was a vote "to divide the town into four equal parts, and for placing the school-houses in the centre of each quarter." This committee were to say where the centre of each quarter should be, and "how big the school-houses shall be." After repeated endeavors the school districts were finally established, and the needed school-houses built. That those houses were very plain, unadorned structures, differing widely from those which have in these modern days taken their places, is evident from some of the records we have of them.



RESIDENCE OF PHILANDER DERRY, GARDNER, MASS.



P. DERRY & COMPANY'S CHAIR FACTORY, GARDNER, MASS.

At the March meeting in 1802 there was an article in the warrant, "To see if the town will choose a committee to see what repairs, if any, the school-houses need, and paint them with Spanish brown and lye." But, however much the school-houses needed the "Spanish brown and lye," the town voted "to pass over this article." It was not till the year 1809 that the town voted "To choose a committee of four men to inspect the schools in said town, at the opening of said schools for the ensuing year." Here was the beginning of that custom of visiting schools, by agents appointed by the town, which has continued till the present time, with increased power and efficiency. In 1818 the town voted "to choose a committee to divide the town into school districts." This committee recommended that the town be divided into six school districts, and fixed the bounds of each, at the same time numbering the families in town, which amounted to one hundred and fifty-three.

This same year the town "Voted that each district shall build and support their own school-houses; that each district shall have the privilege of placing their own school-houses, if they can agree, otherwise the town shall place them." At the March meeting, 1820, the town voted "That the school-money be divided according to the number of families that shall be in each district on the first Monday of May next." Voted, "That the school committee divide the school-money if they can agree, if not, the selectmen shall divide it." This method of dividing the school-funds continued till 1837, when the town voted "That six hundred dollars be laid out for schooling; that one-third of the money be divided according to the number of the scholars in their respective districts, the scholars to be counted between the ages of four and twenty-one, the remainder to be divided into six equal parts; that the school agents ascertain the number of scholars in their respective districts."

The first mention we have of money received from the State for schools was in 1838, when the town voted "that the money received from the State be divided according to the number of scholars." In March, 1839, the town voted for the first time that "the school agents be authorized to hire teachers for their respective districts."

In 1869 all districts in town were abolished, and the graded system was introduced, which continues until the present time with commendable success.

An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1856 to establish a high school. The committee chosen to take the matter in charge reported that, "in the opinion of a majority of your committee, it is inexpedient that the town take measures to support a high school." Nothing more was done looking to the establishment of a high school till 1866, when the town "voted that a high school be established in town according to law, and that the selectmen and superintending committee be a committee to carry into effect this vote, and provide a suitable place for holding said school." In accordance with this vote, a high school was first opened in this town in the fall of 1866, in an old school-house formerly occupied by the centre school district. This building continued to be occupied

by the high school until its removal, in December, 1874, into the new, substantial and commodious brick building, erected for its accomodation by vote of the town, upon land donated the town by Mr. Levi Heywood.

The high school house is 46 by 70 feet, with a front projection, and porch 17 by 22 feet. It is two stories high, having a tower ninety feet in height. It has three front entrances, having open porches and large halls. The high-school room is 40 by 43 feet, and 15½ feet in height, having commodious recitation, library and apparatus rooms attached, and is furnished with ash seats and desks. In the lower story is an ample room for the accommodation of the higher grammar school, well furnished and very pleasant.

At the present time the town possesses ample and convenient school accomodations, and is in all respects thoroughly equipped for efficient school work. In the year 1786 the town appropriated thirty pounds for schools. This sum has gradually increased in the progress of years, till now it amounts to seven thousand dollars, as the last appropriation of the town for schools.

At the date of the incorporation of the town, the law of the State was such that town and parish were identical, and all parish business was transacted by the citizens in town meeting. This accounts for the medley condition of the town records, which seem so curious to us of modern times. For instance, we find the following record of a town meeting: "Voted the Rev. Jonathan Osgood eighty pounds for one-half of his settlement, and seventy-five pounds for his two years salary." "Voted, that the lowest bidder take the meeting-house, to sweep it four times a year, well, and open the doors at all public meetings, and see that the doors and windows be kept shut after the meeting is over, and bring water for christening." "Voted, to let swine run at large, under the regulations of the law." Here is to us an almost ludicrous intermingling of minister, meeting-house, christening and swine, but which, to men of that day, were matters of grave importance.

Immediately upon the incorporation of the town, action was taken, in a town meeting, held Nov. 7, 1785, looking to the erection of a new meeting-house, and the hiring of preaching. The articles in the warrant for that meeting were these: "To know their minds concerning giving security for the meeting-house grounds, and a deed of the same." "To know their minds concerning building a meeting-house, and to act anything relating thereunto, as they shall think proper when met." "To know their minds concerning hiring preaching." At an adjourned meeting, November 14, the town voted "To take a deed of the land already surveyed for a site for a meeting-house common and burying-yard." The town then heard the report of their building committee, and "Voted to build a meeting-house forty feet wide and sixty-five feet long, with three porches." Afterwards they voted to build the house 45 feet by 60, with two porches, and to vendue the stuff for building in small lots; that the hewing-timber be cut by the last of June next. They also chose a committee "to accept of the timber and stuff."

There was a committee chosen "to draw a plan of the meeting-house, and to see what stuff it will take." Upon the plan and specifications of this committee, the materials of which the meeting-house was to be built were auctioned off in separate pieces, each successful bidder obliging himself in nine pounds, should he fail to deliver his contract by the first day of April, 1787.

The amount of legislation required to dig the trenches for the walls, to set the underpinning, and to provide for the payment of the bills for the erection of the first meeting-house in this town, is both curious and marvelous, and serves well to show the devotion, sacrifice and perseverance of those who had all these important matters in charge.

On June 27, 1787, the house was raised and set in its place, which was the same site now occupied by the new edifice of this same society.

It appears from the curious and interesting town records of that early day that when all things were ready, and all the neighboring towns had been invited to be present to assist in this great work, the town called a special meeting, at which the only vote passed was the following: "Voted, for the committee to give the spectators one drink."

Although this meeting-house was raised and covered in 1787, it was not finished in the inside until 1791, four years after its erection. The manner in which the money for the building of this edifice was raised may be seen by the following item upon the records: "Voted, that the collector take butter of the persons that are in his rates, provided that they bring the butter by the first of July next, at 7*d.* per pound, and the collector to provide firkins to put said butter in, and to deliver the butter to the committee that are to provide the nails for the meeting-house, when called for. It is expected that the collector put the butter into good firkins, well salted, and the butter to be good butter."

Thus built, this church continued for many years to be the only public building in the town. In it the inhabitants of the town worshipped on the Sabbath, and held their town meetings, as occasion required, till the erection of the new town hall in 1860.

The church connected with the First Parish worshipped in this house till the union with the Evangelical church and society in May, 1867. It has since passed into private hands for secular uses.

One incident is worthy of notice connected with the public worship in this first meeting-house.

In the warrant for the March meeting, 1797, there was an article "to see if the town will let a bass-viol be carried into the meeting-house, and played upon in time of singing of the public worship." The town "voted to let the bass-viol come into the meeting-house on Sundays." In March, 1799, there was again an article in the warrant, "to see if the town will do any thing further about the bass-viol." Upon which the town voted "to let the singers act as they think best about bringing the bass-viol into the meeting-house, or not bringing it in."

The first church in this town was of the Congregational order, and was organized Feb. 1, 1786, having a total membership of thirty-three. This church had no settled pastor till Oct. 19, 1791, when Rev. Jonathan Osgood was installed as the first pastor, who served the church and town faithfully for nearly thirty-one years. Mr. Osgood's conditions of settlement were these: £160 for settlement, and for his annual salary £75. Subsequently the town voted to give him twenty cords of hard wood, delivered at his door. As the currency depreciated, the town voted him an extra sum of £25.

Aside from performing the duties of sole pastor in town, Mr. Osgood acted for several years as the only physician the town had, having studied medicine and practised as surgeon in the army previous to studying theology.

In many respects he was a remarkable man, and like most of the clergymen of those times, he led the town in matters of public interest. He died May 21, 1822, greatly lamented by the entire town, and was buried in the old church-yard in the rear of the First Congregational Church.

The Evangelical Congregational Society and Church was formed June 25, 1830, as an off-shoot of the first church and society. Various reasons combined to produce this result; some doctrinal and others having a humanitarian basis, especially the anti-slavery question, which was beginning, at that time, to agitate the country. This new society immediately erected a small church edifice, just north of the old church, which was dedicated June 16, 1831, and which it continued to occupy, with some alteration and repairs, from time to time, till the year 1856, when it entered its new and more commodious house of worship, erected at a cost of nine thousand dollars.

The Evangelical Church connected with the above society was organized out of a portion of the members of the First Church, May 11, 1830. The first pastor was the Rev. Increase S. Lincoln.

The following votes of this church are interesting, as showing the feeling then existing regarding the matter of slavery: May 15, 1835, the church unanimously passed a resolution, "to refuse to acknowledge a slave-holding minister to be a Christian minister, by sitting under his preaching, knowing him to be guilty of the sin of slave owning." Again, in 1842, the church passed the following: "Whereas the ministers and members of the churches of our land are many of them, partakers of the guilt of slavery, either by holding slaves, or by apologizing for the wicked system; and whereas the Gospel requires us to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness; Be it therefore resolved, That it is the duty of this church, in giving invitations to members of evangelical churches to commune with us, to except all such as are guilty of the sin of slavery as specified in the above preamble." It will be seen that this church very early took advanced ground regarding the great national evil of human slavery.

The First Congregational Church and Parish presents the following history since 1867: In May, 1867, the two churches and societies effected a union,



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, GARDNER, MASS.

after a separation of more than forty-seven years, upon the following basis: "That the First Congregational Church, and the Evangelical Congregational Church in Gardner, unite and become consolidated in one church, adopting the articles of faith and the covenant of the Evangelical Church, and the name of the First Congregational Church in Gardner, and be connected with the First Parish in said Gardner."

The united churches occupied, as a place of worship, the church edifice erected by the Evangelical Society in 1856, until July 16, 1879, when the new church built upon the site of the first meeting-house, was dedicated.

This house is a substantial structure, built of brick, at a cost of \$30,000, with a seating capacity of about six hundred, with lecture-room, infant classroom and library, parlor, dining-room and all modern church appurtenances.

The Baptist Society and Church was formed Jan. 30, 1828. In 1833, it erected a house of worship in the south village, which it continued to occupy till 1872, when, larger accommodations being required, the house was enlarged by an addition of fifteen feet to its length, the walls frescoed, new pews replacing the old ones, a new spire erected, and a fine tower clock supplied, all at an expense of about \$7,500.

The church in connection with this society was organized Nov. 15, 1830, with a membership of twenty-three. This church and society has always been aggressive and prosperous, performing a useful work in town.

The Catholics of Gardner were first temporarily organized in 1863. In 1873, a site for a new church edifice was purchased on Cross Street, and the house completed December, 1874, at a total cost of \$26,000; it will seat seven hundred. This is a large and growing church, having in it the elements of great prosperity.

The Universalist church and society was organized June 4, 1864. For a few years worship was conducted in the town hall. Afterwards the society purchased the house of the first parish, which they repaired and used for several years, till the erection of their new church on Cross Street, upon land given them by Mr. William S. Lynde. This new edifice was completed in the spring of 1874, and was dedicated May 26th, of the same year. This church is a neat and commodious structure, beautifully located, and the society is in a generally flourishing condition.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was formed in 1869. In 1870 a chapel was erected in the west village, upon land donated by Mr. Lewis H. Graham. This chapel was dedicated Sept. 14, 1870, and continued to accommodate the church until Aug. 9, 1877, when the present edifice erected upon land on Chestnut Street, donated by Mr. John A. Dunn, was dedicated. This church has a light and pleasant audience room, with a seating capacity of six hundred, and with its lecture room and other accommodations is a very convenient and attractive church edifice. Its cost is \$13,000, including tower clock and organ.

Although Gardner cannot boast of having given birth to sons and daughters of national reputation and world-wide fame, she yet feels honored in her children, who have represented her in the less conspicuous positions of human enterprise and achievement. From the commencement of her existence she has been fortunate in her possession of men of sterling worth and fearless enterprise, whose perseverance has given lasting prosperity to the town.

Among men of public note may be named Gen. Moses Wood, who was born in Gardner, April 2, 1803, and died in Fitchburg, May 8, 1869. Mr. Wood began business as a merchant in this town in 1827, which he successfully prosecuted till 1834, when he removed to Providence, R. I. Here he became a leading director in the Arcade Bank. In 1838 the General Assembly of Rhode Island elected him brigadier-general of militia of Providence County. In 1849 he was elected first president of Rollstone Bank, Fitchburg, Mass. He was also a director in the old Fitchburg Bank. After removing to Fitchburg, he was chosen delegate to the National Democratic Convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President. In 1851-52 he represented this senatorial district in the Massachusetts Senate with marked ability. He was also president of the Worcester North Agricultural Society for several years. His character was marked by unflinching honesty and uncommon courtesy. He was a man of great and commanding ability, and died greatly honored and esteemed by those who knew him best.

Conspicuous among the leading business men of the town for many years is the name of Mr. Levi Heywood. Mr. Heywood was born in Gardner, Dec. 10, 1800, and received in early life only that degree of education which could be derived from the common schools of this town, with a few terms at the academy in New Salem. For a time he taught school. Afterwards he went into business as a stone-worker and contractor. He then engaged in mercantile life for a few years, after which he entered into the chair business, in which he has ever since been engaged with various partners in this town and in Boston. The town is greatly indebted to Mr. Heywood for the persevering interest he manifested in securing the location of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad through this town, in the face of great opposition; also that of the Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad, both of which are now of such immense importance to the prosperity of the town. In all that concerns the material growth of the town and its permanent prosperity, Mr. Heywood has always borne a prominent and highly important part.

Gardner has several graduates of our various New England colleges, who successfully represent her in all the learned professions, whose names, though worthy, our present limits forbid us to mention, among whom, however, is Dr. Nathan S. Lincoln, now a distinguished physician of Washington, D. C.

The reader who desires further acquaintance with this town is referred to Herriek's *History of Gardner*, pp. 535, 1878, for many particulars that are necessarily excluded from a sketch of this description.

G R A F T O N.

BY REV. JOHN H. WINDSOR.*

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS — LAKES AND OTHER WATERS — SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS —
FIRST OCCUPATION — PRAYING INDIAN VILLAGE — LAND GRANTS — INDIAN
DEED TO WHITE SETTLERS — TOWN INCORPORATION — FRENCH AND INDIAN
WARS.

THIS town is situated eight miles south-east of the city of Worcester, and near the eastern boundary of the county. Its northern boundaries are the towns of Shrewsbury and Westborough; its eastern, Westborough and Upton; its southern, Northbridge and Sutton; its western, Sutton and Millbury.

The physical features of the town are varied, and exceedingly picturesque. Lying largely at the confluence of the valleys of the Quinsigamond and the Blackstone, with their intervalles threaded with streams and flanked by the lesser hills; having a broad and multiiform horizon, which stretches away northward till it embraces the Wachusett, and even, in the blue distance, the Monadnock Mountains; eastward to the nearer towns of Middlesex; south to the towns of Northbridge, Uxbridge and the lower region of the Blackstone Valley; while the western landscape is made up of the valley of the Quinsigamond Lake, portions of Worcester, and, on the outer rim, the Leicester hills, — surroundings such as these give more than ordinary attractiveness to the general view.

The chief rivers are the Quinsigamond, also called the Little Blackstone, and the Blackstone. The former enters the town at its north-western corner, takes a southerly course, and joins the Blackstone about two miles from the south line of the town. The latter enters at the south-west angle of the town, and, after a generally eastern but very crooked course, having received the waters of the Quinsigamond, flows south into Northbridge. There are several small streams in different parts of the town, the two principal of which are the Assabet, which takes its rise in the north-east part of the town, and after a short, northerly course, entering Westborough, at last empties into the Merrimac;

* The author gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance he has received from Henry F. Wing, Esq., a gentleman well versed in the history of this, his native town.

the other is the George or Miscoe Brook, which rises in the easterly part of the town, and, flowing south, enters Upton at its north-west corner, to lose itself in Narraganset Bay. The principal ponds are Flint's and Goddard's, on the Quinsigamond, and Silver Lake, on the Miscoe. Three prominent elevations occur in different parts of the town, known as Keith, Brigham and Chestnut hills. From these points there is a very broad and charming outlook.

The growth of wood embraces the oak of several varieties, walnut, butternut, chestnut, white and pitch pine, black and white ash, birch and buttonwood.

The land is generally strong, of a clayey loam, with a few sections of a lighter and gravelly soil. It is well adapted for the staple grains, roots and grasses. Extensive meadow-lands border the different streams, the whole lying upon a foundation of granite, quartzite and gneiss. The last named is the most general, it has a free cleavage, and is used for underpinning, doorsteps and posts; no extensive quarries, however, have been opened. This territory has a diameter north and south of five miles, and east and west of four.

The territory thus designated has an early record of deep historic interest. It was one of the Indian reservations set apart for the Christian or praying Indians by the Provincial Government, upon the petition of Rev. John Eliot. The grant was made May 15, 1654, in the following terms:—"Liberty is granted to the Indians of Hassanamisco,* being about 16 miles west of Sudbury to make a town thus, provided it does not prejudice any former grant, nor that they shall dispose of it without leave first had and obtained from this Court."† In October, 1659, Eliot petitions the Court to have this plot laid out. "My request is that Mr. Danforth may have power to lay out and bound Hassanamesitt."‡ When the township of Sutton was purchased of the Indians, it embraced this reservation, which the General Court excluded from that deed of purchase,—"reserving the Indian property of Hassanamisco."§ These Hassanamesitt or Hassanamisco Indians were a branch of the Nipmuck or Nipnet Indians. The territory of the tribe was originally very extensive, stretching from the Merrimac to the Connecticut rivers. Maj. Daniel Gookin, then general superintendent of Indian affairs under the Colonial Government, visiting the different towns of the praying Indians with Eliot, describes this plantation in the following manner:—

"Hassanamesitt, which means a 'place of small stones' lieth about 38 miles from Boston, west southerly; and is about 2 miles to the eastward of the Nipmuck (Black-stone) River, and near unto the old road to Connecticut. The dimensions of this town are about 4 miles square, and so about 8,000 acres of land. This village is not inferior to any of the Indian plantations for rich land and plenty of meadow, being well timbered and watered. It produceth plenty of corn, grain and fruit. It is an apt place for the keeping of cattle and swine; in which respect this people are the best stored of any Indian town of their size."||

* Hassanamesitt was the earlier title.

† Archives of Mass., Vol. 30.

‡ Records of Mass., III., p. 48.

§ History of Sutton, p. 10.

|| Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 184, 1st Series.

This plantation has a peculiar interest in the ecclesiastical history of New England from the fact that here Eliot organized the second of his Christian churches among the Indians of the Bay. This organization was effected, either by Eliot himself or through some under his direction, Sept. 23, 1671. The church, though small, was marked for its efficiency and missionary spirit. It embraced among its male members the ruler and chief men of the village. The brother of the ruler was its teacher. One-fifth of its members were engaged as teachers and preachers in several of the surrounding Indian towns. One of its members, Quamapohit, whose English name was James, James the Printer, and finally James Printer, was one of Eliot's chief assistants in setting up the type of the famous Indian Bible. Having been educated in the school at Cambridge and apprenticed to Samuel Greene to learn the printer's trade, he was selected as one of the pressmen in the publication of that great work. Eliot, in a letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle of London, 1682, gives him honorable mention. In 1709, he and a son of Samuel Greene printed an edition of the Psalter in the Indian and English tongues.* Some of his descendants were parties to the deed of transfer of the plantation of Hassanamisco to the English proprietors. James Printer was himself at one time the teacher of the church referred to. During the progress of King Philip's war, this Indian church and town suffered severely; the people were either killed, captured or scattered so that the town and the church were nearly extinguished. So disastrous, indeed, was that war that in 1698 the commissioners reported but "205 Indians in all Mass. proper."†

Still, the Hassanamisitts held their reservation according to its original grant for about seventy years. At that time the Provincial Court was petitioned by the Indians, as well as by nine English families who had at different times contracted with the Indians for farms, and by forty proprietors who desired to purchase the plantation, for authority to have the transfer made, and that good and lawful titles may be given and received. The petition was granted. In the deed of purchase the township is called "Hassanamisco, in the County of Suffolk, within His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." The number of acres sold by the Indians was 7,500, reserving out of the original grant of 8,000 acres what had been privately contracted for by the nine English families, thus sanctioning their purchases; also the farms already under cultivation by the Indians, "together with one hundred acres more of land there, to be the present Indian Proprietors', their heirs and assigns forever." The purchase-money was "Two Thousand and Five Hundred Pounds." This sum was "to be deposited in the hands of Trustees appointed and empowered by the Great and General Court to receive and lett out the same at interest on good and sufficient security." The interest accruing therefrom was to be paid "the said Indian Proprietors as the Court shall from time to time order and direct; together with sundry immunities and

* Thomas' Hist. Printing in America, I., pp. 95-98.

† N. E. Memorial, p. 392.

enfranchisements respecting the settlement and support of the ministry and school as in and by the Records of said Court doth and may appear." There were eight grantors to this deed on the part of the Indians, the first of whom was Ami Printer, a descendant of the James Printer already referred to.

The forty proprietors represented the towns of Boston, Marlborough, Concord, Stow, Wenham, Sudbury, Hopkinton, Lancaster, Ipswich, Shrewsbury and Hassanamisco.

This deed was signed by the majority of the Indians at Hassanamisco, March 20, 1727-8; but, as one of the Indians was then living at Woodstock, Conn., his signature was not obtained till April 9, 1728, at which date the transaction was completed.*

The first record in the Proprietors' Book is that of the act relating to the support of the church and the school. This requires "That within y^e space of three years, they build and finish a meeting hous for y^e publick worship of God, and build a school hous for y^e instruction as well of y^e Indians as English children, and settle a learned Orthodox Minister to preach y^e Gospel to them: and constantly maintain and duly support a Minister and Schoolmaster among them; and y^t all y^e above articles shall be without charge to y^e Indian natives."† The nine English families were required to bear "one equal part of four fifth parts" of the expense incurred in carrying out the foregoing regulations.

The first meeting of the Proprietors called for the carrying out of the above requirements and for any other necessary business, was held at Marlborough, at the house of Jonathan How, April 9, 1728; Edward Goddard, moderator, Jonathan Rice, clerk.‡ At this meeting arrangements were made for a general survey of the land; to fix the centre of the town; to locate the site for the meeting-house; to set aside four acres of land near the meeting-house for a burying-place and training-field; to place the school-house upon some part of this four acres; to lay out and plan for the choice of lots by each proprietor; and to provide funds for the future expenses of the proprietary.

The next meeting was held April 19, at Hassanamisco, at the house of Nehemiah How, at which time, among other transactions, the centre of the town was fixed, but, the site not being suitable for the erection of a meeting-house, "a spot of ground lying westerly therefrom upon the northerly end of a hill called by y^e Indians Assawossachusuck," was viewed, near which spot they decided to erect the meeting-house, and around it gradually sprang up the religious, educational and business interests at the centre of the town.§

The plantation thus begun continued an unincorporated settlement for eight years. Within those years, however, the foundations of the subsequent religious, educational and manufacturing interests of the community were laid. The meeting-house was so far completed as to be used for religious services and town meetings in the winter of 1730, or the early spring of 1731. The

* Proprietors' Records, White's copy, pp. 142-6. † Ibid., p. 1. ‡ Ibid., p. 5. § Ibid., pp. 5-7.

school-house was erected and occupied in the autumn of the same year; appropriations for the building of both were often made at the same public meeting of the proprietors. Mill-privileges were voted, and, with lands sufficient for the purpose, appropriated to parties for the erection of saw and grist mills, July 9, 1728. Highways were opened and maintained, bridges constructed and kept in order, and the general interests of the infant colony well established. Its pioneers were men of character, of standing, of enterprise, used to toil and prepared for disappointment. With a wise forecast, they early sought a more effective and permanent organization for the plantation. Within four years of their original purchase they were discussing the advisability of petitioning the General Court to be constituted a separate town; and in January, 1733-4, a committee was chosen to apply to the General Court for that end. The application was granted by the Legislature, and confirmed by the governor, so that in the spring of 1735 the plantation of Hassanamisco became a distinct town, under the name of "Grafton." The enabling and confirming acts are as follows:—

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

"In the House of Representatives, April 17, 1735. — *Ordered*, That Mr. Thomas Pratt, one of y^e prizable inhabitants of the new town lately made at y^e Plantation called Hassanamisco, in y^e county of Worcester, be and hereby is fully authorized and impowered to assemble the Freeholders and other qualified voaters to make a choice of Town Officers to stand until the anniversary meeting in March next.*

"J. QUINCY, *Speaker*."

Being sent up for concurrence, the act received the endorsement of the Governor and Council as follows:

"*Ordered*, That the plantation at Hassanamisco, in the County of Worcester, as the same is hereafter bounded and described, be and hereby is set off and constituted a separate and distinct township by the name of Grafton.†

"In Council, April 18, 1735.

"J. BELCHER, *Governor*."

The origin of the new name given the town is somewhat obscure. It is known that in the incorporating acts, as they passed the Legislature, the names of the towns were frequently omitted, to be supplied afterward by the governor or council. This was the fact in this instance. It is probable, however, suggests Mr. Howe in his address, that the town is "indebted to Governor Belcher for its name. Charles Fitz Roy, Duke of Grafton, a member of the Privy Council, and a grandson of Charles II.,‡ being distinguished in his day, and probably having in some way interested himself for the Colony, was complimented in this manner.

* Town Records, I., p. 1.

† Acts and Resolves, 1735.

‡ Historical Oration, Rev. E. F. Howe, 1876, p. 21.

In the act of incorporation similar advantages were reserved for the Indians, respecting church and school privileges free of cost, as held in the original purchase by the proprietors. These obligations were given up by the proprietors, and nominally assumed by the town Jan. 23, 1738-9.* The securities, however, which legally held the town to this contract, were not given till 1773, or thirty-five years after the obligations were assumed.† May 19, 1735, a meeting of the properly qualified persons was called, and the town organization was completed by the choice of the appropriate officers. The moderator was Thomas Pratt, whose name appears in the enabling act, the clerk Nehemiah How.‡ For some years the town decided, either by passing over the article or by voting in the negative, not to be represented in the General Court, and the business the town had to transact with the court was done by special committees. The annals of the town for the twenty years succeeding the date of incorporation offer little for the historian beyond the gradual growth of its material interests, the development of manufactures, improvements on the farms and dwelling-houses, the enlargement of school facilities adapted to the increase of the population, and a general prosperity. This quiet advance was interrupted by the French, or Queen Anne's war. The town responded to calls for troops, and was represented in some of the severest campaigns during that struggle on our northern border. In New York, Vermont and Canada the men of the town fought and fell. They were in the long and fearful marches through the northern wilderness, so that out of a population that did not exceed seven hundred and fifty, one-ninth fell either in battle or from disease incurred during the nine years' struggle.§ The touching brevity of a diary kept during those years in marking the death of a relative who was in the army, illustrates the nature of the trials then endured. "October y^e 24, 1759, then Ebenezer Wheeler Junr. was left to die on a mountain large and high."||

CHAPTER II.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION — FINANCES AND ENLISTMENTS — CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS — INSTRUCTIONS TO REPRESENTATIVES — SHAYS' REBELLION — WAR OF 1812 — PROGRESS OF TOWN — IMPROVEMENTS — WAR OF REBELLION — SOLDIERS' MONUMENT — FIRES — PUBLIC LIBRARY — CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL — STATISTICS — VILLAGES — RAILROADS AND CEMETERIES.

SCARCELY recovered from the shock to its social and material interests of the war of 1753-62, the town was called to enter upon the severer one of the

* Town Records, I., p. 52.

† Ibid., II., pp. 216, 217.

‡ Ibid., I., pp. 1, 2.

§ Mr. Brigham's Address, p. 17.

|| Old MSS. in possession of Hon. J. D. Wheeler.

Revolution. The first premonition of the approaching contest appears in the hearty endorsement by the town, of the Boston circular touching the encouragement of home manufactures, Dec. 28, 1767.*

In January, 1774, the action of Boston, and the towns of the Colony generally, upon the tea question, was heartily indorsed, and the town clerk was ordered to forward a copy of the proceedings to the committee of correspondence for Boston. In September of this year Capt. John Goulding was chosen delegate to represent the town at the Concord Convention; money was voted to purchase a field-piece and ammunition; a captain of the gun was chosen and provision was made for soldiers that might be called out. A little later the town ordered its assessors, in agreement with the request of the Provincial Congress, not to pay over any assessments to the crown. Rags were carefully preserved for the manufacture of paper. Meetings were being constantly called to help provide for the present and the prospective emergencies of the country. The public act, however, which practically severed the connection of the town with the British crown was consummated May 22, 1775, when the first town meeting was warned under the authority of the Continental Congress. From that time all provincial taxes were paid to the order of Congress. The most active measures were taken to furnish men, materials and moneys to carry on the war. Committees for enlistment, correspondence, and for the public safety, which latter meant looking up the Tories, were formed and kept in energetic exercise. Within twenty-four hours from the firing upon Concord Plains, a company from the town, and under the command of a townsman, was marching for Cambridge. So earnest was the response that the minister of the town, Rev. Daniel Grosvenor, enlisted among the rank and file of the company. Drafts of men, money and supplies were frequent, and were always honored. October, 1779, the town voted £4,000, to defray the charges of the war. A year later, 6,630 pounds of beef were sent to head-quarters, at a cost in the then depreciated currency of £9,670, being the quota at that time from the town. At this date £15 was the pay for a day's labor, and £150 the month's salary of a school-teacher. It is not possible to give accurately the total of men, money and supplies which the town furnished during the long and sanguinary struggle for independence. Men from Grafton was scattered among regiments raised in other sections of the country; companies officered by Grafton citizens embraced men from other towns; to sift carefully these facts so as to pronounce decidedly upon them is hardly possible. Roughly summing up the enlistments during this prolonged contest, however, there were found to be four or more companies recruited wholly or in part from the town, together with contributions of clothing, breadstuffs and money, the aggregate of which cannot be given; and this with a population of but little more than eight hundred and fifty souls.

In 1780, the town, after long and earnest discussion, adopted the Constitution

* Town Records, II., p. 166.

and Bill of Rights for the new government of the Commonwealth: and in the autumn of the same year cast its first vote for John Hancock, governor, under that Constitution. The first representatives sent to the General Court under the new *régime* were instructed with careful minuteness, and enjoined at their political peril not to disobey orders. The annexed extract is a specimen of such instructions; they were given to the one who represented the town in 1783:—

“SIR:—You are hereby instructed as follows, viz. First, that you shall not on any consideration give your assent or consent to any act that shall give the most trifling compensation or restitution to those styled Loyalists, adhering to the cause of Great Britain, or that shall permit them ever to return to live in this State. That you shall not give your assent or consent to any officer or soldier for any pay any otherwise than according to contract. And that you will obey such and such instructions as said town shall see cause to give you from time to time. Voted, That y^e town further instruct said Representative that he constantly attend said Court while sitting.” *

Instructions similar to this for vigor and terseness were frequent. The commercial results of the Revolutionary war upon the town were very depressing. With a depreciated currency, one dollar of which rated at one-sixtieth of a hard dollar; with business universally at a low ebb: with so large a depletion of the able-bodied men of the country through war; with no inconsiderable dissatisfaction among many of the people at the results of the Revolution, it was not strange that there was a period immediately after the close of the war when the town suffered in all her general interests. A heavy war debt made necessary heavy taxes: this produced, in some, dissensions and disloyal conduct. The famous but short-lived Shays Rebellion was an outgrowth of this state of things. Some of the friends of that rebellion were citizens of the town. Yet in a comparatively few years business began to revive; more acres were cultivated; manufactures started up with new vigor, and the old prosperity gradually came back. In December, 1788, the town cast its vote for representative to the first Congress under the Constitution, and for Presidential electors.

The first quarter of the present century gives but little of historic moment. The war of 1812 made its drafts upon the town militia, and in the summer of 1807 bounties were voted for volunteers to meet the town's quota under the call of the President for troops. There was a vigorous and enlarged prosecution of the various manufactures throughout the town during these twenty-five years, and such as placed it among the first towns in the county, especially in the leather and shoe productions. From 1825 to 1850, the height of the manufacturing interest was reached. In 1831, the first map of the town was published, from actual survey and drafting, by Charles Brigham, Esq. This map is now somewhat rare, but it is one of the most accurate that has been pub-

* Town Records, III, pp. 88, 89.

lished. In 1833, the town inaugurated the custom, which has held ever since, of ringing the bells at noon, and at nine P. M. The present system of taking care of the poor of the town was introduced in 1834, when a farm was purchased for that purpose. This was located upon Brigham Hill, a little west of the country-seat of the Hon. William Brigham. The farm was sold after a few years for \$1,500, but the system was continued, and the present town farm was bought Sept. 7, 1848, for \$1,000. This farm contains about two hundred and thirteen acres, and is situated upon the Worcester road, near the bounds of Millbury and Grafton.

The leading event of 1835 was the Centennial celebration of the town, when an historical oration, embracing the history of the place for that time, was delivered by Hon. William Brigham. The address is an able and carefully prepared one, and is authority for the period which it covers.

From 1839 to 1850, some very important movements in the educational facilities of the town occurred, and such as largely influenced in the adoption of its present general school system. In sympathy with these intellectual advantages were those pioneers of the existing "Free Public Library," the "Lyceum," established Oct. 22, 1846, and the "Agricultural Library," organized September, 1857. These libraries were subsequently transferred, by vote of their stockholders, to the public library. During the years 1843 and 1844 the beautiful park at the centre of the town was graded, fenced and planted with trees. The whole work was the result of private enterprise, the successful completion of which was largely due to the efforts of one of the energetic citizens of the town, Calvin Forbush. The park itself is situated near the centre of the original grant of four acres for the erection of a meeting-house, &c., and on the northern face of the Indian "Assawossachusuck." It is in the general form of an ellipse, having its greater diameter north and south. Along this diameter runs the principal walk, with smaller paths entering at different points on the eastern and western sides. The views from this park, both north and west, are among the most charming in the town.

The present fire department was organized in 1852, by the purchase of three fire-engines, with apparatus, and the erection of three houses for the use of the department, at a cost of \$5,232. These engines are located at Farnumsville, the Centre, and New England Village. In 1855, the telegraph was introduced, and two lines connect the town with the continent and the world.

At the annual meeting in March, 1861, Charles Brigham, Esq., introduced a motion looking to the establishment of a free public library. The motion was cordially sustained, and a committee appointed to advise upon and propose measures for carrying out the motion. Meanwhile the war of the Rebellion broke out, every energy was given to the nation's peril, and the establishment of the library was deferred for a few years.

A condensed summary of the part which the town took in that memorable

struggle presents the following facts: On the morning of the 19th of April, 1861, the lives of Massachusetts soldiers were taken, as they were passing through Baltimore, on their way to defend the capital of the nation from traitors. On the afternoon of the following day the town hall was packed by earnest men to devise means for aiding the government in this emergency. The chairman of the board of selectmen, Hon. J. D. Wheeler, called the meeting to order. Charles Brigham, Esq., was chosen to preside. Rev. W. G. Scandlin* offered prayer. A business committee was chosen. While out to prepare their report, Mr. Benjamin Smith, a soldier of the Revolution, ninety-eight years old, took a seat upon the platform, amid prolonged cheers. The report of the committee, for substance, pledged the property and lives of the citizens of the town for the defence of "our country"; encouraged the organization and drilling of a company ready at the call of the President; recommended legal measures for the appropriation of four thousand dollars towards such an organization; provided for the enlistment of men; and adjourned for a subsequent meeting to legalize their action at this impromptu rally. On the 29th, that meeting was held. The four thousand dollars were appropriated. "Each member was to receive one dollar a day while drilling." A company was formed, which was sent to "Camp Scott," in Worcester, and was company G, of the fifteenth regiment Massachusetts volunteers, for three years' service. A committee of thirteen was chosen from different parts of the town, who, with the selectmen, were to superintend war matters during the Rebellion.

Grafton furnished three hundred and ninety-nine men for the war, a surplus of forty-seven over and above all demands. Few were commissioned officers. The whole amount raised and expended by the town for war purposes, exclusive of State aid, was thirty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty dollars and twenty-three cents. The aggregate expended by the town during the war for State aid to soldiers' families, and repaid by the Commonwealth, was twenty-eight thousand five hundred and thirty dollars and eighty-six cents. In addition to these amounts, the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society raised one thousand and twenty-five dollars, which were expended for under-clothing and other comforts for the soldiers at the front; besides knitting and sending to the soldiers between two and three hundred pairs of socks. Many other contributions were made by citizens for the same purpose.†

The town was represented in twenty different regiments of infantry, the fourth cavalry, the third battalion of rifles, the first and second heavy artillery, the veteran reserve corps, the regular army, and the navy. Of the entire quota which the town furnished during the Rebellion, more than one-sixth died in the service of their country. The memory of those patriot dead has been appropriately preserved by the erection of a beautiful marble monument at the

* Mr. Scandlin was elected chaplain of the fifteenth regiment Mass. vols.

† Schouler's Hist. of Mass. in the Civil War, II., pp. 630-31.

north-eastern corner of the public park. It is of Italian marble, thirty feet in height, resting on a base of granite, and enclosed with a substantial iron fence upon a granite curbing. Upon the four sides of the monument, at the base, are the inscriptions:—

ERECTED BY THE TOWN, 1867,
IN MEMORY OF OUR PATRIOT DEAD.
“WE DIED FOR OUR COUNTRY,
FOR LIBERTY, LOYALTY, AND LAW.”

On the four sides of the die are inscribed the names of the fifty-nine soldiers of Grafton, who died in their country's service, without distinction of rank or regiment. The die is surmounted with a graceful shaft, bearing at the top an urn wreathed with the American flag. It was designed by E. Boyden & Son, Worcester, and executed by Patrick Nugent of the same city, at a cost to the town of five thousand dollars. On the 12th of October, 1867, this monument was dedicated with appropriate exercises in the presence of distinguished gentlemen from abroad, and of a large number of the citizens of the town. The weather was very unpropitious, but the attendance was full and enthusiastic. Among the prominent gentlemen present were: Gov. Bullock and staff, Maj. Gen. Devens, Brig. Gens. A. B. R. Sprague and A. A. Goodell. Rev. W. G. Scandlin was president of the day, and Rev. G. S. Ball of Upton, orator. Addresses were made by Gen. Devens, first colonel of the fifteenth regiment, company G of which was composed almost entirely of Grafton men. In his closing words he said: “No nobler offering was ever made than that which Worcester County gave in this regiment; and from a careful examination of a record of all the regiments, tried by the bloody list of the lost in battle, the fifteenth has the longest list of fallen heroes.” Gov. Bullock referred to the historic fact that this town was represented in the fifteenth regiment in the Continental army, and in the fifteenth in the war of the Rebellion; and that no other town appears to have contributed to the late war a larger proportion of its treasure and its men.*

Resuming the general order of events, interrupted by the foregoing sketch of Grafton in the Rebellion, the centre of the town is found to have suffered severely from fire. On the morning of Sept. 11, 1862, the large building known as Warren's Block, together with the Unitarian Meeting-House and adjacent buildings, was completely destroyed by fire. The town clerk's office was in the second story of the block, and was destroyed with all its contents, except the records, which were in the safe, and came out uninjured. For a little more than one year, the town transacted its business in the basement of the West Church, when in January, 1864, the present hall and attached offices were leased for a term of twenty years, and the town records removed thereto. These public offices are in Warren's Brick Block, and situated on the north side of the public park. The town hall also contains the Public Library.

* Worcester “Daily Spy,” Oct. 14, 1867.

In the month of November, 1866, Joseph Leland, Esq., a native and citizen of the town, addressed a note to the selectmen, offering to appropriate one thousand dollars towards the founding of a "Free Public Library and Reading Room," if the town would contribute an equal amount, so as to place the library on a sure footing. The town gratefully accepted the offer, complied with its conditions, and the library was opened for the delivery of books, April 24, 1867. This institution is under the care of a board of trust, elected annually. It is open to any inhabitant of the town of suitable age to appreciate its advantages. It is kept up by annual appropriations, and contains 3,691 volumes. The total cost is \$4,000.

In 1871, projects were laid before the town for uniting the Centre Village with the Boston and Albany Railroad, at some point near the present station on that road, and the town of Millbury. These were fully and earnestly discussed, and finally dismissed.

In the autumn of that year, the streets at the centre of the town were first lighted. The enterprise, originally and mainly a private one, is known as the Street-Light Association.

In the autumn of 1873, the Grafton Centre Railroad was chartered. This is a narrow-gauge, and connects the centre with the Grafton Station, on the Boston and Albany Railroad. The total cost of its construction, including road and equipment, was \$43,328.59. It was opened for travel, Aug. 20, 1874.

The Centennial of our national history was observed July 4, 1876. An appropriation was made for that purpose, and a committee, of which George K. Nichols, Esq., was chairman, chosen to prepare a programme for the day. Its chief features were an oration, reviewing the history of the town, by Rev. E. Frank Howe, a native of the place; national odes sung by the Grafton Glee Club; music by the Grafton Cornet Band; a public dinner in a mammoth Yale tent pitched upon the park; patriotic toasts of a general as well as a more local interest, responded to by the town's invited guests and former citizens of the place.

Since that date, no event, embracing the interests of the town, of sufficient importance to have place given it in the history has occurred.

The present valuation of the town is \$1,806,553; the population, 4,442; number of polls, 980. The area is somewhat more than 13,600 acres. This increase of the town plot over the original purchase arises from the annexation of a gore of land, lying on the borders of Worcester, June 14, 1823; a part of Shrewsbury, annexed March 3, 1826; and a part of Sutton, March 3, 1842. The population, and so the business of the town, are not collected in one village at the centre, but scattered into four different villages; viz., the Centre, or the site of the original settlement; New England Village, two miles north, and near the line of the Boston and Albany Railroad; Saundersville, two miles south, and lying on the line of the Providence and Worcester Railroad; Far-

numsville, about the same distance from the Centre, and a little less than that to the east of Saundersville, also on the Providence and Worcester Railroad.

There are four cemeteries in the town, located as follows: — The "Old Burying Ground," so styled, situated at the base of the hill upon which the Centre Village is located, and a little north of west therefrom. In this enclosure the oldest settlers are buried, among whom is the mother of the first white child born here. "A few years since, Capt. Benjamin Kingsbury, in the spirit of 'Old Mortality,' cleared off the old tombstone, and learned from its inscription that Mrs. Martha Willard, who was the wife of Maj. Joseph Willard, one of the nine English families, was mother of the first white child born in town: she died June 3d, 1794, in the one hundredth year of her age, leaving 12 children, 90 grandchildren, 226 great-grandchildren, and 53 of the fifth generation."* The Riverside Cemetery, a beautiful retreat, located west of the Centre Village, upon the banks of the Quinsigamond, and distant three-quarters of a mile; Pine Grove Cemetery, a little to the north-east of New England Village; and the cemetery at Farnumsville, a short distance south of that village, and near the banks of the Blackstone. There is, also, still extant an old Indian burying-ground upon the farm now owned by G. F. Jourdan.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS — ORIGINAL CHURCH — BAPTIST CHURCHES — METHODIST CHURCH — CATHOLIC AND EPISCOPAL CHURCHES — EDUCATIONAL GROWTH — MANUFACTURES — COMMERCIAL INTERESTS — MILLS — PROFESSIONAL MEN — LOCAL INSTITUTIONS — POLITICAL HISTORY — BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

THE original deed of purchase from the Indians required the building of a meeting-house within three years, and the settling of a "learned Orthodox minister." Within one month from the date of signing the deed of purchase, the proprietors had laid out the "Meeting-House Lot." In November, 1870, the meeting-house was so far completed as to be used for preaching. From the beginning of the plantation, there was evidently provision made from time to time for the preaching of the gospel, but no ecclesiastical organization was effected, nor was a minister settled, until 1731. This first meeting-house stood a little south of the centre of the present park. It was a plain structure; in its earlier form was furnished with the high-backed, box-seated pews, the high pulpit and sounding-board. As the Indians were to have preaching free, they were seated, after long and repeated discussions of the question, near the entrance-ways. Subsequently two porches were added at these entrances, one

* Mr. Howe's Oration, p. 12.

and a half stories high. This house was removed, in 1832, a few rods west of its first site, and is now used for stores, under the name of the "Arcade." The two porches have been made into a dwelling-house, and are now at the foot of Millbury Street.

The First Church of Christ was organized Dec. 28, 1731; and on the following day the first pastor was settled. This was Rev. Solomon Prentice. His salary was £100, "as money now passes from man to man," together with the use of extensive tillage, wood and meadow-lands. Mr. Prentice was an able preacher, a graduate of Harvard, and less rigid in his methods of Christian work than some of his brethren. It is reported that he invited Rev. George Whitefield into his pulpit, which so displeased some of his people as ultimately to have resulted in his dismissal. The Bible from which he read in his pulpit had an interesting history. It was a royal quarto, printed in 1707, with Sternhold and Hopkins' edition of the Psalms at the end. Its covers were of oak, one-half inch thick, encased with stamped leather, and held by large embossed clasps. This Bible was originally the property of Capt. Nathaniel Sartell, whose daughter Sarah was the wife of Mr. Prentice. The captain was once cast away at sea; this Bible was on board; a note of his condition was made on its fly-leaf, when he hastily wrapped it up, put it in a barrel, and, having headed it up as well as he was able, threw it overboard. The barrel and book were recovered, and upon the marriage of the daughter was presented to her as a wedding gift.

The next pastor was Aaron Hutchinson. He was of large abilities, of unique and somewhat coarse characteristics. Tradition says that so tenacious was his memory that he claimed the ability to rewrite the whole of the New Testament if it were lost.

Daniel Grosvenor was the third pastor. He volunteered as a private in the first company that left the town for Cambridge, April 19, 1775. The succeeding pastors in order of settlement are: John Miles, Moses C. Searles, John Wilde, Thomas C. Biscoe, John H. Windsor.*

The present meeting-house connected with this religious organization, now known as the Evangelical Congregational Church, was dedicated Dec. 4, 1833, and stands within a few rods of the spot on which the old meeting-house was erected, and on the west side of the public park.

Following in the order of organization was the First Baptist Church, June 17, 1767. This had a somewhat checkered history, and was ultimately disfellowshipped by the Warren Association, of which it was a member, at their annual meeting in 1788. The present First Baptist Church was organized June 20, 1800. The pastors, in order of settlement, are: Revs. Josiah Goddard, Thomas Barrett, Otis Converse, John Jennings, Calvin Newton, B. A. Edwards, D. L. McGear, Joseph Smith, J. M. Chick, Gilbert Robbins, DeForest Safford, A. C. Hussey.

* Church Records, *seriatim*.

The first meeting-house was erected on Pleasant Street, on the banks of the Quinsigamond River. The present house of worship was dedicated at the close of 1830, and is situated upon the east side of the public square.*

Aug. 5, 1832, "A church was regularly gathered from the First Congregational Society, called the Congregational Church."† This is the Unitarian Church. Its pastors are Revs. E. B. Hall, Rufus A. Johnson, Cazneau Palfrey, E. B. Willson, Thomas W. Brown, William G. Seandlin, C. H. Tindell and W. S. Burton. The first meeting-house of this society was dedicated May 9, 1832, and was burned Sept. 11, 1862. The present house of worship was dedicated Jan. 7, 1864, and is situated upon the north side of the public square.

The Second Baptist Church is located at New England Village, and was organized Nov. 9, 1836. The following is a list of its pastors: Revs. Miner G. Clark, William C. Richards, Alfred Pinney, William Leverett, Joseph M. Rockwood, J. D. E. Jones, Lucius M. Sargent. The house of worship is situated at the centre of the village.

A Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at New England Village, in the year 1842. It was reorganized April 12, 1866. Its house of worship is a little west of that of the Second Baptist Church.

The Freewill Baptist Church was recognized at Saundersville, Dec. 29, 1839. It was reorganized at Farnumsville, May 5, 1862. Among its pastors are: Revs. B. D. Peck, G. T. Fay, D.D., Joseph Whittemore, Joseph Thayer, B. F. Pritchard, M. W. Burlingame, G. W. Wallace, D. C. Wheeler, A. M. Freeman, Francis Reed, and A. J. Eastman. The meeting-house is at Farnumsville.

St. Philip's Roman Catholic Church was commenced July, 1850, and dedicated the following year. The present pastor is the Rev. A. M. Barrett, D.D.

A second Methodist Episcopal Church was established at the centre village, April 1, 1858. The preachers in charge were Revs. W. F. Mallalieu, D. D., and E. W. Virgin. This society was worshipping in the town hall at the time it was burnt in 1862, since which date the organization has not been maintained.

The list of the religious institutions of the town is completed by the organization of the Congregational Church at Saundersville, April 18, 1860, its pastors being Revs. William Miller, Simeon Waters, James E. Hall, A. J. Bates, and H. M. Stone. The house of worship is in a commodious hall in Saunders' brick block.

From the settlement of Hassanamisco until the first years of the present century the town was the parish, and the support of the gospel was by public taxation. Within the first fifty years, however, a protest was presented against indiscriminate taxation for this purpose, by those of the Baptist denomination,

* Rev. A. C. Hussey, *Hist. First Baptist Church*, 1876.

† Rev. E. B. Willson's Sermon, 1846, p. 29.

and this town by public action exempted all such from the list, Feb. 6, 1776.

The school and the church have gone hand in hand from the first settlement of the place. In the deed of purchase from the Indians the court required the proprietors to provide for the erection of a school-house within three years, and for the free schooling of the Indian children; the latter proviso was also inserted in the act of incorporation seven years later. The "forty proprietors to pay each a forty-ninth part," the nine English families, each a like proportion, "to build a school-house, and to set apart 20 acres for said school forever."* This plot of 20 acres—actually there were 21 acres—was laid out in five lots and in the spring of 1783 sold for £250 4s. 3d. The proceeds were to be invested for school purposes.

The first school-house was built in 1731; its dimensions were "21 ft. long, 16 ft. wide, and 7 ft. between joyns." This house stood on the east side of the public square; it was removed in 1832, and is now the wood-shed of Mr. John Whitney.

Up to 1737, so far as can be ascertained, but one school was kept in the town. In 1754 school privileges were enjoyed in five different parts of the town. The title given was the "moving school," and the term used for districting the town was "squadroned." Each school district was a squadron.

Until 1829 there seems to have been only a winter school; from that time school was taught both in the summer and winter. The division by districts which now holds was adopted essentially in 1831, when the town was laid out, by a committee chosen for that purpose, into nine districts.

The attempt to establish a high school was for years unsuccessful; efforts to build a house and organize such a school, frequently came before the town and were as often defeated. The first attempt in this direction was made at the annual meeting in 1839, but it was not till 1847 that any vote favorable for this end could be secured. At that time a report from a special committee advocating the erection of a high school building was adopted. At an adjourned meeting the vote was reconsidered and rejected. In 1849 the friends of a higher education, resolving that the town should have such a school, formed themselves into a joint stock company by the name of the "High School Association," were incorporated 1850, erected a commodious building for the school, and thus the school began. The town rented this building and the school was irregularly kept there till 1867, when it was purchased of the association by the town for \$3,500. In 1872 a thorough four years' classical and English course was adopted, and has been worked with admirable success. This course has lately been modified. A grammar school was established in 1871, designed to give a more careful preparation for the high school course then had previously been offered. This school has recently been abolished.

* Provincial Laws, 1727, p. 484.

In 1869 the town voted to abolish the district, and to adopt the town system of schools.

The educational system of the town now embraces ten districts, each one provided with a convenient and well-furnished school building. The high school is at the centre of the town; it has philosophical and scientific apparatus worth \$900, two-thirds of which was from private subscription, the remainder from the town; it has also a fine piano for the use of its pupils. Its graduates number thirty-one. The aggregate value of the school property of the town is \$30,000.

Though especially an agricultural section, Grafton, both from the affluence of its water privileges and the enterprise of its early settlers, soon developed important manufactures. The saw and grist mills were coeval with the first development of the soil. Tradition states that the Indians had their corn ground without cost to themselves. There is still to be seen upon Brigham Hill a rock hollowed out, in which the Hassanamiscoes pounded their corn, the pioneer mill of the plantation. The chief manufactures are leather, woolen and cotton cloth, and edge tools.

Of these the leather manufacture is the first. Soon after the organization of the town the tanning and currying business was introduced. Four tanneries and currying-shops were opened in different parts of the town. One was established in what is now Saundersville, by Jonas Brown; another but a short distance from this one, by David Leland; a third by Capt. John Goulding, in what is now called the Farms; and a fourth at the Centre, by Moses Harrington. As early as 1754 a sealer of leather was among the town officers. The pioneer, probably, of the subsequent extensive shoe manufacture in the town was Royal Keith. Having served his apprenticeship to the trade, he first commenced making shoes on his own account in Grafton, 1790, taking them to Boston and Providence for sale. Hence arose the term "sale shoes," as distinct from "custom-made."* Mr. Keith subsequently became quite wealthy, and the owner of large landed estates in the town. Several large and enterprising manufacturers link that early day with the present, among whom were the Woods, Stowe, Kimball, Warren, Aldrich and others. The existing firms in the boot and shoe manufacture are J. W. Slocomb & Son, established 1813; Allen & Newton, successors to Allen & Flagg, established 1842,—both these firms are at the Centre Village; J. S. Nelson & Son, established 1848,—this house is at New England Village.

The curriers and leather dealers are at the Centre Village. They are: L. W. Dodge & Son (the senior partner having been in the business since 1837); A. & A. Bigelow (this firm succeed to a business which was established by the brothers Edward and Abram Bigelow, and carried on, either as the manufacturing of leather or of shoes, since 1832). G. W. Hastings has been

* Annals of Keith Family, p. 12.

engaged in the manufacture of black-ball and wax since 1839. Thorndike Leonard manufactures edge blacking.

The manufacture of woolen, linen and cotton cloths dates from the opening of the present century. There are traces of carding mills, of the manufacture of woolens, and establishments for the coloring of woolens, in 1800. The centres of these manufactures are New England Village, Centerville, Saundersville, Fisherville and Farnumsville.

The manufacture began at New England Village. In 1826 the "New England Manufacturing Company" were turning out linens. It was from this company that the village took its name. After some years of successful business, cotton machinery was put in, and operated by the Grafton Mills Company till 1875. Since that date the mills have been closed for the manufacture of that staple commodity.

The Farnumsville Mills were, as most of the mills in the town, at first for the manufacture of woolen fabrics, but subsequently and for years have manufactured cotton cloth. They were erected the first part of this century. At two different times the buildings have been burned. The original portion of the present mills was erected 1845; extensive additions were made in 1876. They have a capacity of two hundred looms, are situated at Farnumsville, on the Blackstone River; manufacture print-cloths. The firm is Peter Simpson, Jr., Millbury, and William Andrews, Woonsocket.

The Fisher Mills were erected 1832, and are located at the union of the Quinsigamond and Blackstone rivers. They have a capacity of one hundred and sixty looms; manufacture fancy cloths. The firm is Erastus Fisher & Sons. The senior partner has been connected with the mills since 1845.

The Saundersville Cotton Mills were erected 1850. They are on the Blackstone River; have a working power of two hundred and fifty-four looms; manufacture print-cloths and sateens. This is a corporation of which Esek Saunders, Esq., is the chief member. These mills stand on the general site of one of the early scythe manufactories.

The Quaker Cotton Mills are connected in locality with the first mill-privilege that was operated in the town. First came the saw and grist mill, then the woolen-mill, and last the cotton-mill. For several years the cotton manufacture was carried on by L. S. Pratt & Co. In 1877 the establishment was purchased by E. W. Holbrook, New York, and is run by C. L. Pratt, agent. A light goods known as Quaker sheetings is the cloth manufactured; the capacity sixty-four looms. This mill furnished the cloth with which the Coliseum, at the Peace Jubilee, was decorated. The manufacture of edge-tools, while limited in variety, was among the very first in the town. Scythes were manufactured at what is now New England and Saunders villages upwards of one hundred and twenty-five years ago. It was an important and lucrative branch of business, and the scythe had a wide reputation. There is a manufactory of shoe-tools at New England Village, carried on by Sumner

Packard & Son. This enterprise dates from 1833; the senior member of the firm has been connected with it since 1836.

The Lower Cotton-Mill, with its water privilege, at New England Village, was purchased in 1878, and is now used for the manufacture of emery, under the title of the "Washington Mills Emery Manufacturing Company," Frederick L. Ames, president, B. L. Crocker, treasurer.

The clock manufacture was introduced sometime in the last half of the previous century, by Simeon Willard, a son of Benjamin, one of the original proprietors. The style was the high-cased eight-day clock. It had a wide reputation in its day. There are specimens now in excellent running order which have ticked the minutes for more than a century.

Durfee, Jennings & Co., at New England Village, manufacture picture-frames under the title of the "Grafton Copying House."

Samuel Knowlton has a saw-mill and box-shop a little east of New England Village.

There are two grist-mills, situated in the north and south parts of the town.

At the Centre Village the physicians are: Thomas F. Griggs, F. A. Jewett, and W. O. Harvey; the last is a homœopathist.

The lawyers are: John McIlvine and D. B. Hubbard.

W. E. Rice, M.D., at New England Village.

Ford Kendrick, M.D., at Saundersville.

At Farnumsville the physicians are W. B. Maxwell and T. A. Wilmot. Dr. E. F. Brackett is prominent as a dentist.

The banks are all at the centre of the town. The Grafton National Bank, established 1865, and successor to the Grafton Bank, established 1854. Jonathan D. Wheeler, president; Henry F. Wing, cashier.

The Grafton Savings Bank, established 1869. George K. Nichols, president; Henry F. Wing, treasurer.

The First National Bank of Grafton, established 1864. George F. Slocomb, president; A. A. Ballou, cashier.

The Grafton and Worcester Express, White's Express; proprietor, John B. White; established 1853.

Western Union Telegraph Office, at the Centre; J. H. Wood, agent.

Among the other local institutions are the "Franklin Lodge of F. & A. Masons," established 1852; the Grafton Farmers' Club, organized 1860; Sprague Post 24, G. A. R., organized 1866; the Reform Club, organized June 2, 1876; and a lodge of "Good Templars," organized Feb. 15, 1866.

The town was represented in several of the conventions preliminary to the disruption with England; in those which preceded the adoption, by the thirteen States, of the Constitution; and in many of the important assemblings of the people which resulted in the original Constitution of the Commonwealth. The town sent no representative to the General Court until 1755; the first one elected was Ephraim Sherman, 1755-6. There have been one hundred and

one in all. Five Senators have gone from this town to the State legislature. In their order they are : Hons. Samuel Wood, Edward Bigelow, A. M. Bigelow, Jonathan D. Wheeler, John H. Wood. In addition to these, several who were natives of Grafton have filled leading places in political life from other towns.

From the men and families that have won honorable distinction in the town, the State and nation, but a few only can be selected. Beginning with the earliest records of the plantation, are Thomas Pratt, moderator of the first meeting of the proprietors; one of them; appears in the enabling act of town incorporation; often chosen to town offices.

Benjamin Willard, one of the forty proprietors from Boston, had several sons, all more or less active in public affairs; especially noted for the manufacture of clocks.

Joseph Merriam, one of the original proprietors, from Concord, town treasurer for many years, deacon of the First Church for a long time. His successor in both offices was his son Joseph. Of this family, for four generations, the first born was Joseph, and of these three have been successively deacons of the same church. The descendants of the first Joseph still occupy their ancestral farm, in what is known as the Merriam district.

Nathaniel Sherman, a leader in town affairs; captain of a company from the town in the Revolutionary war; in 1778, represented the town at the General Court.

Royal Keith, 1790, pioneer of the "sale shoe" trade; acquired large estate; purchased land upon what has therefore been called Keith Hill, where some of his descendants now live.

Robert B. Thomas, author and editor of the renowned "Old Farmers' Almanac," was born here, April 24, 1766.

Capt. Samuel Warren, prominent in earlier town affairs; his descendants numerous; some now living in town.

Capt. John Goulding; influential in early affairs of the town; delegate to the Concord Convention; a major in 1775; a colonel in the Revolutionary army in 1776; descendants to some extent yet living here. One is a leading lawyer in Worcester.

Dr. Joseph Wood; town clerk for many years; held other important town offices; represented the town at General Court; delegate to ratify the Constitution of the State, 1780; descendants have been influential in the town.

Lieut. Joseph Bruce; a man whom the town frequently honored; a grandson, Joseph Bruce, Esq., now living at a ripe old age, has held many town offices; representative to the General Court; county commissioner.

Charles Prentice, grandson of Rev. Solomon Prentice; efficient in town business; clerk of the town seventeen years, and till his death in 1853.

Jonathan Wheeler, Esq.; town clerk several years; representative to General Court, 1828; influential in many offices to which he was chosen in the town; descendants active in town matters since.

Capt. Charles Brigham, prominent in earlier history of the town. A son, Hon. William Brigham, was a lawyer in Boston; delivered an historical oration at the town's Centennial, 1835. Another son, Col. Charles Brigham, constructed the first published map of the town, from personal survey; prominent in town matters; presided at first war meeting of the town, April 20, 1861.

Philip Wing, for a great many years one of the assessors of the town, held several public offices; descendants still living in town. One of his sons, Henry F. Wing, has held the position of cashier in the "Old Grafton" and in the "Grafton National Bank" for fifteen years; was also assistant assessor U. S. revenue for eight years; held several town offices.

Hon. Edward Bigelow, leading currier, boot and shoe manufacturer; prominent in town affairs; Senator and delegate to revise State Constitution, in 1853.

Hon. A. M. Bigelow held many offices of trust in town; leading leather manufacturer; elected to State Senate twice; chairman of the war committee of the town during the Rebellion; died just before entering upon second Senatorial term, Dec. 4, 1875.

James W. White, for twenty years town clerk; trial justice; judge of Eastern Worcester district; held the latter office as well as that of town clerk at death, Sept. 15, 1875.

Hon. Jonathan D. Wheeler, nephew of Jonathan Wheeler, Esq., president Grafton National Bank; of G. C. R. R.; Councillor 1863-64; Senator 1868; one of the government trustees of Rainsford Island Hospital 1869-70; president of "Wheeler Cotton-mills," Millbury.

John W. Slocomb, one of the earlier boot and shoe manufacturers; selectman; first president Grafton Bank; director in First National at death. One of his sons, George F., now president First National; prominent boot and shoe manufacturer; held several town offices; representative to General Court.

Jonathan Warren, early in tanning and currying, and boot and shoe manufactures; owner of "Warren's" Block; held various town offices; first president "First National Bank"; representative to General Court. Rufus E., a brother, elected to many town offices; for many years and now town treasurer; representative to General Court. Horace, a son of Jonathan, held several town offices; a director in First National Bank.

HARDWICK.

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND SURFACE — BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENT — EARLY MILLS —
TOWN BUSINESS — INCORPORATION AS A TOWN — CHURCH AND MINISTRY —
GEN. RUGGLES — THE WAR OF 1755 — RUGGLES IN THE REVOLUTION.

THIS was the eighteenth town in Worcester County in the order of settlement. It is situated at the extreme west of the county, and just half-way from north to south. It was formerly much larger than at present, though now nearly equal to six miles square. Before parts were taken from it and joined to other towns, it was nearly in the form of a square, whereas now its shape resembles a trapezium. It contains twenty thousand six hundred and sixty-six acres. The centre is in latitude $42^{\circ} 21'$, and the distance, by direct line to Worcester, is a little over twenty-one miles. The following are the present boundaries: North-westerly by Dana; north-easterly by Barre; south-easterly by New Braintree; southerly by Ware; and westerly by Greenwich and Enfield. The land is high, being on the range which extends from Mount Wachusett through Belchertown to Mount Holyoke. The slope is towards the south, as all the streams run in that direction, and their waters finally reach the Connecticut through the Chicopee. Moose Brook, which is a large stream, comes down in nearly a direct line from Barre, and empties into Ware River near the middle of the eastern side of the town. Old Furnace Village is near its mouth. Muddy Brook, a smaller but sprightly stream, comes from the north part of the town, flows a little west of south to the west of the centre, and then directly south through Muddy Pond and into the Ware below the southern border. The other streams are parallel, except Swift River, which skirts the north-western border of the town. Ware River is the eastern boundary, and is a main affluent of the Chicopee. The water-power is greater in Barre and Oakham, but not available in Hardwick above Gilbertville, by reason of the absence of falls or rapids.

Hardwick is emphatically a "hill country," with just enough of valley to separate the hills. These extend north and south, as if shaped by the same

force and during the same period. They rise gradually, and are improvable to the summit. Though the land was originally rough and hard to be subdued, it was rich, well-watered and fertile. It used to be said that the "lands were very excellent when subdued, but that it exhausted at least one life-time to subdue them." Having been subdued, they were to the second generation of farmers and their successors a rich possession. With such a surface there was great difficulty in making roads. Thirty years after the settlement, Gen. Ruggles stated to the General Court that the town must be at the "expense of some thousands of pounds upon their roads, before they will be brought to be as good as most of the roads in the Province are by nature." There was no carriage in the town till after the last French and Indian war, and probably not before the Revolution.

The tract of land which included the present township of Hardwick was purchased of the native owners Dec. 27, 1686. At that time John Magus and Lawrence Nassowanno, attorneys to Anogomok, sachem of a tract of land called Wombemesisecook, and James and Simon, sons and heirs of Black James, sachem of the Nipmug country, sold to Joshua Lamb, Nathaniel Paige, Andrew Gardner, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, John Curtiss, Richard Draper and Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury, a tract of land twelve miles long, north and south, and eight miles wide, near Quaboag (now Brookfield), for £20 New England currency. They gave a deed at the time of sale. The tract included Hardwick, and parts of Ware, Palmer, Warren and New Braintree. Ware River, called by the natives Nenameseck, ran within the grant. From the name of the first on the list of purchasers it was called Lambstown.

Forty years later, Feb. 20, 1726, an agent was appointed to employ a surveyor and gain some definite idea of the purchase. On the presentation of a petition to the General Court a grant of six miles square was made, "provided the petitioners make no further claim to the land within mentioned." The Council did not concur. In the meantime "squatters" had moved in, and began to cultivate the land. An agent was sent to warn them against making any further improvement, but to "agree with those persons that have made a pitch upon said land for the present year, as he and they shall agree, as our tenants." In 1728, July 25, the proprietors asserted their "honest and just title to said land." They chose Joseph Ruggles as clerk, and also chose Capt. Samuel Green, Mr. Nathaniel Paige and Rev. Timothy Ruggles a committee to put a survey on record. They made an agreement with the men who had begun to build and plant, and made an allotment of thirty or forty lots, including one for the first minister, one for the ministry, and one for the support of schools.

The proprietors sent in repeated petitions for a confirmation of their purchase, but were as often defeated, either by the house, or the council, or the governor. The claim for a tract twelve miles by eight was reduced to one of eight miles square, but this did not suit the authorities of the Province. At

length, in 1732, June 15, the petition was granted to the extent of six miles square, on conditions. These were that sixty families should be settled on the tract within five years; that the settlers should all be natives of New England; that each should build a house of one story, at least eighteen feet square, clear four acres of land fit for improvement, and have three acres well stocked with English grass. They were also to assign one lot for the minister first settled, one lot for the support of the ministry, and one lot for the purposes of education. Besides, they were to build a meeting-house and "settle a learned and orthodox minister." By the last of December, 1732, twelve shares had been created, and several lots improved, but all the original proprietors were then dead.

The first grist-mill was set up about the year 1735, and four others were set in operation before long, in different neighborhoods. Ten acres of land near the centre were assigned for a meeting-house, burial-place and training-field. In 1733, June 15, the plantation received six hundred acres east of Ware River, but in 1751 these were added to the tract making New Braintree. The first lots in the settlements that were improved were near the river, and were in the vicinity of the Old Furnace, where a bridge was erected over Ware River. Two furnaces were set up in early times, since Whitney's History, in 1793, says that "a furnace was erected several years ago, where much hardware has been manufactured." The other was later in origin, and was about one hundred rods above the mouth of Great Meadow Brook. In the same year, 1733, December 27, it was voted by the proprietors to pay £48 to help pay a minister for preaching the Gospel one year. Settlers, both resident and non-resident, were to pay fifteen shillings each for further encouragement, and Mr. Timothy Ruggles was desired to procure a suitable person to preach. This was the Rev. Timothy Ruggles of Rochester, probably a son and heir of one of the early proprietors, and father of the celebrated Brigadier Ruggles.

For a few years settlers moved in slowly, but when the five years were expired the conditions had been fulfilled. The larger part of the sixty families must have come on to the ground in the last year, 1737, because in 1736 only twenty-three had come, as appears from Deacon Joseph Allen's rhymes, which read as follows:

"In thirty-six I came into
This then a wilderness;
Great hardships we did undergo,
Our wants did daily press.

"The families were twenty-three
That then did here belong;
They all did hardship bear with me,
But now are dead and gone."

The people were then authorized to choose officers to hold till March, 1738, the time of holding the annual town meetings in the Province. On the 9th of February, 1737, the first town meeting was held, and Benjamin Smith was

chosen moderator. The meeting was then adjourned to the house of Nathaniel Carpenter. The reason of the adjournment was, without doubt, to get into a house where there was a fire, no provision for such a comfort being in an ancient New England meeting-house. The following officers were then chosen: Samuel Robinson, town clerk; John Wells, town treasurer. The usual officers, as selectmen, assessors, &c., were chosen by ballot, till they came to "tiding-men," when they chose the remainder by nomination. From this time the support of the ministry came upon the town without aid from the proprietors. Of these Deacon Christopher Paige and Mr. Benjamin Smith were the only ones who became settlers. Rev. Timothy Ruggles had sons and nephews on the ground, but he continued to be the minister of Rochester.

In 1738 Mr. Christopher Paige was sent, to appear before the General Court, and ask for a full act of incorporation. This was passed Dec. 5, 1738, and approved by the governor, Jan. 10, 1739, and now Hardwick was a regular town with all its powers and privileges. It is said that the name was fitly applied, considering the rigidity of the surface, but it was probably given in honor of a celebrated lawyer, Philip York, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Hardwick in the reign of George II. He was at one time a member of the king's privy council, and chief justice of the court of king's bench.

In 1734, when Mr. Ruggles was authorized to engage a minister for one year, Rev. Ephraim Keith, a graduate of Harvard College, was employed for the specified time. A vacancy of some months followed. About the first of July, 1736, Rev. David White began his ministry. He was graduated at Yale College in the year 1739. After preaching a few months he was ordained, Nov. 17, 1736. The church was organized on the day of his ordination. There were twelve male members at the beginning, and twenty-seven were added in the course of a year. In two or three months several females were received. The first deacons were Christopher Paige and Joseph Allen. The latter held the office fifty-six years and nine months. The salary of Mr. White was never quite equal to two hundred dollars a year. That was about equal in purchasing power to five hundred dollars at present. However, he had the lot assigned to the first minister as his own property.

There was a meeting-house as early as 1737, since the first town meeting was held in it, on the 9th of February of that year, old style. The house was very small, and a new one was needed. Accordingly, in 1738, it was voted to build a new meeting-house, "fifty-four feet by forty, and twenty-two feet between joints, and two feet from the ground." There was a sharp contest about the location of the house, which was finally settled by placing it where the first house stood, which is the present centre of the town. This was fixed July 29, 1740, and the next year the house was raised. In due time it was finished and dedicated, but at what precise dates is not known. In 1753, the following curious arrangement was made, which lets us see a little into the life of the middle of the last century. The women had certain seats

assigned to them in one of the galleries. Some young men, in 1753 or '54 built a pew behind the women's seats for their own use. They appear to have done this without authority, and were soon taught that they were not to have their own way. It was voted, March 4, 1754, "that the town refuse to let the young men that have built a seat in the woman's side galleries to have it there." They had liberty to build on the men's side galleries. But this house, for some reason, answered the wants of the people only about twenty years. Probably they had outgrown it, for in 1767, the town voted to build a new one; and by the contract it was to be built for what the pews would bring at sale. The builders lost by the bargain. A little later a steeple was added, and, in 1803, a bell was hung. A pew was built in the west gallery, "tight and close." An officer sat there with the boys. As usual there was trouble, and also some amusement in "seating the house." One man had seat No. 6 from the pulpit assigned to him. This was the last seat towards the door. When Sunday came he marched up the aisle from the door, counting in the reverse order, "one, two, three, four, five, six," in audible voice, and sat in the front place, to the consternation of the "seaters," and those claiming the "chief seats in the synagogue." The house was large, and for the times was considered elegant.

The first Psalm Book was probably that prepared by Pres. Dunster. The second was Tate and Brady's. This was introduced in 1765. In the year 1770, it was arranged to have one-half of the Psalms read line by line, and sung between the reading, in some old tune. The other half of the Psalms were to be read before the singing, and then sung through to some new tune. In 1779 seats were assigned for the singers who were arranged into a choir, and, in 1791, a great advance was made in hymnology by adopting the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts.

The ministry of Mr. White was, for the greater part of the time, peaceful, and the people were united; but about 1740, in the time of Whitefield, some became "Separates," because they were not satisfied with the old order of things. They were styled "New Lights," and had separate worship during some years. In time some removed to other places, and some came back to the regular church. In 1761, the Separates built a meeting-house on land given by the town, but it was used only a few years, when the society ceased to have separate meetings. After a long pastorate of forty-eight years, Mr. White died, Jan. 6, 1784. He is represented as a meek, simple and pious man, without splendid qualities, but with such as win confidence, and endure. Mrs. White is spoken of as an "excellent woman." Their two sons were graduates of college, and honored their parentage.

During the period from 1754 to 1775, the most important personage in the town, if not in the county, was Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, and as his history and that of the town is blended for the time, they will be given in connection. In this brief outline of events, what has been said about Gen. Ruggles in other pages of this work, will be, as far as possible, omitted. He

was born on the 20th of October, 1711, in Rochester, where his father was the respected minister. In 1732, he was graduated at Harvard College. He was settled as a lawyer in Rochester and then in Sandwich. Not long previous to 1754, he removed to Hardwick; probably his father owned property there, and one or more of his brothers were settled in the place. He had represented Rochester one year and Sandwich eleven years in the General Court between 1739 and 1752. He was sent to the legislature fifteen years, between 1754 and 1770, by the town of Hardwick. In the years 1762 and 1763, he was elected Speaker of the House. In 1764 he declined the office of councillor, though elected. But he became mandamus councillor by appointment of the king in 1774, and this office he accepted. It was the turning point of his fortunes, and he entered on the descending grade. Previous to this he had been a justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Worcester County from 1757 to 1762, and chief justice of the court from 1762 to 1775.

In the French and Indian war, as already related, he bore a conspicuous part and was richly rewarded. His townsmen also most honorably sustained the policy of elder Pitt in that great contest with France. Sixteen commissioned officers, and more than one hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and privates were in the service, for shorter and longer terms. This was more than half the effective force of the town. There were only two hundred and thirty-nine white males over sixteen years of age in the town. After deducting the aged and others, who could not "pass muster," not many would be left. Drs. Joel Carpenter and Challis Safford were in the war as surgeons. Quite a number laid down their lives in the war, and many felt the effects of camp life to their dying day.

After the war was over, Gen. Ruggles stood in the front rank of public men in America. When the first Congress was held in New York, in 1765, he was elected president. As he did not approve the results of that historic body, the legislature passed a vote of censure upon him, while approving the course of his colleagues. But, though he was censured by the Province, he was sustained by his town, which passed a vote of approbation. Perhaps the vote indicated confidence and general approbation, rather than approval of his action in the Congress. His influence in Hardwick was great, because, in addition to his personal qualities and his great reputation, he was a man of public spirit, and promoted the welfare of the town. He had a great establishment, with a deer-park of twenty acres, and kept thirty horses and a pack of hounds for the pleasure of his guests, which were numerous. Besides an inherited fortune, he had a large income from public employments, and he was no niggard in spending. By his aid a "Fair" was established in Hardwick, that drew people from all the neighboring towns in May and October, for the exchange of articles of every kind raised or made in the county. The semi-annual meetings were under the direction of officers appointed by the town. Games and athletic sports were engaged in by the young, and looked upon with amusement by all classes. This was

continued several years, and was united in the mind of Brigadier Ruggles with the project of forming a new county, made up of towns from Hampshire and Worcester counties, of which Hardwick was to be the shire town. But these schemes faded as his fortunes became clouded. As the Revolution came on, he was found on the side of the king. He believed that separation and independence would come in time, but that "the pear was not ripe" in 1775. His relatives and friends were urgent that he should abide by the Colonies, and be a leader on the patriotic side; but his mind inclined the other way, and, in the summer of 1774, he prepared to leave home and go to Boston. His neighbors gathered in large numbers on the morning of his departure, for the purpose of dissuading him; but all to no purpose. They came to the border of Ware River, where the bridge crosses into New Braintree, and held an earnest colloquy. The appearance of some was threatening, but he was unmoved. In the crowd were Benjamin and Edward, his brothers: Thomas Robinson, his cousin, and Paul Mandell, who had married his sister, were patriots, and present likewise. They all knew he was on the way to attend a meeting of the "Mandamus Council," and their desire was to dissuade him from taking that decisive step. They hoped to prevent his crossing the bridge. Benjamin Ruggles, after expostulating, said, that if he persisted in going to Boston, he would never be permitted to return. He replied: "Brother Benjamin, I *shall* come back, at the head of five hundred men if necessary." Benjamin rejoined: "Brother Timothy, if you cross that bridge this morning, you will certainly never cross it again alive." The general was in warlike trim, with his pistols and his sword at his side. With a military gesture, he waved the excited throng back from his course. They gave way, and, with a deliberate pace, he passed the bridge and proceeded on his way. He *never returned*. His son, Lieut. Timothy Ruggles, was put under guard, and the house was searched for arms. He was afterwards released, and permitted to go to Boston if he pleased; but he declined, and remained at home. The general's property was confiscated, but it is said that the British government more than made amends for all his losses. It should be said to his credit that he could not be induced on any consideration to take up arms against his country.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOWN IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE — SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS — RELIGIOUS HISTORY — CLIMATE AND SOIL — AGRICULTURE — POPULATION — MANUFACTURES — ACTION IN THE REBELLION — PROMINENT CHARACTERS.

THE people of this town were ripe for vigorous measures when the time came to resist the encroachments of the British ministry. After 1770 they

ceased choosing Gen. Ruggles as their representative. In the next two years they sent no delegate to the General Court. In 1773 they voted: "our rights and privileges are infringed upon." Paul Mandell was sent as representative, with instructions: "You will never give up that right into the power of others, which the law of God, Nature and Nations hath invested us with." In 1774 the town voted, that nothing should be done "which could possibly be construed into an acknowledgment of the power of parliament for altering the government of Massachusetts Bay." They "would pay no regard to the council appointed by mandamus." They instructed their delegate, that if the legislature should be dissolved by the royal governor, he "should unite in a Provincial Congress with the other members."

A committee of correspondence, consisting of fifteen men, was chosen in 1774, and the town voted to "have no dealings with tories except to grind for them." There were only eight or nine of this class for whom the mills were allowed to "grind." In 1775 the daring step was taken of calling a town meeting without the king's name and authority. The town voted that the taxes should not be paid to the king's treasurer, but to Henry Gardner of Stow, and the officers of militia resigned the king's commissions, when officers were chosen by the town. A company of "minute-men" was organized. The news from Lexington and Concord reached the town late in the evening. Before sunrise the next morning, the company, with full ranks, was on its way to Boston. The soldiers offered to serve without pay if the town would arm and equip the rest of the inhabitants; and the town thereupon voted to arm and equip all between sixteen and seventy as well as the minute-men were equipped. Those over forty years old met and chose their own officers. Two companies of "alarm men" were formed; Deacon Joseph Allen, aged sixty-seven, was chosen captain of one company, and Deacon William Paige, of the age of fifty-two years, of the other. Thus, in a town of twelve hundred people, there were five companies, each of fifty men. One of these was for sudden surprise, two were for regular service, and two for defence. In this way the town entered upon the contest, and, through the war of the Revolution, it did its full part in supplying men, money and stores. For longer or shorter periods of service, Hardwick furnished about twenty-five commissioned officers, and more than three hundred non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Among the officers were Gen. Jonathan Warner, and Lieut. Cols. Barnabas Sears and Stephen Rice.

In 1778 the town voted unanimously in favor of the act of "Confederation and Perpetual Union." When the proposed State Constitution came before the town in 1780, several amendments were proposed, which, if not eminently wise, evinced thought and familiarity with questions relating to government. One amendment suggested was a limitation of the power of the governor; some did not want a governor. Another proposition was to restrict the power of the Senate. By another amendment the militia were to be under the orders of the General Court. All these propositions were intended to keep power in the

hands of the people as much as possible. They voted that all persons should be free, black as well as white; that all should enjoy the elective franchise, and that no person should be taxed for preaching who did not attend on the public worship of God. None of these proposed amendments were adopted at the time. The last came into force about fifty-five years ago. The present limits to suffrage are slight. The need of a Senate and an executive have been demonstrated by experience.

Shays' Rebellion had many sympathizers and supporters in Hardwick, as might be supposed from some of the preceding votes. In fact, a majority of the voters were on the side of the insurgents. John Wheeler, a prominent leader, was a resident of the town. In the opening of 1787, the town took the position that the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, should be suspended. The effect would be similar to that of a "stay law," which would put off the collection of debts.

It is time to refer to the schools of Hardwick, and learn what has been done in successive generations for the education of the children. As early as the year 1741, there was a vote of the town to employ a "school-master eight months, and remove four times." That is, he was to keep school in four different sections of the town, and about two months in each. In some years there were five schools, and the number increased as the town became settled in all its parts. In 1747 ten shillings were paid to Eleazer Warner for "preventing the town from being presented for want of a school." In those days towns that failed to have schools according to the requirements of the law, were liable to be complained of before the county court, and it was the duty of the court to enforce the law. Schools were kept every year from 1744 to 1773. The severity of the times in the Revolution reduced the appropriation. In 1785 a grammar school was kept in four different parts of the town. The first school-houses were erected in 1790.

From 1798 to 1823, the annual sum raised for schooling was five hundred dollars. In 1829 it was six hundred dollars; in 1838, one thousand, and in 1849, twelve hundred dollars. Before 1838 a high school was started by Rev. John Goldsbury, which was supported by individuals. This raised the standard of education, and the influence of Mr. Goldsbury, an eminent educator, was inspiring to all the youth of the town and vicinity.

The statistics of education, as given in the report of the board of education for 1877-8, are as follows: — The number of schools was twelve; the length of the term was six months; the money appropriated was two thousand dollars, besides about one hundred and sixty-five dollars for incidental expenses; the sum appropriated for each child between five and fifteen years was five dollars and fifteen cents; the ratio of attendance was seventy-five per cent., and in this respect the town was numbered forty in the list of fifty-eight towns.

Resuming the religious history of Hardwick, it appears that the successor of

Mr. White was the Rev. Thomas Holt, a graduate of Yale College in 1784. He was ordained as pastor of the church, June 25, 1789. The salary was three hundred dollars. On account of the inadequacy of his salary, he resigned March 27, 1805. During his ministry, sixty-five were admitted to the church. The same year, on the 30th of October, the Rev. William B. Wesson, a graduate of Williams College in 1802, was settled. He remained till June 30, 1822, and received two hundred and fifty-four to communion. Some of these were by letter, but the "half-way" plan had fallen out of use.

About this time, the church and society were divided into two organizations. The meeting-house party engaged the Rev. John Merrick, who remained from the summer of 1828 to 1832. In the latter year, July 4, the Rev. John Goldsbury was settled. This parish afterward united with the Universalist Society. The other or Orthodox party built a brick church, and on the 16th of April, 1828, settled the Rev. Martyn Tupper. He was dismissed April 29, 1835, and his successor, Rev. Edward Fuller, was settled Nov. 3, 1835. After a brief pastorate, he was followed by Rev. William Eaton, Sept. 6, 1837. After him came several successors, till Rev. W. E. Merritt was installed in 1870 as acting pastor. The last pastor, Rev. Augustus C. Swain, recently resigned. The church numbers eighty-three members.

The Baptist Society originated in 1797, November 16, and the church was organized on the 16th of September, 1801. The Rev. Ebenezer Burt was ordained June 30, 1798, and dismissed, after an active pastorate, Nov. 19, 1827, having received one hundred and thirty-four members. Rev. Joseph Glazier was installed Aug. 2, 1831, and dismissed in April, 1835. He was followed in May, 1837, by Rev. Nelson B. Jones. From May, 1798, to 1837, two hundred and fourteen had been received by baptism or as new converts. Some years since, this church appears to have been united with the church in Ware; at least, both are reported in connection in the Minutes of the Baptist Convention. The first meeting-house of this society was built in 1801, in the south-west part of the town, towards Ware Centre. The second house was erected in 1832.

In the discourse by Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, to whom we are indebted for many of the foregoing statements, it is said that there were some believers in universal salvation in Hardwick in the last century, but the society was first organized in 1824. The Rev. John Bisbee labored here, and, according to the representation of Dr. Paige, he was an eloquent, powerful and honest Christian man. Other ministers of this denomination were: Rev. Joshua Flagg, John H. Willis, J. Pierce and Gilman Noyes; and after the union, Benton Smith, R. S. Pope, G. J. Sanger, J. H. Moore, H. Jewell and L. S. Crosley. The meetings were held in the town house.

In Gilbertville, there is a recently established Congregational Church, called the Union Church. It was organized in 1867. The present pastor is Rev. Willard D. Brown, and it consists of one hundred members.

There is also in this town a Methodist Church, but its history and present condition cannot be given for want of material. In Gilbertville is a Catholic church, bearing the name of St. Aloysius, which is attended or ministered to by the pastor in charge at Ware.

Hardwick has always been a healthful town, though, like other places, it has suffered at times from epidemics. Several persons have attained to one hundred years, and many have lived to a great age. The air is pure, the water is sweet and good, and the soil produces an abundance of wholesome food.

The town is celebrated for its good farms, and especially for its dairies. Butter and cheese have long been articles of sale, and recently milk has been taken to market. As far back as 1793, Whitney wrote these words:—"The soil is, in general, deep, loamy and very fertile. The lands produce all kinds of grain in sufficient plenty for the inhabitants; but they are best adapted to grass and pasturage. Here vast quantities of butter and cheese are made, and excellent beef fatted for the market. All kinds of fruit-trees flourish here." As it was in the past, so it now remains. The town stands in the front rank in regard to agricultural products. The farm property statistics are interesting. There are about 200 farms, and not far from 20,500 acres of improvable land, which are valued at \$401,069. The buildings connected with the land are valued at \$229,100. Other dwellings have a valuation of many thousands of dollars. Fruit, trees and vines stand for \$18,393. Domestic animals are valued at \$122,145. Of these, there are 1,337 cows, at a valuation of \$61,517. Some of the farm products, by the returns of 1875, foot up as follows:—Cheese, in pounds, in round numbers, 137,000, valued at \$15,152; butter, 52,306 pounds, at a value of \$18,321; milk, 172,000 gallons, of the value of \$19,208; beef, 133,000 pounds, valued at \$11,087; and apples at nearly \$8,000. The aggregate value of manufactures in Hardwick in 1875 was \$85,636. The business has changed, in some respects, in recent times. Early in the history of the town, considerable hardware was made. Forty years ago, the boot and shoe business employed some thirty hands, and the value of the product was \$14,500. There were two small paper-mills in the town. Palm-leaf hats were made to the number of 75,000 and value of \$15,500. In 1875, the money value of the total products of Hardwick was \$316,065.

The population of the town rose from 1,393 in 1790 to 1,885 in 1830. In the next thirty years, it decreased to 1,521. In the next five years, it rose to 1,967. This was in 1865. In five years more, the total number of inhabitants was 2,219, the highest figures ever attained. Since then a decrease has set in, reducing the population in 1875 to 2,000, less eight. The increase that commenced about 1860 was owing to the building of the flourishing village of Gilbertville, which was originated by the late Mr. Gilbert of Ware. This is on the extreme south of the town, and on Ware River. The stoppage of business a few years since lowered the population, but the revival of business may be expected to cause an increase again. The chief business is in the

hands of Mr. Gilbert's relatives, and the water-power is abundant. It is rendered more valuable by the recent opening of the Ware River Railroad, extending across the county from Winchendon to Palmer.

The action of Hardwick in the war of the Rebellion, as might have been expected from its early history, was patriotic. Though no legal action was taken in 1861, yet the spirit of the citizens was manifested in public meetings and by the enlistment of soldiers. In 1862, the selectmen, viz., Joseph W. Powers, Henry B. Gould and George Manly, were directed to pay State aid to soldiers so far as necessary. In August, they were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each volunteer who should enlist "for three years, and be credited on the quota of the town, and to borrow twenty-five hundred dollars to pay the same." August 30, it was voted to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each volunteer for nine months' service, provided the quota should "be filled by volunteers." And, on the 15th of December, it was voted to pay "two hundred dollars to each of the three years' men called for to fill the balance of the quota of nine months' men for Hardwick." In 1863-5, the selectmen were Constant Southworth, Orin Trow, Elbridge Mandell, Samuel S. Dennis, Nathan W. Sargent and Charles C. Spooner, serving in different years. The town clerk during the war was Albert E. Knight. Treasurer for 1861 and '62, William Mixer; for 1863-64-65, Frazier Paige.

The votes of the town in 1864 evinced the readiness of the citizens to contribute the "sinews of war." The selectmen, April 4, voted to pay "one hundred and twenty-five dollars for each volunteer enlisted under the call of the President from October, 1863, to March 1, 1865." The last vote was on the 8th of November, 1864, when the town instructed the selectmen "to pay all those persons who had put in substitutes in their own name the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars." Hardwick, with a population of fifteen hundred and twenty-one, supplied about one hundred and eighty men for the war, and had a surplus of nine above all demands. Three were commissioned officers. The amount of money spent by the town, exclusive of State aid, was \$12,896.76; the amount for State aid was \$8,512.22; making a total of \$21,408.98. In this amount is not included what was given by private bounty, or by the active sympathy of the ladies' societies.

Among the more prominent men, besides the celebrated Gen. Ruggles, who have lived in Hardwick, may be mentioned Dr. Jonas Fay (1737-1818), honored in public life; Moses Robinson (1741-1813), Governor of Vermont, 1789, and a member of the United States Senate from 1791 to 1796; Charles Robinson, first Free State Governor of Kansas; Wyman Spooner, Lieut. Governor of Wisconsin, 1863-68; and the Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, a leading minister of the Universalist denomination, author of a Commentary on the New Testament, now residing in Cambridge, whose history he has recently published. The Hon. William Mixer, a graduate of Harvard College, 1829, has been a member of the State Senate.

H A R V A R D.

BY REV ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

ASPECT AND SITUATION — INCORPORATION — ORIGIN AND RISE OF CHURCHES —
 "FATHER ABBEY'S WILL" — TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TOWN — ANCIENT ROADS
 AND WAYS — SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION — FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR —
 REVOLUTION AND ITS EVENTS — SHAKER COMMUNITY — PECULIAR PEOPLE —
 EDUCATION — BROMFIELD SCHOOL — AGRICULTURE — INDUSTRIAL HISTORY
 — MOVEMENT DURING THE REBELLION — THE "WILLARD HOMESTEAD."

THIS town is the eldest of the daughters of Lancaster. It is difficult to decide which is the fairest, but certainly Harvard is second to none of them in all the elements of beautiful scenery. Original Lancaster may be compared to a rich carpet wrought by the cunning hand of an oriental artist, who surrounded it with an exquisite border, but lavished all the resources of his genius on the peerless central square. The square remains in more than its pristine loveliness, while the border is broken into fragments, each of which makes a pattern of beauty.

The town is in the north-east of Worcester County, and is bordered by the county of Middlesex for more than half its circumference. On the north it has Ayer; on the east, Littleton, Boxborough and Stow; on the south, Bolton; and on the west, Lancaster and Shirley. It is in latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$, is twenty miles from Worcester, and about thirty-two from Boston by direct line. By rail from Harvard station, on the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, the distance is thirty-eight miles.

The town was incorporated Jan. 29, 1732, and was taken principally from Lancaster, with additions from Groton and Stow. It contained about fifty families, many of them bearing old family names belonging to the mother town, such as Willard, Houghton, Atherton, Sawyer, Whitcomb, Whitney and Priest. An effort was made to keep the old towns together as a unit, and so preserve its importance. The proposal was to build meeting-houses in different sections or precincts, and sustain the ordinances of the Gospel by a common tax, but the people in Harvard preferred to be an independent town, and carried the point. The name was given in honor of the Rev. John Harvard, by whose wise bounty the foundation of Harvard College was laid. This was about a hundred years after his death, and it is to the honor of

somebody now unknown that the name of an untitled but enlightened man was chosen.

The next thing was to form a church and secure the preaching of the Gospel. The first minister was the Rev. John Seccombe, a graduate of Harvard College in 1728, when he was twenty years old. He was born in Medford, in April, 1708, and was, therefore, twenty-five years old when settled in Harvard in 1733. He was the author of several published sermons. One was a funeral sermon on the consort of Gov. Jonathan Belcher. He seems to have been a favorite of the governor, who was a friend to ministers, and gave his countenance to the celebrated Whitefield when many of the clergy held aloof from or opposed him. Mr. Seccombe had great facility at rhyming, and enjoyed some reputation as a poet. The latest writer on the literature of America sneers at his poetical pretensions. The products of his muse are not entitled to a very high place in the temple of fame, but there was a kind of humor in them which pleased those who knew the local hits and allusions. One was a "Poem on a Goose Roasted at Yankee Hastings." Another, which was published in England as well as in this country, and had a great run, was entitled "Father Abbey's Will." Father Abbey was a man born at Boston, and was a fisherman in the waters about that town until he became sweeper and bed-maker to the college. He died in 1762, and the poem purports to be his "Will" in favor of his wife. The fun of the thing consists in the odd way in which he mixes up the countless things in an old house, in a document so solemn as a "last will and testament." There are many verses, three of which are given below. This poem was answered by the bed-maker of Yale College, who made proposals to Father Abbey's widow. The answer has a little touch of wit, as will be seen by the lines placed in the opposite column.

[From Father Abbey's Will.]

'A small-tooth comb,
An ashen broom,
A candlestick and hatchet,
A coverlid
Striped down with red,
A bag of rags to patch it.

"A ragged mat,
A tub of fat,
A book put out by Bunyan,
Another book,
By Robin Cook,
A skein or two of spunyarn.

"An old black muff,
Some garden stuff,
A quantity of borage,
Some "devil's weed"
And burdock seed,
To season well your porridge."

[The Answer from the Yale College Bed-maker
contains these, among other lines.]

"No teeth, 'tis true,
You have to shew;
The young think teeth inviting;
But, silly youths!
I love those months,
Where there's no fear of biting.

"A leaky eye,
That's never dry,
These woful times is fitting;
A wrinkled face
Adds solemn grace
To folks devout at meeting."

Such an accommodating wooer might be expected to succeed, but there is no record of his nuptials with the widow.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Secombe gave much time to such trifles, since he was, in fact, an earnest and faithful pastor. He was a friend to Whitfield, and invited him to preach in Harvard when the pulpit of Lancaster was shut against him. His ministry in Harvard closed in 1757, after twenty-four years' service. His successor was Rev. Joseph Wheeler, who was ordained in 1759, and dismissed in 1768, when he removed to Worcester, and was county treasurer a series of years. The late treasurer of the city of Worcester is his son or grandson. Rev. Daniel Johnson was the minister from 1769 to 1777, when he died. Mr. Johnson was a chaplain in the Revolutionary army in the opening of the contest, and the tradition is that a prayer offered by him in presence of his regiment or some collection of soldiers made a deep impression, and melted all to tears. After a few years' interval, Rev. Ebenezer Grosvenor was installed in 1782, but his pastorate was brief, since his death occurred in the year 1788. The Rev. William Emerson succeeded in 1792, and remained until he was released to remove to Boston. His successor was the Rev. Stephen Bemis, who was settled in 1801. The Rev. Warren Fay, D.D., afterwards of Charlestown, came next, in 1814, and remained until 1823, when there was a revolution in the town as a parish, and the church withdrew from the society. An anecdote relating to the Rev. Mr. Emerson, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson, finds a place in this connection. The tradition is that a church in Boston wanted Mr. Emerson, and the church in Harvard were reluctant to part with him. Finally, the Boston people offered a thousand dollars and secured the minister. There seems to be a kind of fairness in this transaction, though possibly the minister would have yielded to the attractions of the metropolis if his people had not been mollified by a *douceur*. It is the modern way to entice away a pastor by offering him a larger salary and a present to pay the expenses of moving, without making any compensation to the bereaved church.

Harvard is a continuation of the hill country on the east side of the Nashua valley. The river is the boundary two or three miles, and the fine intervalle land is a part of the wealth of the town. The hills rising in Bolton extend north, into, and even across Harvard. Bear Hill runs up through the centre, and bears on its broad breast the great pond of the same name. Pin Hill, towards the north-west, so called from its shape, is about two hundred feet above the level of the valley, and has a quarry of excellent blue slate. Oak Hill was mined as early as 1784, by searchers for silver ore, but their toil was fruitless, yet miners and geologists say that the rock formation is like that of gold and silver bearing regions. Prospect Hill, as it is sometimes called, in the western part of the town, on the sloping side and broad summit of which is the village of Still River, is well named, as the view over the valley of the river, threaded by the silver stream, and over the hills and valleys of Lancaster and Sterling, and Leominster, with Wachusett beyond, is one of a thousand.

The town is well-watered by springs, brooks and ponds. Bear Hill Pond is a large expanse of water, on the top of the town, so to speak, covering about three hundred and twenty acres. Several islands add to its charms, and it is stocked with fish. It is a favorite place of resort for parties in the summer season. This is a little south-west of the centre. In the north-west of the town is a small but very deep pond, whose shores descend sharply, whence it is called Hell Pond. The depth is reported to be ninety feet. Robbins's Pond is north, not far distant. Some of the brooks flow south-east into the Assabet; some north-east into Stony Brook, and the outlet of Bear Hill Pond flows northerly, emptying into the Nashua. The town, therefore, slopes towards every point of the compass.

The west part of Harvard, or Still River, must have been settled very early, as there is reason for believing that Henry Willard, one of the sons of the famous Maj. Simon Willard was there at the time of the burning of Lancaster by King Philip, or not long after the re-settlement. A large number of the many descendants of the Major are the posterity of this Henry. Probably all the Willards living in Lancaster at present or in the past, belong to this branch of the family. The landed property of Henry Willard was extensive. Col. Samuel Willard, prominent in the Indian and French wars, and in the civil history of Lancaster, was one of his sons.

The old road from Lancaster to Groton used to diverge from the Concord road, on the east side of Penacook or Nashua River, at the crossing just above the house of Daniel Bemis, Esq., and run across the intervale diagonally where the "Dead River" is now, and so on to Still River and Harvard. The connection of the Willard neighborhood was thus intimate with Lancaster. There are occasionally items which bring their history together. For example, the soldiers who left the garrison of Rev. Andrew Gardner, the day before he was killed by mistake, went scouting after Indians towards Still River. They returned weary, and Mr. Gardner took the service of watching through the night; hence his death. It appears also from records, that two of the eleven garrisons belonging to Lancaster in 1704, were in the territory afterwards set off as Harvard. One was at Bear Hill, for the following families; viz., John Priest, Sr., John Priest, Jr., John Warner, Caleb Sawyer, James Atherton, Sr., James Atherton, Jr. The other was probably at Still River, as appears by the following names: Simon Willard, Benjamin Bellows, John Willard, Joshua Atherton, Henry Willard, James Houghton, Joseph Hutchins, Joseph Waters, Hezekiah Willard and James Smith.

The people of this section had the benefit of school money long before they were erected into a town. A vote passed in Lancaster town meeting, supplemented by a subscription, in May, 1724, provided that there should be a "school at Still River or Bear Hill, eighty-two days." The two sections were grouped as one district. The following division of money may give some idea of the relative number of people in different neighborhoods of undivided Lan-

easter: "The schoolmaster ought to keep school at Stephens' Hill (between Lancaster town hall and the first bridge), 104 days; and at Still River or Bear Hill, 82 days; and at or on the Neck, 177 days." The school on Stephens' Hill probably accommodated the Old Common and South Lancaster, and that on the Neck, all on the east side of Lancaster Centre, and up the road to Still River. The estimate of numbers is to be modified by the fact that the money was divided according to the amount subscribed in each section, as well as by the number of children.

After the new town was granted, the old town showed its liberality by a grant made by the proprietors (who constituted the town, mainly), of thirty acres of land on Pin Hill "to set a meeting-house upon, and for a raining-field, and for a burying-place." They also gave the Rev. John Seecombe the two largest islands in Bear Hill Pond, near which his residence was built.

Though the Indians floated their canoes in the Nashua, and fished in the ponds, and hunted through the woods of Harvard, it is not known that they had any permanent home within its bounds. They were under the aboriginal species of jurisdiction of Sholan, sachem at Washacum, and their lands were fairly purchased by the first white settlers. No hostile acts ever stained the earth at Harvard with human blood. The inhabitants supplied their quota of soldiers in King William's, Queen Anne's and Lovewell's wars, but the actual fighting was outside of their bounds.

During both the French and Indian wars, and the war of the Revolution, the town furnished its full quota of soldiers, contributed freely to support the armies, and lost many victims of the tomahawk, the musket, and the diseases of the camp. It is supposed that some followed Col. Samuel Willard in the expedition of 1745, when Louisburg was captured, and it is certain that many were in the expeditions to Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Quebec. The recital of the particulars must be left to the future historian of the town.

As the difficulties with England increased in the years previous to 1775, the people of Harvard sympathized with Boston and the whole Colony. The thrill and throb of passion and excitement were felt up among these hills, perhaps, as intensely as near the seaboard. The Boston Port Bill, the Stamp Act, and the attempt to collect a tax on tea, aroused the indignation of farmers as well as merchants and patriots in the lower towns. Harvard concurred with the other towns in refusing to pay taxes to the royal collector, Mr. Gray, and agreed to pay them to Mr. Gardner of Stow. She procured a stock of powder, ball and cartridge-boxes, and saw to the arming of her men. Resolutions were passed in town meeting, full of the spirit of independence, and bordering perilously near on rebellion. The Lexington alarm called her "minute-men" into the field, and they started for the scene of the fight. Some of them were present at the battle of Bunker Hill, the story of which, as it spread, though

an apparent defeat, had all the encouraging influence of a great victory. Some of her officers and soldiers were veterans led by the Whitecombs, Thomas and Ward, and trained under Wolfe. They were joined by raw recruits, filled with courage and zeal for liberty. After the battle they were not afraid of the king's troops. When the Declaration of Independence came they heard it read with solemn enthusiasm, and ordered it to be placed on the town records in "perpetual memorial." Though one leading citizen by the name of Atherton, a graduate of Harvard College, opposed their action and adhered to the royal cause, the plain sense of the people, bred in a Congregational Church, prompted them to prefer a "Church without a bishop, and a State without a king."

It is almost, perhaps quite, impossible to ascertain how many of the able-bodied men of Harvard went into the field, but it is safe to say that nearly all of them were either in the company who went to Concord and Cambridge, or were among the "minute-men," or enlisted in the Continental service, or were drafted for special duty. The records of the town, and family papers, and the narratives of aged people, who survived almost to the present time, all unite in proving that Harvard was actuated by the most ardent patriotism.

There was a spirit abroad in the latter part of the last century and even earlier, which favored the formation of Baptist churches. Without stating the causes, or philosophizing on the subject, it is sufficient to recognize the fact. Dea. Lemuel Willard, 1st, was a great-grandson of Maj. Simon Willard; his mother, the wife of Henry Willard, was a daughter of Pres. Dunster of Harvard College. He was a Baptist. The deacon belonged to the Congregational Church, but used to say, "If I lived where there was a Baptist Church, I would unite with it." The Baptist Church in Still River was formed the year after his death, which occurred in 1775. The record reads as follows: "1776, June 27, fourteen persons embodied themselves into a church." Their pledge of union gives their names. "We, Stephen Gates, Tarbell Willard, Isaiah Parker, William Willard, Jr., Josiah Willard, Joseph Stone, Ruth Kilburn, Sarah Willard, Elizabeth Gates, Huldah Edes, Sarah Kilburn, Jemima Blanchard, Rachel Willard, Amy Willard," &c. These were the fathers and mothers of the new church. It is probable that there was some kind of a society or organization before this time, for the purpose of holding public worship, and that the embodiment at this time, was a more formal organization of what already existed. From a recent publication it appears that Isaiah Parker, M. D., who became a Baptist in the previous year, was ordained as pastor under an old elm, when Dr. Stillman of Boston preached the sermon. Doubtless the "old elm" stood on the broad summit where is now the quiet, rural village of Still River. Joseph Haskell, then ninety years of age, who became a deacon, and lived to the age of ninety-three, was among the first of those baptized by immersion. Dr. Parker, during a ministry here of twenty-four years, baptized ninety persons, which in a congregation not very large, was a goodly number. In 1798, he resigned, having become a believer in the universal salvation of mankind.

Elder George Robinson was the next pastor, and continued about twelve years. Additions were made to the church in considerable number in the early part of his ministry. This church was the eighth in the county in the date of its organization, but soon took the lead in numbers and influence. He was followed by Rev. Abishai Samson, a man of remarkable qualities, who, during a ministry of twenty years, exerted a strong influence in his parish and the neighboring towns. A man of learning, piety and practical sense, he built up his society and church, and was helpful in organizing churches in the regions round about. The pulpit was supplied by several ministers and licentiates, during a few succeeding years, until 1855, when Rev. Moses Curtis, who had been fifty years in the ministry, was settled, and during the next seven years, literally "bore fruit in old age." His successors have been Revs. Clark Sibley, Charles M. Willard, John A. Lerner, Andrew Dunn, Leonard Tracy, William Leach and John W. Dick. In 1871, Rev. Daniel Round, the present pastor, began his labors in this field. It is said in a printed record of the church that his pastorate "has brought fresh encouragement to the mother of so many churches whose more favorable location has given them a more rapid recent growth."

The community of Shakers was established in Harvard towards the close of the last century, and has maintained a respectable standing, financially and morally, to the present time. Its property is in the north-east section of the town, and is pleasantly situated, being adapted to farming, the dairy and gardening. It was said of them many years since that "they have a neat village, and a tract of finely cultivated and productive lands." Bennett's Brook runs through the plantation, and gives meadows amid the hills. The community is in three families, with a short interval between them, but near enough to assemble without inconvenience. The whole aspect of the region is pleasant and homelike, though the home-life is peculiar. There is a meeting-house, a school-house and office, for religion, education and business, so that the community is thoroughly organized. A grist-mill, saw-mill, herb-house, tannery and work-shops give completeness to the industrial arrangements. The people live in several dwelling-houses in each of the three groups or families. The main business is farming and horticulture, and much attention is given to the raising of herbs, such as are good for seasoning and for medicine. Medicinal extracts and canned fruits are prepared for the market. The peculiarity of their life, the neatness and thriftiness of their grounds and buildings, the natural beauty of the scenery, and the gentle courtesy of the people, draw many visitors to the place. When their Sunday services are public in the summer season, their meetings are sometimes thronged by city boarders from the neighboring towns.

A singular man, who had some followers or dupes, formerly lived in this town, who has been sometimes classed with the Shakers; but they were not answerable for his vagaries. His name was Shadrack Ireland, and among

other claims put forth by him was this, that he should not taste of death, but be translated. Strange as it may seem, there were many persons who put implicit faith in his pretensions. But the time came when death laid him low, and his disciples were deeply mortified. To conceal his decease and prolong the delusion, they buried his body secretly in a field of growing corn, hoping that the place would not be discovered. The intention was to produce the impression that their master had mysteriously disappeared; but the trick was exposed. His abode was where the Shaker Village now is, in their "Square house."

Another and far different class of "peculiar people" made Harvard their home for a brief period, the story of whose life here has been pleasantly told by the graphic pen of Miss Louisa Alcott in the book entitled "Silver Pitchers."

We have seen that the children were supplied with schooling, to some extent, while within the bounds of Lancaster. As soon as Harvard became a town, the education of the children was provided for in the different sections, in accordance with the law. The school-houses were rude structures, and sometimes the schools were kept in any room which could be found in any way adapted to the purpose. There was a summer and a winter term; the former attended by the younger children, and the latter by the young people of the district up to the age of eighteen or twenty. The social life and influence of those ancient schools were marked features of them. There engagements were made which affected the parties through life, and their children after them. The educating influences of the pupils upon each other was greater than that of their teachers, though in a different direction.

The history of the schools in the town cannot be given at length, nor would it be useful, since there were no salient points in their administration. In this regard, Harvard was like the other towns of the Commonwealth. When the new interest in common schools was aroused by James G. Carter, George B. Emerson, Horace Mann and others, the people here felt the healthful influence, and were prompt to adopt all reasonable improvements. More money was raised, the terms were prolonged, and more highly instructed teachers were employed. General intelligence characterizes the inhabitants. At present, Harvard, with a population of 1,304, has 10 schools. The whole number of scholars was, in 1878, 263; giving an average to each school of about 26; but they are not equally distributed. The number of children of school age, that is, between five and fifteen, was 237; but 59 attended school who were over fifteen years old. The valuation of the town was \$919,059, and the sum appropriated for education was \$2,400, besides the expense of superintendence and printing. The sum expended for each child was \$10.12, which is about the average of the county of Worcester. In the percentage of money paid, and in the average attendance of scholars, the town maintains about an average position. In one respect, Harvard is in advance of most country towns. Like the cities and larger towns, it employs a superintendent of schools, who, in

connection with the school committee, has charge of all schools in the town. This gives unity to the system of instruction, and enables the schools to be judged by the same standard. The Rev. Daniel Round has occupied the position of superintendent several years, and he reports improvement in the schools to a gratifying degree.

The Bromfield School was founded in 1877 by Mrs. Margaret Bromfield Blanchard, widow of Rev. Ira H. Blanchard, formerly pastor of the Unitarian church. A brief account of the origin of this school will be found in the History of the County, under the title of Academies. It may be stated here that the founder gave \$80,000; of which about \$30,000 were spent in erecting an elegant building and putting the grounds of the old Secombe place in order. The remainder of the gift is a permanent fund, the interest of which is devoted to the support of the school, thus placing it above local favor and support, and enabling the trustees and teachers to maintain a high standard. The courses of study have in view the "three-fold object of education; viz., strength of intellect, practical power over circumstances, and enlarged capacities for enjoyment." The school was set in operation on the 17th of September, 1877, with about forty scholars, under the care of Mr. Charles W. Stickney as principal. Most of the pupils belong to the town, and the school will, in all probability, awaken in the children of the town a desire and purpose to secure a higher education.

As stated on a preceding page, a change occurred in the history of the Congregational church in 1821. The church and the town, which was the parish, had reached a point of divergence, and the former withdrew; that is, a large majority of the church, holding to the faith of the founders, began to hold public worship by themselves, and, with friends who sympathized with them, formed an ecclesiastical society. The few who remained connected with the old or Unitarian parish were, according to a decision of the Supreme Court, considered in a legal sense the church. The ministers of that organization, from that time to the present, have been the following: Revs. Ira H. T. Blanchard, Washington Gilbert, William G. Babcock, William A. Whitwell, Henry H. Barber, Jefferson M. Fox, and the present pastor, Rev. Daniel H. Goddard.

The pastors of the Orthodox church bore the following names: Rev. George Fisher, who was settled about the time the church withdrew from the old parish, and who continued in the pastoral office until September, 1853; John Dodge, George H. Pratt, Alfred E. Tracy and Stephen S. Morrill. The Rev. John H. Gurney is the present acting pastor. These two churches have good houses of worship in the centre of the town, one on the north and the other on the south side of the common. The members of the Orthodox church number ninety-seven.

By the State census of 1875 the number of dwelling-houses in the town was about two hundred and eighty. The number of farms was two hundred and

four, all but ten of which contained over ten acres. The number of houses connected with farms was two hundred and seventeen, and the whole number of buildings, including houses, barns, sheds, shops and so forth, was six hundred and fifty-one. There are over fifteen thousand acres of land in the town, nearly every part of which is improvable, though nearly half is unimproved; yet Harvard is emphatically an agricultural town. One hundred and seventy-five acres are in orchards, and there are about thirty thousand apple-trees. The pear and peach trees number three thousand six hundred and forty-eight. The grape-vines number sixteen thousand eight hundred and forty-one. By "unimproved land" is meant all land "devoted to pasturage and other purposes than actual cultivation." The woodland of this town comprises three thousand nine hundred and seventeen acres. The whole number of domestic animals, counting bees by swarms, was over eight thousand seven hundred. The aggregate of farm property was as follows: Number of farms, two hundred and four; number of buildings, six hundred and fifty-one; value of buildings, \$324,725; acres of land, fifteen thousand and twenty-nine; value of land, \$461,043; value of farms and buildings, \$785,768; value of fruit-trees and vines, \$54,516; value of domestic animals, \$86,789; value of agricultural implements in use, \$26,825; total value of farm-property, \$953,898. The gallons of milk numbered three hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-three, valued at \$50,838.

Forty years ago there were three paper-mills in the town, making paper valued at \$12,750 per annum. This business is not continued. The population at that time was about three hundred greater than in 1875. Probably the loss of population is due, in great measure, to the cessation of certain kinds of business. The aggregate value of goods made and work done is \$37,900. In the meantime, agriculture has improved, and the town is wealthy in comparison with other towns whose business is confined to the cultivation of the land. The soil is remarkably good for tillage and pasturage, and the intervale lands on the east bank of the Nashua are like those of the Connecticut Valley in productiveness. The farmers of Harvard have enough capital invested in bonds, stocks and other securities, to build up different branches of business and make their town populous, if invested in establishments at home, but perhaps their individual comfort would not thereby be increased. Some of the farms in this town are unsurpassed in regard to their management and productiveness. Without making invidious distinctions, one or two may be referred to as favorable specimens of many others. The farm of Mr. Andrew Fairbank, one of the wealthiest farmers in the town, may be regarded as a model in its way. Among the many pleasant old ancestral abodes in Harvard, perhaps none exceeds in charming characteristics that of Mr. Luke Whitney, on Bear Hill. The farm of Mr. Samuel F. Whitney, in the eastern section of the town, is another which delights the visitor as well as the owner, and is fitted to inspire the young agriculturist with confidence and hope. His barn,

which is an indication of his style of farming, is said to be the largest and in every way the best appointed in the county of Worcester.

The general feeling of indignation that pervaded the North when Fort Sumter was bombarded by the rebels, was fully participated in by the people of Harvard, and their patriotism did not falter until the rebellion was subdued, and the Union flag again floated over the entire nation. The public sentiment immediately found expression in the family, in the stores and places of meeting, in the churches on the Sabbath, and in assemblies of the citizens. On the 29th of April, a legal town meeting was held, when the Rev. Mr. Whitwell presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "Voted, That the citizens of Harvard, in town meeting assembled, hereby vote to appropriate four thousand dollars for the purpose of equipping and paying a bounty to soldiers who may volunteer their services to suppress the present rebellion." A committee — C. T. Savage, Cephas Houghton and William B. Willard — to whom the subject was referred, reported that "the town make up the pay of each volunteer, with what he receives from the United States, to the sum of twenty-two dollars a month while in actual service." This was unanimously adopted, and it was voted to pay each man five dollars a month "for drilling at home, preparatory for service." The treasurer, who held the office through the war — Asa Daby — was authorized to borrow four thousand dollars. The families of the volunteers were to be well provided for, and the selectmen "and such persons as they may appoint, shall aid the volunteers in equipping and uniforming." The selectmen during the war were as follows: some one year, and some longer: E. A. Holman, John Blanchard, William K. Harrod, Caleb S. Gerry, Andrew Fairbank. The first in the list was also town clerk. The meeting passed the following resolution, which expressed the general sentiment of the town: "Resolved, That it is the duty of all good citizens to frown indignantly upon and follow with uncompromising hostility every individual among us, if any there be, who shall express sentiments disloyal to the Government of the United States, or who shall sympathize with the plotters of treason and bloodshed."

In 1862, July 24, a bounty of one hundred dollars was "authorized to be paid to each volunteer enlisting to the credit of the town." A committee was chosen to enlist recruits, and if not found in Harvard they were "to enlist them from any source where they could be found." The treasurer was authorized to borrow two thousand dollars, and resolutions were passed expressing entire confidence in the ability and honesty of President Lincoln, and the fixed purpose to "stand by him to the end of this infernal war." A bounty of one hundred dollars was offered to volunteers. On the twenty-fifth of August it was voted to pay a bounty of one hundred and fifty dollars to each volunteer for three years, and of one hundred dollars to volunteers for nine months. It was also voted to "assume the responsibility of the payment of the fifty dol-

lars each subscribed for them." And in December three hundred dollars were voted to the Sanitary Commission.

On the 7th of March, 1863, three hundred dollars were appropriated to the Soldiers' Aid Society for the benefit of the soldiers. The society raised considerable sums by associated effort. It was voted, June 7, to "pay each man who volunteers to the quota of Harvard, one hundred and twenty-five dollars." In the year 1864 the same liberal spirit prevailed, and on the 7th of June, at an informal meeting, it was voted to raise by a separate tax, the sum of \$2,550 to pay a bounty to each of the men drafted to fill the quota of the town, and a bounty for seven volunteers.

During the war the town furnished one hundred and twenty-nine men for the public service, which was a surplus of twelve above all demands. Four were commissioned officers. The amount of money raised by the town for war purposes, was \$17,009.15. The amount paid for State aid to the families of soldiers was \$5,174.09. The sum raised by private subscription was over \$1,800; making a total amount of \$23,983.24.

The following fact furnished by Rev. John B. Willard, whose suggestions and corrections are gratefully acknowledged, will be read with interest by all who respect the memory of Maj. Willard. "The place now most nearly connected with name and memory of the 'famous Maj. Simon Willard,' is the delightful old homestead now standing at the head of Still River Village, at the corner turning to the centre of Harvard. It has descended in a direct line from the major and his son Henry through six generations, and now is the possession of the seventh, the heirs of the late Luther Willard. In remodeling a room of the old house in 1876, many very old records were found written on the uncovered timbers, the oldest was 'Jan. 7th, 1686, deep snow.'" It may be also stated, as an interesting fact, that the Rev. George W. Samson, son of the Rev. "Abishai" Samson, who was born in 1820, graduated at Brown University in 1839, and was, at one time, president of Columbian College, at Washington, is a native of Still River Village.

H O L D E N.

BY MAJ. ISAAC DAMON.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE TOWN — BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT — NATURAL FEATURES —
POPULATION AND GROWTH — MILITARY AND WAR HISTORY — CHURCHES AND
CHURCH BUILDINGS — MINISTERIAL RECORD.

THE earliest authentic accounts and records in reference to the tract of land now forming the township of Holden, are substantially included in the history of Worcester, the district being at first called "Worcester North Half," or "North Worcester." On the 13th May, 1740, a petition signed by twenty-five citizens of North Worcester was presented to the General Court, praying for the place to be set off a separate town. This petition was not successful. At the next session of the General Court, in November following, another petition was presented; and this time the petitioners were granted an act of incorporation.

The act passed the General Court, Jan. 2, and was signed by His Excellency Governor Belcher, Jan. 9, 1741. Thus the north half of Worcester became a distinct town by the name of Holden; so called in honor of Hon. Samuel Holden, a London merchant and a member of parliament, who had directed his benevolent efforts to the help of the Colonies of New England.

Since the incorporation of the town, several hundred acres have been set off to help form the towns of Paxton and West Boylston; the first portion being taken in 1765, and the section for West Boylston in 1808. The present boundaries of Holden are: north-westerly by Rutland and Princeton; north-easterly by Sterling and West Boylston; south-easterly by Worcester; and south-westerly by Paxton and Rutland. The township contains about 22,000 acres.

The surface is well diversified with hills and valleys. Much of the soil is light and porous, but it is very variable; and probably there is not an area of fifty acres in the town that shows a homogeneous soil or a wholly plain surface. Many of the smaller hills, especially in the northern part of the town, possess a springy soil and make excellent grass farms. The products are nearly the

same as in other towns of Worcester County; and all the forest trees common to Massachusetts are to be found within its limits. Twenty-five years ago there was a large amount of fine wood and timber. The good market which the growing city of Worcester afforded for this product caused many a farmer to neglect the cultivation of his farm, and devote much of his time to cutting and marketing wood. Although this appeared an easy way of securing a few hundred dollars, yet it was not without evil results, as is plainly seen by the decrease in the number of cattle kept, and the diminished productiveness of the soil.

Among the prominent hills in town are the following. Malden Hill (called by the early settlers, Mount Carmel), situated in the east part of the town, is mostly covered with a young growth of wood; the older growth having been cut off. A granite quarry has been worked to some extent on the easterly side of this hill.

Pleasant Hill, in the north-easterly part, as tradition reports, was formerly an Indian camping-ground. The soil is rich, and produces good crops of grain and grass. Grape-vine Hill, in the north-west, is especially adapted to tillage and pasturage.

Champlain Hill, in the westerly part, was so called from the fact that when first visited by early settlers, several acres were found upon it, already clear of forest trees.

Pine Hill, lying partly in Paxton and partly in Holden, was formerly valued for its growth of pine timber.

Asnebumskit Hill, situated in the south-west part of the town, is said to be the highest point of land in Worcester County, except Mount Wachusett. Cultivated fields and pasture lands extend to its very summit, from which a fine view of the surrounding country may be obtained. Iron-ore and sulphur abound in this and Pine Hill.

Stone-house Hill, so called in consequence of a natural house or shed formed by an immense overhanging rock, is in the south part of the town. Its steep, rocky, and often precipitous sides render it unfit for cultivation, and several hundred acres are covered with wood, mostly of oak and chestnut. Stone-house was made a place of rendezvous, during the period of Shays' Rebellion, by the "regulators."

The principal river in Holden is the Quinneboxet. It is formed by three branches: (1) North Quinneboxet River, formed by streams issuing from Quinneboxet Pond (lying partly in Princeton and partly in Holden), and Muscopauge Pond in Rutland. The waters of this branch furnish motive-power for Austin's saw-mill, planing and box mill, the factories at North Woods and Quinneboxet. It afterward unites with the following: (2) South Quinneboxet, which rises in the Asnebumskit Pond in Paxton. The last mentioned stream furnishes motive-power for the factories at Eagleville, Jeffersonville and Lovellville, and unites with the North Quinneboxet in Nichols's

Intervale, just below Lovellville mill. (3) Cedar Swamp Brook. This is formed by Moss Brook, in the southerly part of the town, joined by many springs; it passes Moss Brook mills, Chaffinville, Howe's shoddy and saw mill, and Unionville, uniting with the Quinneboxet in the Estabrook intervale so called. This river, thence passing Harris's grist-mill and Spring Dale factory, becomes a branch of the Nashua River which empties into the Merrimac near Nashua, N. H.

From the same meadow in which the second branch of the river just described rises, issues a small stream which flows south-easterly through the Flagg meadows and reservoir, and becomes a tributary to the Blackstone River. The surface of Quinneboxet Pond is 717 feet above tide water, and its water falls 234 feet before it crosses the line of West Boylston.

Besides the streams already mentioned, there is a small one called Trout Brook, rising in Princeton and flowing through the north-easterly part of Holden, which unites with the Quinneboxet. These several streams furnish abundant motive-power for manufacturing purposes.

Having thus glanced at the natural features of the town, let us look briefly at its early history. There are no records that lead one to conclude that any settlements were made in Worcester North Half previous to 1722, the year in which Worcester was itself incorporated. The first settlement within the limits of Holden was probably made in 1723, by Mr. Jonas Rice, a citizen of South Worcester, who discovered limestone in the easterly part of the town, upon what is now known as the Bullard farm. The number of inhabitants at the time of its incorporation is not known, but judging by the number of signers of the petition for incorporation (only twenty-five), it must have been quite small.

The first census of the town was taken in 1765, twenty-four years after its formation, which showed seventy-five families with 495 persons. In 1773, there were 520 persons; and each census taken since that time shows a gradual increase in population. In 1840, there were 1,874; in 1860, 1,945; in 1870, 2,082; and in 1875, 2,180. A similar increase is shown in the valuation of real and personal property.

In the early records of the town, there are constant references to military affairs. The citizens were often called to practical exhibitions of their patriotism and bravery in their country's service. Thus, three years after the incorporation of the town, May 4, 1744, it voted the sum of £30 to provide powder, bullets and flints for town stock. That the wars among the nations of Europe affected the welfare of the American Colonies, is made painfully evident as we examine their early history. That the people of Holden were not exempt, and that they showed the same spirit that characterized the early settlers of New England, is shown by papers deposited in our State archives, where we find the names of twenty-one men who served in the French and Indian war. And there can be no doubt that many more soldiers from

Holden, whose names are not found on the muster-rolls, were really engaged that war, as no pains were taken to preserve the muster-rolls of that time.

The same spirit of devotion to country has ever since been cherished. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, as the notes of alarm sounded over these hills and valleys, this town furnished a company of seventy men, ready to leave their homes at the first call, and this at a time when the population was only 750 souls. Twenty-five men enlisted in the regular Continental army, under the immediate command of Washington, for three years or during the war. Wherever troubles existed or dangers threatened, thither marched soldiers from Holden. During the year, 1777, this town paid from its treasury £763 0s. 12*d.* to discharge its liabilities which had been incurred to enlist soldiers. So far as is known, Thomas Heard, who fell near Saratoga, N. Y., was the only person killed in actual service. Capt. George Webb was the only commissioned officer in the Continental service from Holden. He was noted as a brave, fearless, high-spirited officer. Did space permit, it would be interesting to trace the history of each soldier who went from Holden to the fields of battle in Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Two soldiers, Moses Wheeler and Jeremiah Fuller, after intense suffering from cold and hunger, died at Valley Forge, Penn.

When eighty years had passed away, and, with the years, the noble men and women of the Revolutionary times, then was found in their children the same love of liberty and right that characterized them; and we find the following recorded in Schouler's "History of Massachusetts in the Civil War," under the name of our town:—

"Population in 1860, 1,945; in 1865, 1,846. Valuation in 1860, \$796,813; in 1865, \$853,695.

"The first legal town meeting to act upon matters connected with the war was held on the 20th of April, 1861, at which fifteen hundred dollars were appropriated 'for the benefit of the members of the Holden Rifle Company and their families; the same to be expended under the direction of the selectmen.' [This was a company in the three months' service, and left for the seat of war, April 18, in the second regiment that went from Massachusetts.] A town meeting was held July 19, which voted 'to extend the hospitalities of the town to the members of the company on their return from the war.' One hundred dollars were appropriated for the purpose."

As the whole town turned out when this company left for the seat of war to bid them farewell and Godspeed, so likewise did they turn out to welcome them home.

"Holden furnished two hundred and four (204) men for the war, which was a surplus of four above all demands. Eleven were commissioned officers. The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town on account of the war, exclusive of State aid, was \$7,963.38, and a large amount was probably contributed by private subscription. The ladies of Holden on Sunday, April 21, 1861, instead of

going to church, met in the town hall, and worked from nine o'clock until sundown for the members of the rifle company which had just started for the seat of war; and, from that time until the close of the Rebellion, they labored faithfully for the benefit of the soldiers, sending their contributions chiefly through the Sanitary and Christian Commissions."

Soon after the close of the war, the Soldiers' Monument Association was formed, its object being to procure funds to secure some suitable monument to commemorate the fallen soldiers. The funds increased from year to year until 1876, when they amounted to about \$1,100. The town hall was extensively remodeled that year, and made into a memorial hall by placing tablets in the interior, bearing the name and date of death of each soldier who gave his life for his country in the late war. The four tablets are of white marble, with raised letters, set as panels in a heavy frame of darker-colored marble, upon which are chiseled several beautiful designs. These tablets are placed at the end of the hall, on either side of the platform, and upon them are the names of thirty soldiers who perished in the war. Although they are

"Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment-day,"

yet the memory of their sacrifice and noble deeds is ever fresh in the hearts of their comrades and fellow-citizens, and from year to year their graves are strewn with garlands of flowers. To narrate the deeds of valor performed, the suffering in rebel prisons, on the march and on the battle-fields, would be only to relate the history of soldiers who went from every town and hamlet in the Old Bay State. The names inscribed upon the tablets are as follows:—Capt. Ira J. Kelton, George T. Bigelow, Albert Creed, John Fearing, Edward Clark, Charles Gibbs, James W. Goodnow, James W. Haley, Lyman E. Keyes, George W. Newell, Michael Riley, John B. Savage, Amasa A. Howe, George T. Johnson, John K. Houghton, William C. Perry, Levi Chamberlain, Frank Lumazette, Uriah Bassett, Henry M. Fales, George Thurston, Calvin Hubbard, Sergt. Harlan P. Moore, Winslow B. Rogers, Alfred S. Tucker, Henry M. Holt, II. Erskine Black, Elisha C. Davenport, John Handley, Horace L. Truesdell.

The soldiers returning from the war formed Theron E. Hall Post 77, G. A. R. This post hold monthly meetings in the town hall.

Although ready to sacrifice their lives for liberty and right, the citizens of Holden have not been of a quarrelsome disposition; for, had they been, such a history of the churches as follows could never have been written. The first meeting-house in Holden was erected prior to the incorporation of the town, in 1737, on the spot now occupied by the house of Maj. Isaac Damon. The building was fifty feet long, forty wide, and twenty-two feet between the joints. The house was never painted; the windows were small and set with diamond glass in leaden sashes. March 26, 1741, the inhabitants assembled

in town meeting for the choice of officers; and two weeks later another meeting was called to transact other town business. Six votes are recorded as having passed on this occasion. The first vote passed is certainly worthy of mention: "Voted, to have the gospel preached in town;" and the two following votes relate to the same subject. The town by a unanimous vote, July 19, 1742, invited the Rev. Joseph Davis to enter upon the gospel ministry in town. A salary of £180 (old tenor, \$154.33) was voted to be annually paid to him, and the sum of £100 (old tenor, \$343) as a settlement donation.

The exercises of Mr. Davis's ordination were had Dec. 22, 1742, and his connection with the church continued until January, 1773, when he was dismissed at his own request, having served a pastorate of over thirty years.

Although a meeting-house was built in 1737, no church was formed until the day that Mr. Davis was settled as pastor, at which time a church was regularly organized, consisting of fourteen members, all of whom were males. What the character of the preaching in those early times was, may be learned by the records in the proprietors' books: "Dec. 29, 1736. Voted, That provision be made for supporting an orthodox minister to preach the gospel in the North Half for three years next to come."

After the dismissal of Mr. Davis, the church was nearly two years without a pastor. Dec. 21, 1774, Mr. Joseph Avery, having received a call from the church and town, was ordained as his successor. His annual salary was fixed at £66 13s. 4d. (\$222.22), and the sum of £133 6s. 8d. (\$444.44) was voted as a settlement donation. The first house of worship showing signs of decay, it was voted, Dec. 10, 1787, to build a new house, which was erected in 1789. This house was extensively remodeled in 1827-8. An acre of land on which this house stands was given to the town for a public common in 1789 by Hon. John Hancock. In this place, a few words may well be said for Mr. Avery, who for so many years participated in the joys and sorrows of the people of this town. He was a son of William Avery, South Parish, Dedham, and was born Oct. 14, 1751. He entered Cambridge University when in his sixteenth year, and graduated with honor in 1771. In 1777, he was married to a niece of Samuel Adams. His custom was to write his sermons, and, during his labors here, he wrote more than twenty-three hundred. He held the office of sole pastor till Oct. 22, 1823, and that of senior pastor until his death, March 5, 1824, at the age of seventy-two years. Rev. Horatio Bardwell was installed junior pastor, Oct. 22, 1823, and was dismissed on the day of the ordination of Rev. William P. Paine, Oct. 24, 1833. Mr. Paine began his labors in Holden at a time when the temperance question was much agitated, and the contest was sharp. With what wisdom and skill he directed the ship of the church through those troublous times can be judged by his long-continued service. Many pages might be well devoted to the history of this good man. Mr. Paine was born at Ashfield, Aug. 1, 1802; entered Amherst College in 1823; graduated at Andover Theological Seminary in 1832; was settled in

Holden, Oct. 24, 1833, and was married in the following June to Miss Sarah M. Mack of Plainfield, Mass. She was a noble Christian woman, in every way fitted to be the wife of such a man; loved and respected by all, both old and young; a woman who sympathized with and consoled those in sorrow and trouble, rejoiced with the glad and happy, with the rare faculty of adapting herself to the needs of all classes and conditions of the people, ever making those around her happier and better. After many years of usefulness, she was called to her reward, Oct. 3, 1868, at the age of fifty-nine years. Mr. Paine was a man of rare qualities, — one who ever kept abreast with the times, — always progressive, always interested in whatever related to the welfare of his people, and ever endeavoring to guide them in the best paths. Soon after his settlement in town, he was chosen chairman of the school committee, and for over thirty-four years occupied that position. He aided much in promoting the prosperity of the schools, both common and select. During his pastorate, there were received into his church 462 members; he officiated at 348 weddings, attended more than 1,000 funerals, and preached more than 4,000 sermons. During his pastorate, at least eleven of the sons of Holden received a college education (as several others had previously done), seven became ministers of the gospel, and seven young women married ministers.* As Mr. Paine was so long connected with the schools, he became acquainted with nearly every child in town, and, with his genial, pleasant manners, won the love of all the young, and seemed as a father to the generation which grew up after he came among this people. After forty-two years, when his physical condition would no longer permit him to labor, he asked to be released from his position as pastor.

Among a series of resolutions, passed at a meeting of the society, held April 6, 1875, to take action in regard to his resignation, we find the following:

“*Resolved*, That in view of the circumstances under which this resignation has been offered, it be accepted, so far as to release our Pastor from all care and responsibility, and the Parish from all financial obligations, and that he remain *Pastor Emeritus*.”

Thus he remained pastor until he rested from his labors, Nov. 28, 1876.

Upon a plain marble shaft in Grove Cemetery is this simple inscription:

REV. WILLIAM P. PAINE, D. D.,
BORN AUG. 1ST, 1802,
DIED NOV. 28TH, 1876.

At the close of Mr. Paine's ministry, during the one hundred and thirty-three years of the history of the church, only four pastors had occupied its desk. Since the death of Mr. Paine this church has had no settled pastor; but the pulpit was occupied from May, 1875, until January, 1877, by Rev.

* Eleven persons have been sent out from here as missionaries; probably few churches can furnish a record of numbers for such service equal to this.

William A. Lamb, and from April 1, 1877 to the present time (1879) by Rev. H. M. Rogers.

The fortieth anniversary of Mr. Paine's settlement was appropriately observed Oct. 24, 1873; all former members of the church, parish or congregation, or residents of the town, were invited to be present, and the old church was filled to overflowing with friends of the pastor. The ceremonies were deeply interesting, and will long be remembered by those present. The meeting-house, which was built in 1789 and remodeled in 1827-8, was again extensively improved in 1874, at a cost of \$6,428.32, making it one of the pleasantest and most convenient churches to be found in any country town of Massachusetts. The house was re-dedicated with appropriate exercises, Dec. 30, 1874. The old bell which had so often summoned the people to worship became cracked, and was replaced by a new one in 1876.

The records of the Baptist society commence June 4, 1804. This society, being regarded as a branch of the Baptist church of Templeton, Rev. Elisha Andrews, pastor of the Templeton Baptist church, preached once in four or five weeks for several years, before the church was organized in Holden. This branch became a distinct church Dec. 31, 1807, with forty-seven members, by the name of the Baptist church of Holden. Although the church was formed in 1807, not until 1820 was there any Baptist meeting-house in town. Previous to 1813 Rev. Thomas Marshall and Rev. Mr. Andrews preached to this people from time to time. Rev. Thomas Marshall was ordained Sept. 15, 1813, and preached until 1818, when Rev. John Walker was recognized as the pastor of the church, which relation continued until April 1, 1831. Since 1831 the following ministers of the gospel have occupied the pulpit of the Baptist church: Rev. Appleton Belknap, from June 13, 1832, to Oct. 27, 1833; Rev. George Waters, from Sept. 25, 1834, to March 31, 1838; Rev. Samuel Everett, from Aug. 9, 1838, to April 19, 1839; Rev. Andrew Pollard, from Aug. 12, 1840, to March, 1843; Rev. Woodman H. Watson, from June 21, 1843, to April 16, 1847.

Rev. J. H. Tilton, installed Nov. 17, 1847, after a successful pastorate of five years, resigned Sept. 1, 1852. During his pastorate a parsonage was built, and extensive repairs upon the church were made.

Rev. Andrew Dunn occupied the pulpit for about a year, from Jan. 23, 1853; Rev. T. C. Tingley from June, 1854, to Jan. 5, 1857; Rev. J. H. Tilton (second pastorate), from March, 1857, to April 3, 1859; Rev. Lester Williams was called to the pastorate in July, 1859, and held that relation until his appointment to a chaplaincy in the army in 1865; Rev. John S. Haraden, from April 3, 1865, to Sept. 1, 1868; Rev. George W. Kenney, from Feb. 5, 1869, to July 1, 1871; Rev. John Rounds was pastor for two years from July 1, 1872, to July 1, 1874. During his ministry the church was remodeled and refurnished, and a new organ procured at an expense of \$3,700. Rev. John K. Chase, installed Nov. 1, 1874, resigned April 30, 1879. During his stay a

bell and clock, the latter being the gift of J. W. Howe, Esq., of Worcester, were placed in the tower of the church, and an indebtedness of \$2,000 was also canceled.

The First Congregational and the Baptist were the only churches in Holden until 1868, when the Catholic church was built at a cost of \$3,500, and was dedicated Aug. 16, 1868. Rev. Father Thomas Griffin of Worcester was very active in procuring means for the building of this house, and it was mainly through his efforts that it was accomplished. In 1876 a vestry was added to the church, and the main building enlarged to its present dimensions, thirty-five by eighty feet, with a seating capacity of about five hundred; the entire cost of the building being about \$7,000. Rev. Father Thomas Welsh of Worcester now officiates.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATIONAL PROCEEDINGS — MANUFACTURES — MILLS AND FACTORIES — HIGHWAYS — RAILROADS — TOWN HALL — SOCIETIES AND CLUBS — MISSIONARIES AND OTHER CELEBRATED PERSONS — TOWN HISTORY.

WHEN the citizens of Holden were legally incorporated as a town the worship of God was

“First in their noble thoughts and plans,
Then the strong training of their youth,”

and the fourth vote passed after the choice of officers was “to have a writing and reading school,” and a tax was levied to raise £50 for the support of the preaching and schooling. This vote passed May 19, 1741. A century passed, and in town meeting March 15, 1841, it was “Voted, to raise \$800 for schools the ensuing year.” “Voted, that it be divided with all other funds from town or State, as last year, by the selectmen and assessors.” Each year intervening between 1741 and 1841 witnessed a similar vote, and it would appear that it became an established method of procedure to do *as last year* respecting schools, except that the amount raised for schools gradually increased with the population. There is a school fund of about \$3,400, the avails of public lands granted to the town by original proprietors, the interest of which (\$202 annually) is appropriated to the schools. The town now supports twelve schools for thirty weeks a year, at a cost, including funds from State and other sources, of about \$3,500 annually. There are 520 children between the ages of five and fifteen years. While the schools in some parts of the town have increased in number of scholars, others have diminished, until but four or five children of school age can be found in some districts where, thirty years ago, were from fifty to sixty scholars. School-houses have been built

from time to time, as they were required, to take the place of those decayed, or to accommodate the increasing number of scholars. The last school-house, erected in 1878, was built in the neighborhood of the Bullard farm, where, tradition reports, the first school-house in town was built, more than one hundred and twenty years ago.

The history of the manufactures of Holden may be easily traced if we take each village separately. Unionville Factory, situated one and a half miles east from the centre of the town, was the first built. In 1809 Messrs. Eleazer Rider & Son commenced spinning cotton-yarn at this place. These gentlemen were among the first, if not the first, manufacturers of cotton yarn in Worcester County. In 1822 weaving by power-looms commenced, and John Lees, the owner of the mill at that time, manufactured cotton cloth. The factory is now owned by Mr. C. L. Truchon, who employs twenty-seven hands, runs fifteen hundred spindles, and uses 130,000 pounds of cotton annually in the manufacture of cotton yarn. The factory and village remain much the same as forty years ago.

One mile north from the centre of the town is Eagleville Factory, owned by Milton S. Morse, and run by Mr. Gates Chapman, agent. In 1831 Mr. Samuel Clark purchased the saw and grist mills then standing, of Mr. Caleb Kendall, and erected a small factory the same year. This mill was burned in 1834, and was rebuilt in 1835, and has been enlarged from time to time till it has reached its present dimensions. In 1840 it contained sixteen hundred spindles and forty looms, and manufactured 275,000 yards of sheeting annually. It now contains five thousand spindles, employs seventy-two hands, uses four hundred and seventy bales of cotton, and manufactures 1,250,000 yards of prints and light sheeting yearly; which is two hundred thousand yards more than all the mills in town manufactured in 1840. In this village is found a hotel, store and livery-stable.

About half a mile north of Eagleville lies the pleasant village of Jeffersonville, formerly known as Drydenville. In 1825, a small factory, containing one hundred and eighty spindles and eight looms, was built by — Morse, and then bought by Mr. John Jephardson, and used for the manufacture of satinet. About the same time another factory was built by Col. Artemas Dryden, which contained three hundred spindles and eight looms. Previous to 1830, Col. Dryden manufactured woolen-carding machines at this place. These mills have either been removed or greatly enlarged, until now there are two fine mills owned by Messrs. Howe & Jefferson, who furnish employment for over hundred and fifty hands in the manufacture of fancy cassimeres and heavy beavers. Mill No. 1, which was formerly the cotton-mill, contains three sets of machinery and makes heavy beavers; while mill No. 2 contains four sets of machinery in the manufacture of fancy cassimeres. Over five hundred thousand yards of cloth are made annually at these mills. Jeffersonville is well situated, near the railroad; is always well kept; contains a post-office, store and

provision market. The store alluded to was built in 1874-5, and has been occupied since May, 1875, by Mr. Gustavus Holden, who began with a business of about \$15,000 per year, which has increased to \$40,000 per annum.

On the North Quinnepoxt River, three miles from the centre of Holden, is situated the North Woods factory and village. It was built by B. T. Southgate, for the manufacture of woolen goods, but was changed to cottons by William Buflum, in 1827. In 1840, it contained fourteen hundred and eighty spindles and forty looms, and turned out about two hundred and fifty thousand yards of shirting yearly. It is now owned by the West Boylston Manufacturing Company, contains twenty-four hundred spindles, seventy-four looms, employs thirty-five hands, and manufactures nearly 1,000,000 yards of prints each year.

The factory in Quinnepoxtville was built by S. Damon, Esq., during the summer of 1831. In 1840, it contained fourteen hundred spindles and forty looms; and manufactured two hundred and fifty thousand yards of sheeting per year. May 28, 1869, this mill was destroyed by fire; but was soon replaced by the present fine three-story brick building. The present owner — Mr. Cyrus G. Woods of Uxbridge — has made improvements in and about the factory, and made the village much more attractive than formerly. Mr. Woods employs sixty-five hands, runs five sets of machinery and manufactures five hundred and ten thousand yards of the different grades of satinets annually.

Lovellville factory is situated on the South Quinnepoxt, about half a mile from Quinnepoxtville, and just above the junction of the two branches of the Quinnepoxt River. Dea. John Lovell ran this mill for many years, manufacturing cotton-batting and candle-wicking. Afterwards he ran a carding-machine for custom-work. This mill has often changed owners during the last twenty years, and is now in the possession of the Lovell Woolen Company, and is run by Messrs. Klebart & Findeisen, who manufacture fancy union cassimeres to the amount of two hundred and seventy thousand yards per year. The mill contains three sets of machinery and furnishes employment for seventy-five or eighty hands.

A mile and a half south-east from the centre of the town, on a small stream, is Moss Brook Mill. The mill was built by Mr. Wood, and used in the making of shingles. After passing through many hands and being used for the manufacture of various articles, it came into the hands of the present owner, Mr. Charles Dawson, in 1869. Mr. Dawson has expended considerable money in enlarging the mill, putting in an engine, erecting new buildings and tenement houses, and improving the place, until it has become the pleasant little village of to-day. This mill contains three sets of machinery, furnishing employment for forty-two hands and manufactures three hundred and forty thousand yards of satinets yearly.

At Chaffinville is a grist-mill and a one-set mill, built about sixty years ago,

which employs nine hands and turns out about fifty thousand yards of satinets yearly.

One of the most attractive mills in Holden — Spring Dale Mill — was built in 1875-6, by Mr. L. J. Smith of West Boylston. It is situated on the Quinne-poxet River, a short distance from the West Boylston line. It is built of granite quarried near the mill, contains three sets of machinery, and manufactures about two hundred and fifty thousand yards of fancy cassimeres annually, furnishing employment for thirty-five hands.

The total amount of cloth of the various kinds manufactured in Holden, is about 4,170,000 yards annually, which is an increase of fourfold within the last forty years. Over five hundred persons are furnished with employment in the mills.

Besides those described there are in town two grist-mills, three saw-mills and two shoddy-mills.

Before any portion of the township had become the private property of individuals, while it was still a part of Worcester, to facilitate settlements the proprietors appointed a committee to lay out four public roads, six rods wide, from the centre of North Worcester (now Holden), in such ways as would be most serviceable to said "Half Part" and the adjoining towns. These roads were laid out, and from that time roads have multiplied until there are now about one hundred and twelve miles of highways within its limits.

Until 1872, there was no railroad passing through the town when the Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad began operations. On this railroad is a depot near the centre of Holden, and another at Jeffersonville; also three "flag-stations." When the project of a new railroad was presented to the citizens of the town, and the many advantages to be derived from it set forth, the people became enthusiastic, and, with their usual liberality, voted in town meeting to take \$44,800 of stock, or five per cent. of the valuation of the town, besides much stock that was taken by private individuals. Previous to the building of the railroad, public conveyance between Holden and Worcester, and Rutland, Hubbardston and Barre, was the stage-coach, which ran daily and carried the United States mail.

The effects of the great earthquake which occurred Nov. 15, 1755, the shock of which was felt in various parts of North America, are still visible in the easterly part of this town.

In June, 1871, a tornado passed through the town, completely demolishing several buildings, unrooting others, throwing down chimneys, uprooting trees, and spreading destruction in its path. A little west of the centre of the town, where it passed through a piece of heavy timber, not a tree was left standing in its path. No lives were lost.

Previous to the year 1837, town meetings and other public meetings were held in the Congregational church. During the year 1837, a town hall, sixty by thirty-eight feet, including the piazza, was built at a cost of \$3,869.58.

This building was repaired, from time to time, until 1876, when it was enlarged and generally remodeled. This was done at an expense of \$4,292.42, making it one of the pleasantest halls to be found in a country town. The main room was made into a memorial hall, as stated elsewhere. One room in the building was fitted up for the library of the Holden Library Association, an active organization, formed in 1876. This association has a small library which is well patronized.

Many clubs and associations have been formed in town, and, after serving the purpose for which they were intended, have become extinct. The oldest association now existing, except the churches, is the Thief-Detecting Society, which was formed Feb. 23, 1818. For several years this society has held but one meeting in each year, and it has probably outlived its day of usefulness.

The Holden Farmers' and Mechanics' Club was formed about twenty years ago. The club holds semi-monthly meetings during the winter months, for discussions and literary entertainments. In the autumn it usually has an agricultural fair. The Grangers also have an organization.

Of the many men and women who have gone out from Holden to other fields of labor, we will mention only a few. Dea. Isaac Fisk, son of Nahum Fisk, born in 1790, married the daughter of Ethan Davis, Esq., and went as lay-missionary to the Choctaw Indians, in 1819.

Miss Abigail P. Davis, granddaughter of the first minister of Holden, married the Rev. William Goodell, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and went as missionary, under the patronage of the A. B. C. F. M., to Beyroot, in 1822; afterwards they were removed to Malta, and from thence to Constantinople.

Miss Hannah Davis, daughter of Ethan Davis, Esq., born Feb. 26, 1805, married Rev. Alden Grout, and, in 1834, went to labor among the Zulus in South Africa. Mrs. Grout lived but about a year after her arrival in Africa. Mr. Grout returned to this country on account of wars among the Zulus, and married Miss Charlotte Bailey daughter of James Bailey of Holden. They returned to their field of labor in South Africa, in 1840.

Mr. Edward Bailey, son of James Bailey, married Caroline Hubbard, daughter of Jonas Hubbard, all of Holden. They embarked at Boston for the Sandwich Islands, Dec. 14, 1836, where for many years they engaged in missionary labor. They still reside on the island of Muni, where his sons control a large sugar plantation.

Miss Myra Fairbanks, daughter of Dea. Joshua Fairbanks, married Rev. Cushing Eells, a native of Blandford, Mass., and engaged in missionary labor among the Flathead Indians, living west of the Rocky Mountains, in 1838.

Mrs. Goddard, daughter of Mr. Asa Abbott, went as missionary to China, under the patronage of the American Baptist Board of Missions.

Rev. Samuel C. Damon, son of Col. Samuel Damon, was born in Holden, Feb. 15, 1815. When the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Holden was celebrated, Mr. Damon delivered the address, and afterwards

wrote the "History of Hoiden," which was published in 1841; and it is from this interesting volume that nearly all the foregoing facts relating to the town during its first hundred years of existence are taken. He was ordained to the ministry, Sept. 15, 1841, and sailed for Honolulu, Feb. 15, 1842, under the auspices of the Seaman's Friend Society, where he has remained as seaman's chaplain. He has also been for many years editor of a paper published at Honolulu.

Miss Isabel Davis, daughter of Jones Davis, married James F. Clarke, and went as missionary to Turkey, where they are now laboring.

Many others — whose names and histories must remain for a more complete work — are equally worthy of mention, who have gone to almost every State in the Union and all countries, to settle in new fields of labor.

HUBBARDSTON.

BY WILLIAM BENNETT.

CHAPTER I.

LOCATION AND SURFACE — ORIGIN OF TOWNSHIP — PROPRIETORS' DOINGS —
FIRST SETTLERS — INCORPORATION — GROWTH OF THE PLACE — WILD BEASTS
— PROMINENT MEN — SENTIMENT DURING THE REVOLUTION — MINUTE-MEN
— WAR OF 1812 — REBELLION RECORD — QUOTA AND BOUNTIES.

THE town of Hubbardston, lying in the northerly part of Worcester County, is bounded north-westerly by Phillipston and Templeton; north-easterly by Gardner and Westminster; south-easterly by Princeton and Rutland; and south-westerly by Barre. Its area is differently stated at from 22,540 to 26,040 acres, of which 345 are used for roads. The elevation of the township is considerable: at the Centre Village, 966 feet; at Lake Moosehorn the same, being the highest water; at Asnaconcomic Pond, next in elevation, 900 feet; while the high hills in the northern section reach some 1,120 feet, all reckoned from sea-level. The town lies about fifty-five miles west of Boston, and twenty miles north-west of Worcester; by which position, and its lofty ground, it is prevented from having any streams flowing through it. All its waters do not pass into the Connecticut, as often stated, but from the south-east corner a large share flow out to reach the "South Wachusett Branch" of the Nashua. The remainder, going northerly through Templeton, help swell the Otter River, or else, moving south-westerly, they find the channel of Ware River, and the same ultimate destination.

This town is one of the final divisions of a very much larger tract which, as the first that is known of it, was conveyed by certain Indians, claiming to be owners of the soil, to Henry Willard, Joseph Rowlandson, Joseph Foster, Benjamin Willard and Cyprian Stevens. The consideration was £23, and the boundaries very ill-defined, but it was to run "along upon Great Wachusett," with the south corner "abutting upon Muscopauge Pond." This deed was recorded in Middlesex Registry, April 14, 1714, as see Book 16, fol. 511.

By subsequent divisions the original proprietors found their number increased, and several surveys were made for the purpose of offering lots to actual

settlers. Finally, in 1749, a considerable part having been incorporated as Rutland District, the remainder was distinguished into a "North-west Quarter," which afterwards became Barre; an "East Wing," now part of Princeton; a "West Wing," now Oakham; and a "North-east Quarter," which became Hubbardston, the subject of the present sketch. It had all along remained one unbroken wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts; for there is no evidence that this vicinity had ever been the home of the Indian. No doubt he had passed often through it, had found and named its waters, as well as taken fish from their depths; but that he ever built a hut here, or planted any of the soil, is not probable.

In 1737, however, the proprietors had decided on laying out the North-east Quarter, and had given instructions accordingly to Abner Lee and Samuel Willard, Jr. They surveyed and numbered sixty-eight house lots, one lot of sixty acres, and one of seven acres. The house lots were subsequently divided to settlers, but the proprietors first ordered that No. 21 should be granted to "the first learned and Orthodox minister that shall be ordained and settled in the place, and shall continue in the ministry there for the term of seven years, or to the day of his death, whichever shall first happen." They also gave No. 30 for the use of schools in the place, forever; the lot of seven acres for a common and site for the meeting-house; and the lot of sixty acres they granted "to Eleazer Brown, now living thereon, provided he or his heirs shall dwell there and keep a house for the entertainment of travelers, for the space of seven years." If Brown declined or refused, then the lot was to go to some one else on the same terms; but he chose to accept, and actually kept his abode on the territory for more than nine years afterward, though he and his family were the only inhabitants for many miles. The proprietors admitted the condition fulfilled, at a meeting held Dec. 14, 1749, and confirmed the title accordingly. But the poor man did not see his good fortune for himself. He was engaged in very little but hunting in the forest, and on the 26th of November, 1746, he went out on his favorite business, but never returned. Fifty-three days afterward his body was found some three miles away, a deer lying by him, and his gun standing against a tree close by, but nothing appeared that could give any further explanation.

For some time after this the few who came seem to have been hunters, with or without families, who were attracted by the abundant large game that here appeared. Such was Israel Green, who arrived in 1749, and took up some good land, but never cultivated it, preferring to hunt bears, for whose destruction he became very famous. At last, in 1761-62, there came here Joseph Grimes, from Tewksbury, and Stephen Heald and Asa Hoyt from Rutland, each with a large family, expressly for the purpose of clearing land and beginning agriculture. Heretofore every soul in the district had subsisted wholly on a game diet, which, perhaps, made the farmers still more welcome. They chose good locations and set up fair homesteads, and, being soon followed

by others from surrounding points, tried for a town organization. But the proprietors opposed them, and they had no success till 1766, when, having new arrivals from Leicester, Holden and Rutland, they renewed the effort, and on the 13th of June, 1767, gained an incorporation as a "district," to which, in honor of Thomas Hubbard, Esq., one of the proprietors, was given the name of "Hubbardston." *

The first meeting under the new authority was called by Edward Rice, under the warrant of John Muzzey, Esq., of Rutland. It was held at Rice's own house, on Friday, July 3, and it appears that Esquire Muzzey was present and served as moderator. John Le Bouveau was chosen district clerk, Ezekiel Newton, treasurer, and Israel Green, Benjamin Nourse and Benjamin Hoyt, selectmen and assessors. The new board immediately called a meeting for July 15, for the consideration of the county road, then just laid out, and leading through the district from Templeton to Rutland. When this meeting arrived, £16 were voted toward the expense of the road, as well as £10 for a contract to build a bridge over the branch of Ware River. This contract was first with Stephen Heald, but was transferred to Joshua Phillips, who completed the work. This road still remains, and is known as the "Old County Road," leading over "Muzzey Hill." It was never either straight or level for any distance, yet it continued to be the traveled way for more than sixty years, being the great thoroughfare for all the teams and stages passing from Vermont through Keene to Worcester.

Such were the first beginnings of this naturally wild township in its progress toward civilization. And when, looking back from the last periods of the eighteenth century, we reflect on the changes and improvements that had then been made, we are led to remark that few New England towns ever began and went forward with a more regular and constant increase in population and general prosperity. In 1767 there were about thirty families, numbering probably one hundred and fifty souls. At the first colonial census after the incorporation, in 1776, the population was four hundred and eighty-eight; by 1782 the families counted up one hundred and seven; at the first United States census, in 1790, the population stood at nine hundred and thirty-three; and at the second, in 1800, it was one thousand one hundred and thirteen.

But the difficulties of residence were not small. For twenty years after the incorporation the wolves were plenty, often making sad havoc among the sheep, and sometimes killing young cattle. Sheep could not be kept without the precaution of folding or housing them at night, and every night. Bounties were freely offered for the destruction of the pests, being paid sometimes by the town and again by the Province. Most of the territory was heavily wooded, and in some places the forests were burned through every spring to

* This was not, indeed, an incorporation of the town as such, but it was all it ever had. It became a town under the general act, passed much later, which declared all incorporated districts to be towns, and authorized them to send representatives to the General Court.

encourage the grass and herbage. Large herds of cattle were regularly driven up from the lower towns, and ranged and fed in these regions all summer.

The infant settlement was encouraged in 1772 and 1773 by the arrival of three new-comers, destined to add much to the strength of the community. These were Isaac Bellows of Rutland, William Muzzey of Lexington, and John Woods of Marlborough. They removed here with each a large family, and being all men of good education, clear intelligence, and all the qualities essential to eminent citizenship, they soon produced an impression on the public sentiment of the place that was not only extremely wholesome, but proved permanent as well. Hubbardston to-day owes much to the memory of these three men. Bellows was one of the first "minute men," Muzzey became a lieutenant, and Woods a captain, and the two last were often delegates in the conventions of that day, Woods being in that which ratified the Constitution of the United States.

During the year 1774, while the inhabitants were doing their best to finish the meeting-house and put a school system in working order, they were met, like all those around them, by the startling realities of the war of the Revolution. In fact, the war had as good as commenced already, and the people saw that with their small numbers and still smaller means they would find speedy necessity for devoting all their money to the securing of their liberties, and leaving all non-essential matters to more favorable times. They were called upon by the most stirring appeals. The selectmen of Boston had sent circulars to all the towns in the Province, calling for a general expression of sentiment, as it was found respectively to prevail. The response of Hubbardston was early, and to the point:

"We are of opinion that the Rulers first derive their power from the Ruled by certain laws and rules agreed to by the Rulers and Ruled; and that the Ruled have a right to judge for themselves when Rulers transgress.

"We think the Parliament of Great Britain have taxed us contrary to our chartered rights; they have made our Governor independent of the people by appointing him a salary from home, which appears to us so big with slavery, that we think it enough to arouse every individual that has any ideas of arbitrary power, above the brute creation, to use his utmost endeavors in a lawful way, to seek redress for our injured rights and privileges. We think we ought, immediately, vigorously and unanimously, to exert ourselves in the most firm, but most peaceable manner for obtaining relief. The cause of Liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by disturbance and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those engaged in it should breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating us to actions of justice and bravery. A free people cannot be too quick in observing, nor too firm in opposing, the beginning of alterations in a constitution."

Of such language the sons of Hubbardston will ever have reason to be proud, though it is not the most classical; for it is good cause of pleasure that, even in these days of her infancy, she had minds capable of expressing their feelings in words so bold and unflinching.

When the resolves for non-importation of British goods were submitted to all the towns by order of Congress, the town adopted them at once, June 14, 1776. When next Congress appealed to the people to say if the independence of the Colonies should be declared, the unanimous vote was again in the affirmative. And going further, they "Voted, That if Congress should so declare the Colonies independent of Great Britain, we, the inhabitants of this town, solemnly engage, with our lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure."

This was no mere boast, for they had a company of minute-men long before this, and soon after the fight at Lexington. Thirty of them marched to Cambridge, many of them were at Bunker Hill, and a large share entered the army for a term of years. The able-bodied men almost all took the field, and the families had to be supported on the credit of the town.

The new Constitution of 1778 was rejected by the town, since they would not agree to a property qualification of voters. But they did agree to call the Convention of 1779, adding several sharp provisos, such as no other of the towns seemed to demand. They also sent Capt. John Wood as delegate, finding that the convention would indeed be held; and, when the result was submitted to the people in the Constitution of 1780, they ratified it with only one vote in the negative. There were then about one hundred families in the town; but it is doubtful if more than thirty persons were able to become qualified voters under the new regulation.

The same loyalty characterized the people of Hubbardston in the war of 1812 as in the Revolution, though only a small number enlisted. Four men were all that entered the military service, two of whom died before the war was over, and the others returned at its close.

But in the war of the Rebellion, this town was represented in the very first regiment raised by Massachusetts. More of our men appeared in the second; and, in ten or twelve others that followed, more or less of them were still to be found. The town furnished about 150 men, of whom about 100 were citizens. The quota was exceeded by 10; while, of such as went out, about 40 never returned, but died for their country's preservation.

The town paid for bounties \$8,625, of which \$2,405 was raised by subscription.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDING OF THE FIRST CHURCH — REV. MR. PARKER'S MINISTRY — HIS SUCCESSORS — SEPARATION OF THE CHURCH — OTHER DENOMINATIONS — HOUSES OF WORSHIP — SCHOOL HISTORY — "SQUADRON" SYSTEM — MANUFACTURES — POTASH BUSINESS — POST-OFFICE — MAIL ROUTES DEVELOPED — POSTMASTERS.

THE effort to establish a Christian church in Hubbardston took place very early; and we find that Rev. Nehemiah Parker was preaching here as a candi-

date in 1768. During the next year, the inhabitants gave him a definite call to settle among them, which he accepted in a letter of great tenderness of spirit, saying that their offers in regard to his support were not large, but he should consider their circumstances and rely on their generosity. This letter was returned Dec. 14, 1769; but the ordination was not had till the 13th day of June, 1770, for it would seem that the formation of the church itself was considered of first necessity. The gathering of the church took place Feb. 14, 1770, with six male members only. These were Nehemiah Parker, pastor-elect; Adam Wheeler of Rutland; Nathaniel Upham of Leicester; Joseph Grimes of Tewksbury; and Nathaniel Waite and Ephraim Rice of Templeton.

Mr. Parker had preached, as happens in all new settlements, in dwellings and barns, in the open air, or where he might. At the time of his ordination, there was still no meeting-house erected, and the services were had under the spreading boughs of a great oak that stood on the west side of the town common. The stipulation of his call gave him a salary of two hundred dollars per year, and he would, if he continued in his place for seven years, come into possession of the lot No. 21, in the centre of the town, containing one hundred acres, and also the "minister's farm" of one hundred and fifty acres, on the south-east side of Comet Pond. In fact, he did thus continue, and eventually received all these lands for his own.

For more than twenty years after his settlement, the relations between himself and his people continued perfectly harmonious. He had never asked any increase of pay, even when he might, perhaps, have gained it; and, when the town became embarrassed, he waited patiently for his payments, out of pure consideration for them. To do this, however, he was forced to sell all the farm by Comet Pond, and nearly half his other lot; and at last, in 1792, he was so pressed that he finally applied for some increase of salary. The town gave him fifty dollars more for that year; but, at the meeting of the next spring, refused anything further. Finally, by the efforts of his friends, a permanent increase of pay to two hundred and fifty dollars per year was obtained; but subsequent endeavors for the same purpose were steadily refused. On the 5th of June, 1800, the town met, at Mr. Parker's request, to consider his application for a dismissal. It was granted, and thus ended his ministry, which had lasted thirty years. His death took place Aug. 20, 1801, at the age of fifty-nine years. He was a graduate of Harvard, of the class of 1763; a man of piety, honest convictions and tender sympathies, who could not endure controversy, and seemed to live wholly for his Master and his work.

Mr. Parker was succeeded by Rev. David Kendall, who was ordained Oct. 20, 1802. This gentleman was singularly unlike his predecessor, and found himself very soon in a situation that only furnished discord and ill-feeling. In September, 1808, the town tried to induce him to ask a dismissal; but it appears that they found the minister more than a match for them, being neither able to flatter, hire, nor drive him away from his position. But at last, April

26, 1809, both parties agreeing to drop all complaints, a council met, and Mr. Kendall was fairly dismissed. He removed to New York State, preached a few years, not successfully, and finally was deposed from the ministry and expelled from the church. He died Feb. 19, 1853, aged eighty-five. He also graduated at Harvard.

The church next secured Rev. Samuel Gay as pastor, who was ordained Oct. 17, 1810. To him was voted an annual salary of five hundred dollars, with five hundred dollars more if he continued ten years in the place as minister. He became a very successful pastor, until the general separation, about 1826, when the Unitarian churches mostly went out of the connection. Then efforts were made to unsettle Mr. Gay, which finally succeeded May 1, 1827; but his friends had forestalled the event by organizing a new church, called the "Calvinistic Society of Hubbardston." Of this, Mr. Gay became pastor, and had much success for some years; but in 1841, there being much dissatisfaction, he retired to his farm, where he died very suddenly, Oct. 16, 1848.

Mr. Gay was followed by Rev. Oliver B. Bidwell; installed Dec. 1, 1841, and dismissed four years later. Next came Rev. D. B. Bradford, installed June 17, 1846, and dismissed April 22, 1852; then Rev. C. W. Allen from Dec. 29, 1852, to Dec. 31, 1860. Eight years of vacancy ensued; since which have been Rev. Henry B. Fay from 1868, one year; Rev. John M. Stowe from August, 1870, to May 9, 1877; and Rev. J. F. Norton from July, 1877, to the present time. The organization has now for many years been called the "Evangelical Congregational Society of Hubbardston."

Meanwhile, the old church, still known as the "First Congregational Church and Society," had been supplying their pulpit temporarily after the retirement of Mr. Gay. The names of Mr. Presbury, Mr. Wiswell, Mr. Leonard and Mr. Randall are remembered in this connection. After nearly a year, Rev. Abner D. Jones began preaching in September, 1828. A call was very soon given him, which he accepted October 12, with a salary of five hundred and fifty dollars. He was ordained Nov. 13, 1828, being only twenty-three years of age. But very unexpectedly, Nov. 11, 1832, he asked a dismissal, and the town granted it on the 20th, passing resolves of general regret, with recommendations of the retiring pastor. Rev. Ebenezer Robinson became his successor, being installed Feb. 20, 1833; but, being an invalid, retired Oct. 9, 1836. Then Rev. William H. Kinsley supplied for two years; after which Rev. Claudius Bradford was ordained April 15, 1840, and retired April 13, 1845. Rev. S. H. Loyd acted from February, 1846, for about a year; Rev. George F. Hill from April 14, 1847, to Sept. 1, 1852; Rev. Stillman Barber from October, 1852, to October, 1854; and Rev. Almanzor S. Ryder from June 20, 1855, to Dec. 1, 1860. There was then a temporary supply for nine years, when Rev. Benjamin F. McDaniel was settled, but only stayed two and a half years, since which there has been only such supply as could be obtained.

A Methodist church was gathered in Hubbardston in 1839, to the pastorate

of which Rev. Joseph Whitman, then of Grafton, was transferred. A public hall was at first used; and, the conference having made it a regular station, Mr. Whitman stayed in charge two years, and was then succeeded by Rev. Stephen Cushing. Some twenty-five others have followed, and the present incumbent is Rev. W. E. Dwight.

Some notice of the different church edifices in the town will here be proper. The first meeting-house in Hubbardston was commenced in the autumn of 1772, and the frame was raised in June, 1773; probably on the thirteenth day. Partial efforts were made from season to season, by which the frame was covered, and made to be barely tolerable for use, but only at the close of the Revolution were there any effectual measures taken for its being finished. No paint, unless upon the outside trimmings, is said to have been put upon it till 1794; and the huge belfry, with the porch at the east end, were works of still later date. The house was removed a few rods west in 1842, reconstructed and re-dedicated in January, 1843; and again, after another improvement, re-dedicated May 5, 1869.

The Calvinistic Church was erected in the summer of 1827, being dedicated on the first day of November. It has since been remodeled.

The Methodist Church was built in 1840, and dedicated Sept. 25. This was also much improved in the year 1869.

The first appropriation for public schools in this town was made in July, 1767, when the inhabitants voted £10 for the support of a school three months during the next winter. This school was kept in three different places, successively, and was attended by nearly all the boys in town of suitable age, those from remote points coming to board near by the place of session. For three years it was located in dwelling-houses, but in the summer of 1770, a school-house was built near the centre, that for a time answered for school, church and town meeting. Most of the time afterward the schools were kept there, but occasionally varying to some other neighborhood, since many families lived three or four miles away. In 1775, the appropriation was raised to £15, but the vote was annulled before taxation. In 1776, they succeeded in raising £10; but the next year they again failed to do anything for schools at all. For the rest of the time of the war, £10 or more was raised annually; but in the embarrassing days after the return of peace, two years were passed again with no appropriation.

By the spring of 1782, a better feeling having revived, it was decided, in view of the increased breadth of the settlement, to inaugurate a system of school districts. The formation of these was entrusted to the following committee:—William Mareau, Elijah Adams, James Thompson, Joseph Caryl, Joel Pollard and Isaac Bellows. They divided the town into seven "squadrons," and recommended the building of as many new school-houses. But nothing further was done for two years, though the town accepted the report. Then, March, 1784, the houses were ordered to be built and finished by June

1, 1785, £105 being granted for the expense. The money, however, was not very promptly raised.

In 1786, as one of the squadrons had been divided, the town gave each new part £7 10s. additional, and likewise increased the general appropriation by £80. It hardly seems that very good progress had then been made with the buildings: but they were probably all finished within the year 1788. The eight schools thus provided for were called the "Centre," "North-west," "North," "North-east," "East," "South-east," "South," and "West;" but in a few years the name of "squadron" was dropped and the districts were designated by numbers only.

No material changes appear till 1837, when the town was re-districted under charge of the following committee:—Silas Greenwood, Justus Ellinwood and Moses Waite; more carefully defined limits being established. At a still later date a new system of districts was established, nine in number; and the school appropriations were distributed among them in a more equitable manner.

It has been already stated that a lot was laid out by the original proprietors "to be held unalienated forever for the support of schools." But by 1795, when the annual appropriation first touched £100, the depredations on this piece of property by the vicious had become so annoying, that William Marcan, Robert Murdoch and Ebenezer Joslyn were made a committee to petition the General Court for leave to sell. The permission was granted, and about \$1,273 was realized. This was invested and for many years yielded some \$72 to increase the appropriation. The amount raised by vote gained upward steadily till it reached \$2,500 in 1865, at which figure it has since remained.

The long list of teachers cannot here be given; but the names of Thomas O. and Lucy Selfridge may be mentioned, as instructors of great fidelity and high qualifications.

Since 1860, a high school, or at least a school of advanced grade has been taught at the Centre, which has received many scholars, such as formerly were sent to academies or advanced schools in other places.

As naturally happens almost everywhere in inland districts, and certainly in almost all the towns of Worcester County, the earliest occupation of the settlers of Hubbardston was agriculture. They found a wilderness and a forest, and set themselves to convert the country into fruitful fields instead; but the reward was not of very speedy return. The land would produce one good crop of winter rye; but was then too much exhausted to yield a second, and had to be otherwise used for several years before putting grain upon it again. Much hay was cut, however, large stocks of cattle were kept, and good barns had been erected; in fact, at the close of the century the families were mostly prospering and increasing in property; yet this was only where health, industry and frugality were happily found together.

Such a state of things gave little encouragement for manufactures or

mechanic arts. Several saw-mills had been built, and rather more lumber sawed than was wanted at home; but the demand elsewhere was small, and the price very low, leaving the profit almost nothing, even with the small wages paid for labor. This matter, however, improved materially afterwards.

At the time of the incorporation, no article had been made here for consumption abroad with any success, except potash. Burning the forest for clearing naturally made quantities of ashes, and the shrewd people soon discovered that these could be profitably utilized. David Slarrow came to town before the incorporation and established the business on Muzzy Hill. It appeared that the high price of potash from abroad created a demand that enabled this article to pay for transportation, which nothing else would that could be produced here. It seems strange to the people of this day; but it is true that very large quantities of the very best wood and timber were then cut and burned for the alkali afforded by the ashes. After sometime Mr. Slarrow left town, and then Moses Clark started the business in the village, and kept it up till 1810. When he also retired, Justus Ellinwood took it up, and was able to follow it twenty years longer, till it ceased in 1830.

Soon after 1800 the consumption of the timber-growth along the seaboard increased the demand in the rear towns; and Hubbardston began to feel the call of a better market.

Before long the business of lumbering ran up to an activity that employed in the winter all the industrious men in the town. More than two million feet of boards would find an annual sale. Enterprise kept pushing in the same direction, and soon a number of young men began to split and shave "chair stuff" in the winter season. This found a ready sale at Sterling. One step further, and it was learned that the wood-seated chair could be wholly made here, and freighted to Boston and Providence by teams, so as to pay a profit; and this effort was rapidly developed, till more than forty men were at work, and more than seventy thousand chairs were annually made.

These remarks indicate the chief lines of business in this place. But there are several others deserving notice.

The large quantity of beech timber naturally found here suggested the establishment of the card-board business. Of these boards, 7,000 dozen pairs have been annually made. They find a market at Leicester.

Coopers' ware was largely made here some forty years since, and sold readily in Providence.

A tannery has been established here at least eighty years. It has had fair success, as also has a tinware manufactory, started about forty years ago.

We might mention also, that in 1829, the discovery of a large bed of pyrite in the north part of the town led to the beginning of the copperas manufacture. A considerable quantity was made, and the work went on some ten years; but was not profitable, and only stopped after sinking very much money.

Most of these lines of industry have ceased operation after a time; but the boot and shoe business, now more than sixty years old in town, is still in good activity, employing some forty hands.

A post-office was first established in Hubbardston in the year 1810. The mail was then carried through the town once a week each way, from Worcester to Keene, N. H.

In 1823, a mail began to run from Boston to Albany, which passed through three times a week each way. By 1826, the Worcester and Keene mail came to make two trips per week each way, and soon after three. A daily mail from both Worcester and Boston was had soon after the opening of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad; and the present arrangement, which gives twice daily communication with all prominent points, was not long in coming into effect afterwards.

The postmasters of Hubbardston have been in succession:—Reuben Wheeler, Clark Witt, John Church, Levi Pierce, Dana Brown, Appleton Clark, Abijah S. Clark, John Phelps, John F. Clark, William Bennett, Jr., William H. Whittemore and Lyman Woodward.

LANCASTER.

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

AN ANCIENT TOWN — INDIAN PURCHASE — FIRST SETTLEMENT AND ORIGINAL CHURCH — GARRISONS — ATTACK BY KING PHILIP'S INDIANS — AWFUL CARNAGE — SUFFERINGS AND CAPTIVITIES — NEW TOWNS FORMED — SPIRIT IN THE REVOLUTION — LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC DETERMINATION — LANCASTER IN THE REBELLION.

LANCASTER is, by several years, the oldest town in the county, whether regarded as a settlement or a legal corporation. Pioneers were on the ground in 1643, and an act authorizing the inhabitants to act as a municipality was passed in 1653. Town officers were elected in that year, and though the town was superintended by a committee, headed by Maj. Simon Willard, from 1657 to 1665, yet it never lost its character as a distinct municipality. After the massacre in 1675-6, the scattered people returned, and went forward under the original grant and act of incorporation. Mendon was settled quite early, but the exact time is unknown. It was incorporated in 1667, or fourteen years later than Lancaster. The grant of Brookfield was made in 1660, and there were so many people on the ground by 1673, they were authorized to form a town by an act dated October 15; but the General Court appointed a committee of three gentlemen belonging to other places, to regulate all affairs in regard to "settling and building up the town." The settlement was under this régime at the time of the massacre, in 1675, and down to the year 1718, when on the 12th of November, the General Court granted the full powers of municipal self-government. Worcester had settlers as early as 1685, a settlement having been authorized in 1784; but the first town meeting was not held until the last Wednesday of September, 1722. Lancaster, Oxford, Sutton and Westborough were set up as towns between 1713 and 1718, and by the year 1731, when the county was incorporated, Lunenburg, Rutland, Shrewsbury, Southborough and Uxbridge were enjoying municipal privileges. Thus Lancaster, as a settlement, was nearly ninety years old when the county was erected, and as a town had existed seventy-eight years. By reason of this

priority, it was necessary to mention the town often, while preparing the history of the county, but repetition will be avoided so far as possible.

The territory of Lancaster, except the section on the west, afterwards set off to Leominster and Sterling, was bought of Sholan, or Shamanw, sachem of the tribe of Indians whose centre was at Washacum ponds, by Thomas King of Watertown, and his associates, none of whom ever became residents of the place. The tract was eighty square miles, or ten miles by eight. In the season of 1643, three men, Ball, Linton and Waters, were on the ground, and built two or three log-houses, but it is not known that they had families with them. Thomas King sold his trading-house, on the south-east side of George Hill, to John Prescott, who, before 1647, became a permanent resident, moved the trading business to what is now South Lancaster, and commenced his business as a farmer, miller and blacksmith. In 1647, there were two other settlers; viz., Richard Linton and Lawrence Waters, both of whom had been in the place as pioneers in 1643. In 1653, there were nine families on the ground, living near each other, and feeling the need of some local government. They petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation, or, perhaps, more correctly, of authorization to enjoy municipal privileges. The act of the court came in this form: "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the court finds, according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway, is wholly in the court's power. Considering that there is already at Nashaway about nine families, and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition, the court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth it shall be called Lancaster."

The act then prescribes certain conditions which must be fulfilled, one of which was that the rights of those who had "possessed and continued inhabitants of Nashaway," should have their lots confirmed to them, provided they took the "oath of fidelity." Another was that they would take care to maintain a "godly minister amongst them"; and a third was that "no evil persons, enemies of the Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, should be admitted as inhabitants among them." These provisions were necessary to the welfare of the town and the safety of the Colony, or as the forecasting statesmen at Boston styled it, "this Commonwealth." They were too wise to leave the territory behind them open to the settlement of the loose spirits who were in the seaboard towns, or who might come from England, and plant hostile towns in the country of the Indians. What has been reproachfully laid to their alleged bigotry and narrowness, was simply a matter of self-preservation, and to it the life, the intelligence, and the moral and religious character of Massachusetts are due. What was needed in the infancy of the Colony became unnecessary in the days of its consolidated strength, when the laws were modified in accordance with changed conditions.

The settlers having, in the course of 1653, complied with the terms pre-

scribed by the court, it was granted by the authorities in 1654, "that the inhabitants of Lancaster have those liberties of a township that the laws allow, until the General Court take further order therein." The number of men to whom this "liberty of township" was granted, was ten, five of whom were freemen, or members of the church.

The purchase of Sholan covered a tract ten miles by eight, or eighty square miles, but the grant, as surveyed by Lieut. Noyes, was ten miles, nearly north and south, eight miles broad on the north end, and six and a half miles wide at the south end. It may be stated here, though it is by anticipating dates, that in 1713, a large addition, purchased of Tahanto, the sachem of Washacum, was granted by the General Court. This tract was on the west side of the town, and was ten miles long by four wide. And what can be said of the tract of country thus secured to the proprietors of Lancaster? Without passing the limits of strict truthfulness it may be said that if the settlers had been offered the "very choice and pick" of the whole Colony, they could not have made a better selection. Whether the fertility of the soil, or the beauty of the scenery, or the sweetness, purity and abundance of the springs, or the amount of water-power for mills, or the salubrity of the air is considered, the township is probably unsurpassed by any in New England. A full description is not compatible with the limits of this sketch, but it will be proper to say that the windings of the Nashua River and the numerous wood-enclosed ponds which gem the surface, with the broad and rich interuales, the plains, plateaus and gently sloping hills, make almost every rod of the town pleasant to behold. The place was attractive to the new settlers because the surface was less rough and rocky than in most of the hill country, and because portions of the interuales were less densely covered with forests. There were spots already open for planting, as well as good for pasture, when the pioneers came, in 1643. Besides, the streams, and especially the Nashua, were well stocked with fish, including shad, herring and salmon, in their season. The whole region looked inviting, and hither they were attracted. And this was true, in great measure, in regard to all the parts of original Lancaster, as well as to the central portion, which now constitutes the town.

By 1656, or two years after the town was fully authorized to act for itself, there were forty-eight settlers admitted to proprietors' rights, and by 1660 seven more had been admitted, making fifty-five. The larger part became residents. For a few years the early settlers were careful in regard to the persons who were received into the town, and very careful in regard to those who were admitted to the condition of proprietors. As they became established and learned to know each other, and after they had taken time to invite those whose presence was desirable, the restrictions in regard to settlement were somewhat relaxed, and new comers were welcomed. In consequence, the population increased by immigration as well as by births, and by the year 1675, when the first Indian raid was made upon the town, there were

probably as many as three hundred and fifty inhabitants within the township, and these were compactly settled on two or three roads, with the meeting-house very near the centre. The house of the minister, the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, was not far from the house of worship, and was fortified, though not with sufficient care, before the fatal attack in the spring of 1676.

Measures were taken for the erection of the first meeting-house in 1657, and the first town meeting was held in the new house in June, 1658. This house was on the highest point of the Middle Cemetery, and was probably in sight of nearly every family in the whole plantation. A grant of land was made for the first minister, and this was divided into different lots for intervalles, uplands, woodland, &c., and a lot was also set apart for the ministry.

In the meantime, the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson had moved into the place, having begun to preach to the new settlement in 1656. The church was not formed till 1660, probably in August, when Mr. Rowlandson was ordained. The town was now organized, and in working order as a municipality, with its various officers, its minister and its other apparatus for teaching, since the law required that the children should be taught, and the parents valued education.

The early settlers appear to have been an intelligent, industrious and well-behaved people. Those who first projected a plantation were not encouraged by the General Court, as their sentiments and character were not equal to the requisite standard. Those who actually made the settlement were a better class, but from the fact that less than half of them were not freemen, a feeling of jealousy sprang up, and the people prayed the General Court, as already stated, to appoint a committee of three, who had supervisory power about nine years, until matters were settled and consolidated. These gentlemen were Simon Willard, Edward Johnson of Woburn, and Thomas Danforth of Cambridge. They were all men of respectability in the Colony, and were held in great respect by the inhabitants of Lancaster. Maj. Willard became a resident, and received several grants of land. It must be remembered that the town chose its officers as before, but the selectmen took their orders from the committee in regard to all matters of importance. The town also expressed its opinions and wishes to the committee, either by vote or by private consultation. With this arrangement all affairs were conducted harmoniously, until the town felt fully qualified to go alone, when, with mutual satisfaction, the power of the committee was terminated by consent of the General Court.

During the fifteen years between the organization of the church and the first Indian raid upon the town there was a healthy growth, in regard to numbers, and much was done to bring the land under cultivation. Some proprietors never came to reside, some left in a short time, and perhaps some had no families in the beginning; but others came in, so that the population increased. Mills had been erected for sawing and grinding by John Prescott, in the present limits of Clinton. Log-houses had begun to give place to framed

houses, and probably some of the houses had risen to the dignity of two stories. According to Mrs. Rowlandson there was good neighborhood and pleasant intercourse between families and friends, and, judging from her narrative, there was considerable cultivation of mind among the women of the place. All the men but three signed their names to the covenant, which proves that they could read and write. The social life of the plantation was kept up by frequent visits, by meeting on the Sabbath and at trainings, and by all those raisings, huskings, bees and other gatherings that were frequent before people began to depend on traveling showmen and songsters for their amusement. Mrs. Rowlandson, in recording her feelings while in captivity, gives us a glimpse of the life in Lancaster in the middle of the seventeenth century, and just after. She says: "Upon the Sabbath-days I could look upon the scene and think how people were going to the house of God to have their souls refreshed; and their homes and their bodies also. I remember how, on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and refresh ourselves with the good creatures of God."

In this homely, but cheerful and piously puritanic society, were the families of Rowlandson, father and sons, Prescott, Sawyer, White, Kerly, father and sons, the cousins Houghton, Fairbanks, Joslin, Rugg, Beaman, Whitecomb, Gates, Atherton, Moore, Linton, Wilder and others, whose names and descendants have gone out to the ends of the earth.

But a dread calamity was impending. The spirit of Philip had breathed its malign influence into the natives, and from the confidence and friendship of Sholan there was a change under the rule of Sam, his successor. The first outbreak was in the summer of 1675, when, on the 22d of August, old style, eight persons were killed in different parts of the town. There is some reason for believing that five of the eight were killed in what is now the North Village. Mordecai McLeod, his wife and two children, lived near the east end of the village, and George Bennett just east of the bridge. The home of Jacob Farrar was about half a mile east of McLeod. The place of the murder of William Flagg and Joseph Wheeler is left to conjecture. This attack, so frightful and cruel, does not appear to have been expected. No preparation had been made for defense, and no fears seem to have taken possession of the people. It is true that Philip had made an attack on Swansey in June, and on the 14th of July four or five people had been killed at Mendon, and an English spy brought word of an anticipated attack sometime in the summer; but as the Washacum Indians went in and out before them, and appeared to be on terms of amity and good neighborhood, all fears were hushed to sleep. But after this deadly raid the inhabitants were thoroughly alarmed, and made preparations to resist attack. Five places were fortified. These were in localities convenient for all the families to take shelter in whenever the occasion might come. One garrison was as near the centre of the town as possible.

The house of the minister, Mr. Rowlandson, was midway between South Lancaster and the Centre. His house was put in the way of defense, though it has come down to us that either there was no way of defending it in the rear, or that the back part of the house was so covered by a huge pile of wood that the besieged could not assail the Indians on that side. In the Centre there was one garrison or fortified house, probably at the home of John White, though some think it was about twenty rods north-west of the railroad station. A third was at Thomas Sawyer's house, about half a mile south of the house of the minister, and in the centre of the settlement of South Lancaster. The fourth was Prescott's garrison in Clinton, and probably the fifth was in the south-west part of Bolton.

This arrangement was doubtless known to Philip; for he planned to attack the town in five places at the same time. His purpose was to blot the town from existence; therefore, taking fifteen hundred men, he divided them into five companies, and in the early morning of Feb. 10, 1675, old style, or Feb. 20, 1676, new style, hurled them upon these fortified places. It was so early that some of the families appear not to have run into the places of comparative safety, and the attack was so nearly simultaneous that the men in one garrison could not rush to the help of others. It is supposed that some were killed or captured in all the forts; it is known that one was killed at Prescott's, and three at Wheeler's in Bolton. Others were slain at places long since forgotten. The main attack was on the fortified house of Mr. Rowlandson, the site of which is known, and will always be preserved. The minister and two of his brothers-in-law, Capt. Henry Kerly and Mr. Drew, who had married sisters of Mrs. Rowlandson, were absent, having gone to Boston in quest of aid from the government. This garrison was the central point in the town, and of course was the objective point of Philip's expedition. Into this house the families in the neighborhood, and perhaps some from the Centre or Neck, as it was called, so far as they had been notified or alarmed in season, hastily ran for protection. The planks of the bridge were torn up by the enemy to prevent the co-operation or escape of the English. And it is wonderful that so many were saved from the fury of the savages. Probably some took refuge in the woods and swamps till relief came before the close of the next day. But, of the forty-two or more in the minister's house, one only, Ephraim Roper, escaped.

The attack was made early in the morning, and, says Mrs. Rowlandson, "Quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." For more than two hours the house was defended with true heroism. Bullets rattled on the sides and roof like hail. Several attempts were made to set the house on fire, as at Brookfield a short time before, but these failed. At length a blaze was kindled, but a brave man ran out with water and quenched it. Finally, a cart filled with combustibles was pushed down behind the house, where there were no means of defense, and soon the whole building was in flames. This was

about two hours after the first assault. In the meantime, the enemy, according to Mrs. Rowlandson, had watched from behind the barn, or the hill, or a tree, or any object that could conceal them, every opportunity to fire at any one of the defenders who was at all exposed. She styles it that "amazing time." The fire was raging over their heads, and the "bloody heathen ready to knock all who stirred out on their head." Mothers and children were heard crying out for themselves and one another: "Lord, what shall we do?" Then, says the saintly woman, "I took my children (and one of my sisters hers) to go forth and leave the house; but, as soon as we came to the door, and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and thrown them, so that we were forced to give back." Their dogs at other times were brave and ready to fly at an enemy, but now they seemed to have lost all courage, and would not stir. Thomas Rowlandson, the minister's brother, who had been shot in the neck while in the house, now fell dead, and the Indians, with a shout, stripped him of his clothing. Mrs. Rowlandson was shot through the side, and the same bullet went through the hand into the bowels of her little daughter, about six years old. The son of her sister Kerly had his leg broken, when the savages knocked him on the head. The narrative continues: "Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed with the blood running down to our heels. My elder sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and her eldest son telling her that her son William was dead, and myself wounded, she said: 'Lord, let me die with them!' which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. Then the Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way and the children another, and said: 'Come, go along with us.'" Accounts differ in regard to the number of persons in the house, some putting it as high as forty-two, and others no higher than thirty-seven. Of these, as before stated, only one escaped. Twelve were killed either by a shot or a stab, or by being knocked on the head. One was "chopped into the head with a hatchet, and stripped naked, and yet was crawling up and down," and all of those killed were "stripped naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, ranting, singing and insulting as if they would have torn our very hearts out." The men, except the one who escaped by running, were all killed or reserved for torture. The wife of Roper was killed in the attempt to escape. Mrs. Rowlandson, her sister Mrs. Drew, the wife of Abraham Joslin, and other women and children to the number of about twenty, were taken captive. How many of the savages were slain at this garrison and the others was never known, as they were careful to conceal their losses by bearing off the dead and wounded, but the belief at the time was that their loss was considerable. The total loss of the white was fifty to fifty-five.

The fight being over, a scene of plunder, burning and torture ensued, and a

good part of the night was spent on a neighboring hill in a grand carouse. The captives, looking down upon the valley, could see, in all directions, the smoke rising from the dying brands of their comfortable homes, about one-half of which were fired on that woful day. The news of the disaster sped to the towns below, and soldiers were soon on the ground, when the savages withdrew. The dead were buried, but not the faintest shadow of a tradition tells where. The living who had escaped death by concealment were gathered into safe places, and the remnants of property and stock were collected and put in safe condition. But the town was ruined for the time being. Soon, by order of the General Court, teams came from below, and moved the people, with all their effects, to places less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. The next day every remaining house and building, except the meeting-house and one dwelling a little out of the settlement, were burned to the ground.

This seems to be the place to notice and to stamp as false to history two narratives that were published a few months since in two respectable newspapers, which narratives had all the appearance of being sober statements of facts that occurred at this time. One is the story of one Mrs. Divoll, who, it was stated, lived in a hollow between the hills, and in the absence of her husband, managed to kill five able-bodied Indians. The whole story, in all its numerous particulars, was a tissue of fiction, not to say falsehood, except the one item that Mrs. Divoll lived in Lancaster at the time. Her name was Hannah, and she was a daughter of John White and sister of Mrs. Rowlandson. The other piece of inexcusable fiction had all the air of fact, and was doubtless believed to be so by the writer; yet the very "Narrative of her Removes," by Mrs. Rowlandson, shows that the article is incorrect in nearly every particular. It is false in giving the account of the captured woman's treatment; false in stating where the child which died in New Braintree was buried; false in all the particulars of the burial; false in giving the manner of crossing Miller's River, and false in stating that a high elevation in Northfield was named by the bereaved mother Mount Grace in memory of her child buried at its foot, when she never had a child of that name, and the real child was laid to rest some twenty miles away. The story of the good woman's captivity must be read in her inimitable "Removes," a book which will grow in interest as the generations come and go. It will satisfy those who have not seen her narrative to say that, after a captivity of two or three months, in which she was taken as far as Brattleborough, and perhaps beyond, and during which she suffered extremely from cold, hunger and ill-usage, she was redeemed and restored to her husband. Her youngest child died while among the savages, and her son and daughter were restored soon after her return.

This was the beginning of the Indian attacks upon Lancaster, — the raid in August before, and this in February, — and it will be convenient, in this connection, to give an outline, in the briefest space, of the whole drama of Indian massacre and burning, so far as this town was involved. The connection of

the town with Indian fighting in other places will come in its time. How soon the scattered people began to return is not matter of record, but it is probable that some venturesome men, having no home elsewhere, came up in a year or two, and began to re-plant and build anew. A passing French traveler found some residents in 1679. In that year the Middlesex County Court appointed a committee to renew the settlement, but there is no evidence of their service. Yet it is certain that quite a number of settlers were on the ground in 1681, because, in the Colony records is a petition praying to be released from a tax laid on them the year before. The old meeting-house not being satisfactory, steps were taken, in 1684, towards building a new one, and the object was accomplished in that, or the following year. The new house was built on the site of the old one, which the Indians had spared because, as it is said, it was "God's house." The pulpit was supplied by "diverse gentlemen" from 1681 to 1688, when the Rev. John Whiting began to preach on probation. He was ordained on the 3d of December, 1690, and according to an entry in Judge Sewall's diary, recently published, a church was organized the same day. If this is correct, the church as established at first, was regarded as extinct. The tragic end of Mr. Whiting is told in few words. After a ministry of about nine years, he was killed, Sept. 22, 1697, by the Indians, in the bloody attack made on that day. He was at some distance from his house, when about noon, the enemy assailed him. He defended himself. They offered quarter, but he preferred death to captivity and the probability of torture, and in defending himself was slain, and then scalped. His death was much lamented. His successor, the Rev. Andrew Gardner, who came in May, 1701, met with a fate still more sad, if possible, Nov. 7, 1704, when he was shot by a townsman, who mistook him, in the dusk of the early morning, for one of the enemy. The people made great lamentation over him.

Some of the men of Lancaster were in the ill fated Canada expedition of 1690. When the war of King William broke out in 1689, the town was alarmed, and took measures for defense, but no attack was made before July 29, 1692, when the house of Peter Joslin was entered by the Indians, in his absence on the farm, and his wife, his three children and a woman were "barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and left weltering in their gore." This house was on the main street, about half way from the depot to the bridge in North Village, near the residence of Mr. William H. McNeil. In 1695, a Mr. Wheeler was mortally wounded on a "Lord's day morning," between a garrison and his own house. In September, 1697, on the twenty-second day, one of the greatest calamities that ever befel the town, was experienced. An attack was made on the inhabitants who resided all the way from the meeting-house to the side of George Hill, and many houses, barns and outhouses were set on fire. At this time occurred the death of Rev. Mr. Whiting. Twenty others were killed, two were wounded, and six were carried captive. This terrible calamity was followed by a few years of peace, and then Queen Anne's war laid

the town open to new misfortunes. In the year 1704, the town was garrisoned and put in a posture of defence. There was need, for the savages, inspired by the French, were on the war-path. Says an account written near the time: "On Monday morning past, August 10th, the enemy, French and Indians, fell upon Lancaster, about four hundred of them, assaulted six garrisons at once, where the people defended themselves very well, until assistance came in from all parts, by the governor's order, so that in the evening there were three hundred men in the town. And the enemy was beaten off with loss, but are yet hovering on the head of those towns, to make some further impression, if not prevented." Four men were killed, several barns were burned, and other property destroyed. It was on the 7th of November following that Mr. Gardner was killed. On the 26th of October, 1705, Thomas Sawyer, his son Elias, and John Biglo were captured and taken to Canada. July 27, 1707, Jonathan White was killed. August 30, occurred the murder of Jonathan Wilder, but this was in Chocksett (now Sterling). The deed was done at the place ever since called the "Indian fight," where his death was revenged by the shooting of nine Indians in open conflict. Two of the whites were killed. The last act of violence was in August, 1710, when an attack was made on the Wilders living on George Hill. They defended themselves, but an Indian youth in their employ was killed. During all this time the people kept "watch and ward" near a third of their time; they "ranged the woods"; they were "in peril of their lives" when at work, and had "little peace day or night."

The French and Indian wars in which Lancaster was involved at a distance from home, must be dismissed in a paragraph. Capt. John White rendered conspicuous service in "Lovewell's war." In the war with the Eastern Indians, 1721-25, the names of Jabez Fairbank, Edward Hartwell, Samuel Willard, Josiah Willard and John White became familiar throughout New England. These were capable officers, and did strenuous service. Lancaster sent about nineteen of her brave sons on the expedition to Cuba in 1739-40, not one of whom ever returned. Col. Samuel Willard led a regiment, and his son, Capt. Abijah led a company in the capture of Louisburg, in 1745. Col. Josiah Willard and his sons held Fort Dummer during the war. In the last French and Indian war, from 1755 to 1763, this town furnished men and officers without stint. Some of them were in all the fights, combats and battles from the forts at Lake George to Quebec. The story is one of sacrifice, of heroism, and of triumph. But it cannot find a place in these pages.

The history of the first church in Lancaster has been given up to the year 1704, when Mr. Gardner was mortally wounded. In 1708, March 29th, the Rev. John Prentice was ordained, and then began a series of three pastorates, with scarcely a break between them, which lasted one hundred and thirty-two years, and counting the two years when Mr. Thayer was a colleague, one hundred and thirty-four years. This fact has but few, if any, parallels in the history of

New England. The pastorate of Mr. Prentice continued to the year 1748, when, on the 4th of January, he was taken away, "after a life of much service and faithfulness." Two days before his death the church had made a move to obtain a colleague, owing to his increasing infirmities. He was an able, sound, faithful and godly man, and religion flourished during his ministry. His grave is in the old burying-yard, east of the railroad.

An association for mutual religious improvement was formed by the young men of the town, in 1748, probably about the time of the settlement of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, which took place on the 16th of November, 1748. The society of young men, which seems to have anticipated by a century, the modern Young Men's Christian Associations, must have been a great encouragement to the new minister, since all its rules made the members helpers rather than rivals. His pastorate, like that of Mr. Prentice, was long, generally peaceful, and prosperous. He was settled as one firmly grounded in the Orthodox faith, and probably remained so, but with some leaning to Arminianism, till his decease. The church was strong in his time, as in that of his predecessor, the leading families belonging to it, though the connection of some was by the "half-way" plan. Discipline was administered with fidelity, but with great patience and Christian forbearance, as if for the purpose of restoring the erring ones. Mr. Harrington was a pleasant gentleman, a good classical scholar, a faithful pastor, and, in the words of Dr. Thayer, an "interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life." The attachment of his people was too strong to be shaken by any ordinary difficulty, and he retained their confidence to the end. The Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was settled as his colleague on the 9th of October, 1793, a little more than two years before his decease, which occurred on the 18th of December, 1795, in the eightieth year of his age.

The pastorate of Mr. Thayer began auspiciously with the benediction of his venerable predecessor, who came out of his door when the young minister was passing after the ordination services, and placing his hand on the head of his colleague, invoked the divine blessing, and said: "I now die in peace. I can now go and bear witness to my brother, from whom I received this people, that I leave them united, prosperous and happy." The new minister came from Cambridge with the new views which had become prevalent there towards the close of the last century, though as yet there was no avowed departure from the ancient standards of the faith. His position was similar to that of Dr. Channing, Dr. Henry Ware, and the fathers of the Unitarian denomination, and remained so with little modification, it is believed, during his long and happy ministry of forty-seven years. His death occurred suddenly at Rochester, N. Y., when on a journey, at two o'clock in the morning of June 22, 1840. His remains were brought to Lancaster, and were laid in the tomb in the middle cemetery with all the marks of the general esteem, and the veneration of his parishioners. Dr. Thayer was a minister by birth, preference

and training. He was punctual in the performance of all ministerial duties, was a good speaker, an able sermonizer, a prudent manager, a lover of peace, and a man fitted to inspire confidence.

A brief space must be given to the formation of new towns out of the ample domain of Lancaster. Between 1732 and 1740 the three towns of Harvard, Bolton and Leominster were incorporated. The south-western part was erected into a precinct in 1743, and was made a town April 25, 1781. Still later, a large section of Lancaster was cut off from the south end, and now forms a part of Boylston and West Boylston. When Berlin was cut off from Bolton, a slice from the mother towns was added. In 1850, the town of Clinton from the south end of Lancaster was made a separate municipality, and took with its new honors, much of the life and business of the old and diminished hive. But there was still left the ancient centre with ample territory, and with the beauty and fertility which have always made Lancaster the delight of the traveler and the pride of its inhabitants.

In the Revolution, Lancaster took the position becoming to the oldest, most populous and wealthiest town in the county. This was her position before the forming of new towns from her territory in 1732-40, and continued to be till the outbreak of the Revolution. By the formation of Sterling she lost about half her territory and population, and since then has never taken the foremost place. Other towns became business centres, and have enjoyed a vigorous growth. While the troubles were rising and coming to a head, in the years preceding the clash of arms at Lexington, this town was preparing for the conflict which was foreseen to be inevitable. A few leading men adhered to the royal cause, but the great mass of citizens were ardent patriots, and their minds were early made up to resist the encroachments on their rights and liberties to the last extremities. It 1773, the town raised money to buy cannon, balls and powder, and directed the selectmen to supply poor men "with good arms for the use of said town." Men in good circumstances gave money to supply others with the weapons of war. When the news came from Lexington, in the early part of the day, a company of "minute-men," under Capt. Benjamin Houghton, and Capt. Thomas Gates's company of cavalry, hastened to Cambridge to aid in repelling the royal forces. These went for a limited time, but company after company took their places, until the regular Continental force was organized under Washington.

The people were ripe for independence before the Continental Congress was ready to make the immortal Declaration. When that came it was received with solemn delight, and was inscribed on the records of the town in "perpetual memorial." The people, in their primary capacity, made their own the act of their delegates, and pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to maintain it to the triumphant close. Year after year the town raised soldiers, and voted money and supplies, with wonderful liberality when we consider the strain that was put upon them by the prolonged contest.

From lists of soldiers found in the archives of the State, we learn that eighty-one men enlisted in the second year of the war, and with the exception of twenty-one men who went on six months service at West Point, there were sixty who joined the army either for three years or during the war. Their average time of service being about twenty-seven months, it follows that, besides the men in the West Point expedition, the town had not far from forty soldiers continuously in the service of the country. Leaving out those who hastened to Lexington, and later to Bunker Hill, the whole number who went from this town into the war exceeded three hundred. Joseph Willard, the historian, states that "one-half of all the ratable polls, from sixteen years and upwards," were in the field at different times. If the boys under eighteen, and the men over forty-five should be deducted, there would be only a few able-bodied men left who did not go to the front and bear the hardships of the camp, the march, and the battle-field. Quite a number died in the war of the Revolution. Some were killed in battle; some were mortally wounded; some died of camp fevers and other distempers, and some came home with enfeebled constitutions. The war drank deep of the life-blood of the town. The cost of war was also a heavy drain upon all the resources of the people. They gave money, food, clothing, and other stores to the extent of their ability. In that heroic age, the men and women of Lancaster evinced the spirit of true heroism and love of freedom.

In general politics the people of the town were sound to the core. They were in favor of a State constitution which combined security and law with the greatest liberty of the citizen. They were in favor of the Confederation until it was superseded by the Constitution of the United States. The delegate from Lancaster was one of the seven from the county of Worcester who voted in favor of the ratification of that instrument of government, and he did it under instructions passed in town meeting. They were nearly or quite unanimous in opposition to the Shays Rebellion, and they gave their united suffrages in support of Washington and Adams.

The part which Lancaster took in suppressing the Rebellion was worthy of her early history. The first meeting of citizens was held April 22, to consider matters relating to the war. Addresses were made by several gentlemen, and it was voted to have a legal town meeting called at once. A committee was chosen to raise volunteers. The meeting was held April 29, and voted to pay each volunteer one dollar a day for twenty days for drilling, and thirteen dollars a month, in addition to his pay from the Government, when in service. The treasurer, John W. Washburn, was authorized to borrow \$5,000. The other treasurers during the war were C. A. Pollard and Solon Wilder. The town clerk was Dr. J. L. S. Thompson. The selectmen in different years were James Childs, Jeremiah Moore, Warren Davis, Jonathan Buttrick, S. R. Merrick, George W. Howe, L. L. Farwell. In 1862, July 23, the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to each three-

years volunteer credited to the quota of the town. The same bounty was paid to nine-months men. For the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, and for the families of those who had died in the service, there was a subscription of \$1,300. In 1864, March 7, a bounty of \$125 to each volunteer for three years service was voted. The town furnished one hundred and eighty-one men for the war, according to the authority of Gen. Schouler, which was a surplus of ten above all demands. Six were commissioned officers. Capt. Edward R. Washburn, Col. Francis Washburn and Capt. George L. Thurston died of hard service or mortal wounds. They acquired distinction for good conduct and undaunted courage. The soldiers in general were animated by a spirit of patriotism; they suffered almost incredible hardships, and they helped in achieving grand results. The Memorial Tablet in Memorial Hall contains the names of thirty-nine men who fell in the war, but several have since died whose death was hastened by sufferings in the field and in rebel prisons.

The amount of money expended by the town on account of the war was \$17,364.06, and the amount paid for State aid was \$9,017 18. Besides this sum, the ladies raised \$3,500 for the use of the Sanitary Commission, making a total of \$29,881.24. According to Gen. Schouler the ladies of this town "were especially active in good works for the soldiers during all the war. The number of articles for hospital use was very great." In addition, they did much to aid the Freedmen several years after the war.

CHAPTER II.

EXCELLENCE OF SCHOOLS — ACADEMY — EDUCATION IN GENERAL — ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS — LATER DENOMINATIONS — STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL — ROADS AND BRIDGES — LIBRARIES — BANK — POST-OFFICE AND CEMETERIES — GEOLOGY AND LOCAL POSITION.

THE children of Lancaster, in comparison with those of other towns, have had good schools from the beginning. We have seen that about nine-tenths of the original settlers could read and write. Before the town was settled the General Court had enjoined the towns to see that *every child* should be educated. The selectmen were required to see that all children should be able to "perfectly read the English tongue, and obtain a knowledge of the capital laws," under a penalty of twenty shillings. In 1647, six years before the town was set up, the law compelled the towns which contained fifty householders to maintain a free school for every child. Without doubt Lancaster complied with the law. The records from 1673 to 1724 are lost, but at the latter date there is evidence of the existence of schools in the town. They were kept in

the central portion, and in Still River and on Bear Hill, both now in Harvard, before 1732, when that town was incorporated. For several years in the middle of the last century the sum raised for schools was £40 silver money. In 1757 the sum was £60, and it was voted to open a grammar school. This was continued, probably, till an academy took its place, or superseded it. The ancient languages were taught more than a hundred years ago in a migratory school, now in the Centre, next on George Hill, and then on Ballard Hill. From time to time the annual appropriation was increased. Besides, the early ministers prepared young men for college, and gave an advanced education to those who never entered on a collegiate course. In 1761 the sum of £100 was raised for schools. Before the Revolution it became a settled policy to have the grammar school kept in each precinct (Lancaster and Chocksett about an equal length of time each year, though in some years it was seven months in the first and five in the second precinct). In 1785, after the separation of Sterling, £100 were devoted to schooling. A grammar school was kept through the year. When Mr. Thayer was settled, a new impulse was given to the cause of education. The town made him chairman of the school committee, and associated with him some of the leading citizens, like Judge Sprague and Gen. Whiting, Dr. Atherton and Capt. Samuel Ward, men of wide reputation. In 1790 the town built a house for the "Latin grammar school," on common land, which was on the square a few rods north of the depot. English grammar schools must not be confounded with this. In 1796, when Federal money came into use, seven hundred and seventy-five dollars were raised for schooling, and of this sum two hundred and seventy-five dollars went for the support of the Latin grammar school. The sum raised for schools in 1804 was one thousand dollars. The Latin grammar school was given up, by degrees, between 1815 and 1825; that is, the Academy was started in the former year, and the appropriation for Latin school was made less and less till it ceased. There were several men in the list of teachers who became distinguished, such as Edward Bass, first Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Moses Hemenway, an eminent divine in Maine; Abel Willard, Dr. Israel Atherton, Gen. Joseph Warren, Joseph Willard, President of Harvard College, Rev. Dr. Channing, Miss Caroline Lee Whiting (Mrs. Hentz) and others.

The money devoted to school purposes increased gradually. In 1844 the sum was \$1,400. In 1860, the year before the Rebellion, it was \$2,000. In 1871 the sum was \$4,000; 1874, \$5,000; the next two years, \$6,000; in 1878 and 1879, \$5,500. In 1871 an arrangement was made to send scholars to the academy kept by Mr. William A. Kilbourn, at the expense of the town. In 1873 the committee started a free high school, which has been continued till the present time. Though the town is not obliged by law to have a school of this grade, yet the money for its support has been freely granted. Almost from the beginning the school has been under the care of Mr. Le Roy Z. Collins, and has gained a high reputation.

The Lancaster Academy was started in 1815. Ten years later it was reorganized, and a building erected for its accommodation in the Centre, which remained till the summer of this year, 1879, when a new and more elegant edifice for the schools in the centre of the town was built on the same site. The academy was well attended, and had eminent teachers till about 1870, when the establishment of a high school superseded it. Some of the teachers were, Abel Whitney, a noted Boston teacher; Jared Sparks, George B. Emerson, Nathaniel Kingsbury, and other men of reputation.

The Hon. James G. Carter, an earnest friend of higher education, had the charge of a private school for several years, and prepared many youths for college and professional life or business pursuits. In May, 1853, the late Prof. William Russell, with a superior corps of assistants, opened the "New England Normal Institute," in the upper room of the town hall, and for a few terms had a large attendance of pupils preparing for the profession of teaching. The normal schools of the State were less expensive, and their standard was lower; in consequence the Institute failed of support, but it is remembered with gratitude by many pupils. His school was followed by one of a high grade, under the care of Rev. Milo C. Stebbins, since principal of the high school of Springfield, and the boarding-school of Mr. William A. Kilbourn. The educational advantages of Lancaster have been superior in all the past generations, as they are at present.

A *résumé* of ecclesiastical matters will be expected. There was but one church and one religious society in Lancaster till a few years previous to the decease of Rev. Dr. Thayer, which occurred in 1840. In 1837, the Universalists began to have preaching, and the Evangelical Congregational Church was organized in 1839. Other societies have since been formed. But, resuming the history of the first or Unitarian Church, it appears that the Rev. Edmund H. Sears was installed as pastor on the 23d of December, 1840. This gentleman, of scholarly habits and devout and earnest spirit, remained until he asked a dismissal, on account of failing health, in April, 1847. He became eminent as an author of works of a learned and devotional cast in later years, which endeared him to Christians without regard to denominational lines. The Rev. George M. Bartol, a native of Freeport, Me., and a graduate of Brown University, was ordained as his successor on the 4th of August, 1847. During the thirty-two years of his pastorate, the harmony which is hereditary in this religious society has prevailed.

As said above, the Universalist meetings began to be held in 1837, in private houses. On the 7th of March, 1838, a meeting was held, which voted that "we form ourselves into a body, to be known and denominated the First Universalist Society in Lancaster, for the purpose of extending a knowledge of faith as held by Universalists, and the support of public worship in this town." They had preaching for several years, and built a neat and convenient house of worship in South Lancaster. Among their ministers were: Revs. R. S. Pope,

Lucius R. Paige, D. D., John Harriman, J. S. Palmer and Benjamin Whittemore, D. D. The latter began his labors in 1848. After a few years, the congregation was scattered by removals and other causes, and the meeting-house was sold to the State for a chapel at the Industrial School for Girls on the Old Common.

The Orthodox or Evangelical Congregationalists were organized as a church on the 22d of May, 1839, a legal society having been formed in the preceding February. The first minister, Rev. Charles Packard, had been bred for the bar, and had practiced law several years, when he felt constrained to enter the ministry. He was ordained as the pastor of the new church on the first day of January, 1840, and, after a useful ministry of about fourteen years, was dismissed, in the spring of 1854, to become the pastor of a Congregational church in Cambridgeport. The council that effected the dismissal gave him the usual and well-deserved letter of commendation. His influence in the town was that of a devoted minister of the gospel and a public-spirited citizen.

His successors are still in the land of the living. The first was Rev. Franklin B. Doe, a graduate of Bangor Theological Seminary, who was ordained Oct. 19, 1854. After a ministry of nearly four years, he was dismissed Oct. 6, 1858, to become the pastor of a church in Wisconsin. For several years he has been superintendent of home missions in that State. The Rev. Amos E. Lawrence was installed as his successor Oct. 10, 1860, and remained till March 6, 1864, when he asked a dismission. The church complied, expressing "cordial sympathy," and invoking the "gracious guidance" and "rich blessings" of the Great Head of the Church. The Rev. George R. Leavitt was ordained March 29, 1865, and continued till the close of 1869. Early in 1870, he was dismissed by a council, which commended him in most cordial terms to all the churches of Christ. Soon after, he was settled over the Pilgrim Church in Cambridgeport, where he still resides. After the usual hearing of different supplies, the Rev. A. P. Marvin was engaged in the early part of October, 1870, for a year. He was invited to become the settled pastor in 1872, and on the first day of May was installed. At his own request, he was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council, Oct. 21, 1875, after a ministry of a little over five years, either as acting or settled pastor. His residence has since then been in Lancaster. After hearing many candidates, Mr. William De Loss Love, Jr., united the church and society in extending a unanimous call, and he was ordained, under favorable auspices, on the 18th of September, 1878. The charge to the pastor was given by his father, Rev. Dr. Love, now pastor of the church at South Hadley, where the teachers and pupils of Mount Holyoke Seminary attend his services.

There have been members of the New Jerusalem or Swedenborgian connection in this town more than half a century. Meetings have been held at intervals of time, but no regular church was organized till the year 1875, when, in the month of August, the "New Jerusalem Church of Lancaster" was con-

stituted in the usual way. The members, to the number of twenty, belonged to Lancaster, Harvard, Lunenburg, Leominster and Berlin. The officers are a clerk, treasurer and executive committee of three. The society has had the occasional ministrations of Rev. Abiel Silver, Rev. James Reed and Rev. Joseph Pettee, but never have enjoyed the services of a resident minister. Their readers, at different times, have been Joseph Andrews, Gilman Worcester, Henry Wilder and Horatio D. Humphrey, who serves in that capacity at present. Their meetings have been in private houses, and latterly in an ante-room of the town hall.

The Seventh-Day Adventists are a variety of the great body of Millenarians, who believe in the speedy visible coming of Christ, and who agree with the Baptists in the matter of immersion. Their first meetings in Lancaster were held in the north-west part of the town, in 1856, at the house of Lewis H. Priest. In 1864, they effected an organization at the house of Mr. Priest, who had removed to South Lancaster. There were five male and five female members. Stephen N. Haskell moved into the place, and has retained the position of elder, making this his home, though spending considerable time at Battle Creek, Mich. Their meetings were held in different places till 1875, when they occupied a small chapel. A neat and convenient house of worship was dedicated early in May, 1878. There are now eighty members of the church, the majority of whom reside in the town; but some live in Still River, and others in Bolton. The public services are held on Saturday, which is observed with great strictness as the Sabbath.

The Roman Catholics, for many years after their coming to Lancaster, resorted to Clinton for spiritual direction, and for the purpose of worship; but, by the year 1872, they had become so numerous as to need a more convenient place for meeting. Accordingly, a good lot of land was bought in that year, and, in the year following, a church was built. It was dedicated July 12, 1873, in the presence of a large company. The Rev. R. Patterson of Clinton has had charge of the parish from the beginning.

The "State Industrial School for Girls," was established on the Old Common in 1854, with the Rev. Bradford K. Pierce, D.D., as superintendent, and under the direction of a board of trustees appointed by the governor and council. The successors of Mr. Pierce have been Rev. Marcus Ames, Dea. Loring Lothrop, and the present incumbent, Mr. N. T. Brown. Regular worship on the Sabbath has been always maintained at this institution.

The roads and bridges of Lancaster are exceptionally good. It was easier to make roads than in the neighboring towns when the first settlers came, by reason of the more favorable surface; but in the spring and fall, the ways were muddy in some parts, and in others were sandy when not covered with snow. Within a few years the road-beds have been greatly improved; on the other hand the making of bridges has always been a great bill of expense. The Nashua River in its windings flows through intervals not less than about

twenty miles in the town. It was difficult to find or to make solid foundations for abutments or piers. The consequence was that the bridges were swept away by every great freshet. Near the beginning of the century a better plan was adopted by discarding the old mud-sill abutments, and building them of stone. An ingenious mechanic invented a bridge which spanned the river, and thus did away with trestle-work in the middle of the stream. Within a few years all the bridges on the river, eight in number, have been founded on hard bottom or on piles, and constructed of iron. With such roads and bridges the facilities for travel are unsurpassed.

Lancaster has had the benefit of good reading from the beginning. It is not meant that the early settlers had many books besides the Bible and a few works of devotion; but the first minister and all his successors have been men of literary tastes. It is known that some of them had considerable libraries. In the last century there were several men and women of more than ordinary culture, and their houses were supplied with the better kind of literature. A library was formed just before the decease of Rev. Mr. Harrington, which proves that there was a reading class in the town. In October, 1790, there was a meeting of the proprietors of Lancaster Library. Persons became members by election, on condition of paying three dollars. The collection of books comprised some of the best works in English literature. Additions were made till 1800, when the "Social Library" took his place. This library continued to grow till 1850, when the books were sold by auction, and were scattered among the families of the town. School district libraries were formed in several districts in 1844 and following years. Sunday school libraries are connected with the various churches. About thirty years ago an agricultural library consisting of over one hundred and fifty volumes was formed. In 1851, a year after the Social Library was dissolved, the library club of Lancaster was formed. The collection of books was of a superior order, and by 1862 contained above six hundred volumes. About this time the club and the agricultural library presented their books to the town, which on the second of April, 1862, established a "public library." Three hundred dollars were raised for new books the first year. For several years past the town has appropriated one thousand dollars for the library, besides the avails of the dog-tax. The town also pays for warming and lighting the library building and keeping it in repair. The gifts to the library have been liberal.

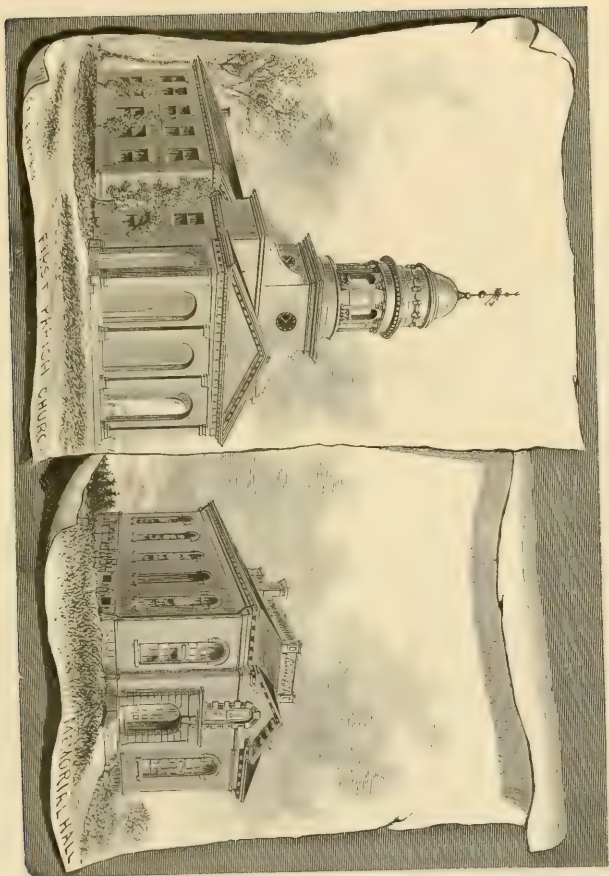
In 1866, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer gave five thousand dollars, the income of which was to be "expended in the purchase of books." In 1868-9, Col. Francis B. Fay gave one thousand dollars for the library, and one hundred dollars for the purchase of a clock. George A. Parker, Esq., gave five hundred dollars' worth "of fine art works," and seven hundred dollars to increase that department of the library. In 1875, Miss Mary Whitney left a bequest of one hundred dollars; and in 1879, Miss Deborah Stearns left a bequest of two hundred dollars for the library; and in 1878, the Hon. George Bancroft presented the town, for

the use of the library, a gift of one thousand dollars, to establish "The Bancroft Library Fund in honor of Capt. Samuel Ward." In 1867-8, an elegant library building was erected under the name of "The Memorial Hall." It is in honor of the soldiers who fell in the war for suppressing the Rebellion, and is well designed for that purpose as well as a depository of books, and of articles pertaining to a natural history collection. Five thousand dollars were raised by subscription; a similar sum was given by the town, and the balance of the cost of the building was paid by Mr. Thayer. The whole cost was nearly thirty thousand dollars. There are now over ten thousand volumes in the library, many of which are valuable, and some of which are costly.

Lancaster has a national bank, the presidents of which have been James G. Carter, Jacob Fisher and George W. Howe. The cashiers have been Norman T. Leonard, G. R. M. Withington, Caleb T. Symmes (about thirty years), and William H. McNeil. It has also a spirited Farmers' Club, which has done much to promote a feeling of good neighborhood, as well has to improve the cultivation of the land. The president is William A. Kilbourn, and the secretary John G. Chandler. There are two good public houses; viz., Hotel Lancaster in the Centre, and Fairbanks' Hotel in the North Village.

It has a post-office and a railroad station on the Worcester and Nashua Railroad at the Centre and at South Lancaster. Its business has always been farming chiefly; though the making of pot and pearl ashes was begun in the town more than a hundred years ago, and there was a nail-factory and a trip-hammer in operation before the close of last century. Two cotton-mills, cabinet-making, the manufacture of piano-keys, hat-making, comb-making, and the building of carts and wagons, have, at different times, given employment to many. Fifty years ago there was a large printing establishment that had several hundred hands engaged in printing, engraving, type-making, stereotyping, binding, map-coloring and other parts of the work. The number of acres of land, nearly all improvable, is nine thousand eight hundred and seventy-three; the number of farms, by the census of 1875, is one hundred and twenty-five; the value of farms and buildings is \$620,550; the value of fruit-trees and vines, \$12,680; value of domestic animals, \$60,978; value of total farm property, \$714,919. The capital invested in various manufactures, by the same census, was \$82,095; the value of goods made and work done was \$184,200.

There are six public cemeteries in the town, besides the burial-place of the Shakers. The Old Burying-yard, and the Old Common Burying-yard, are interesting and sacred for their antiquity. The oldest stone, having an inscription, bears the date of 1684. The North Village Cemetery is a beautiful resting-place for the mortal remains of friends. Eastwood Cemetery, recently opened, contains nearly fifty acres, and is susceptible of being made one of the most fitting rural burial-places in the Commonwealth. The town makes annual appropriations for keeping the public yards in order; and Mr. Nathaniel



LANCASTER, MASS.

Thayer has given a fund of three thousand dollars, the income of which is to be applied by the library committee, for the same purpose. The library committee is therefore the cemetery committee. Much good sense and taste have been exhibited by the citizens in setting up neat or elegant, instead of tall and showy monuments.

Geologically speaking, the town lies in the formation of argillaceous slate which extends from Worcester towards the northern boundary of the State. A quarry of fine slate in the northern part of the town was worked in the last century, and has been opened again within a few years. Fine specimens of andalusite abound in the western part, on George Hill, in which the "cross," always seen in such specimens, is either white or deep brown inclining to red. On the farm of Benjamin Farnsworth is a bed of very good fuller's earth, which is valuable to the owner. Clay beds yield the material for a large number of bricks. These are mainly owned by Samuel R. Damon, north of the Centre.

The centre of the town is in latitude $42^{\circ} 27' 30''$, and the distance to Worcester, in direct line, is fourteen miles and two-tenths; to Boston, thirty-five miles. To Worcester, by rail, the distance is nineteen miles, or eighteen to the court-house. The present boundaries of the town are, north by Lunenburg and Shirley, east by Harvard and Bolton, south by Clinton, and west by Sterling and Leominster.

Many persons of considerable distinction have lived in Lancaster without becoming permanent residents. The number of natives who have acquired reputation in public life, in the military line, or in literature, is unsurpassed by that of any town in the county except Worcester, if that is an exception. Among the native writers may be mentioned Mrs. Caroline Lee (Whiting) Hentz, Miss Hannah F. Gould, and Mrs. Mary G. (Chandler) Ware.

Among the ingenious men of Lancaster were Samuel Rugg and Farnham Plummer. The former devised a loom for cotton cloth, which was a great improvement. The latter invented what was styled an "arch-bridge." It was of wood, and spanned an ordinary stream without trestles. He also produced other inventions.

The beauty of the landscape in this town is enhanced by the variety of forest, field and road-side trees. Elm, ash, and maple trees are chiefly used for shade; though in yards and lawns, there is a great variety of evergreen and deciduous trees. The elms on the streets and in the intervals are large and symmetrical. The queen of all is an elm in Lovers' Lane, on the east side of the Nashua, below the centre bridge, which is twenty-seven feet in diameter, three feet from the ground. Much attention is paid to tree-culture, both for fruit and ornament; and not less to the cultivation of plants and flowers. The people have a "goodly heritage"; the "lines have fallen to them in pleasant places," and they prize the gift.

LEICESTER.

BY REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORIES OF THE TOWN — INDIAN PURCHASE — EARLY SETTLERS AND SMALL PROPERTY — HIGHWAYS — CHURCHES — PASTORS — RECENT DENOMINATIONS.

THE town of Leicester is fortunate in its historians and annalists. Especially is it indebted to the late Hon. Emory Washburn for several publications, including a large volume, pertaining to its history. As long ago as 1826, he prepared an extended historical sketch for the "Worcester Magazine." The "History of the Leicester Academy" was prepared by him, as was also the address delivered at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town, and a Fourth of July oration in 1849. But his chief work in this line was the "History of Leicester," an octavo volume, published in 1860. Besides these publications is the address of John E. Russell, Esq., at the Centennial Celebration of the Fourth of July, in 1876, with the speeches on the occasion. There is also an address by Rev. Alonzo Hill, D. D., with speeches from Hon. A. H. Bullock, Hon. Levi Lincoln, and others at the "Festival of the Leicester Academy," in 1855. The sermon occasioned by the death of the late Dr. Nelson, by his colleague and successor, Rev. A. H. Coolidge, and the articles contributed to the "Worcester Spy" by Joseph A. Denny, Esq., are an addition to the historical literature of the town.

All this, however, like the Frenchman's embarrassment of riches, gives perplexity to one whose task it is to condense so much into a few pages. He becomes entangled in narratives which cannot be abridged, and anecdotes that are spoiled by curtailment. The task of giving symmetry and proper proportion to the story is impossible. Therefore, the reader who has leisure must turn to the works above specified, and overlook the imperfections of the following.

The territory including Leicester, Spencer, nearly half of Paxton, and a large section of Ward (now Auburn) was bought of the Indians, by a company of land speculators, in 1686, ten years after King Philip's war, and about the time when the broken settlements of Lancaster and Brookfield were re-

established. The Indian name was Towtaid, of which Oraskaso had formerly been the sachem. He left the headship to two daughters, one of whom was named Momokhue, the wife of Philip Tray, and the other was Waiwaynom, the wife of John Wampseon. These women, with their husbands and Wandwoamag, "the deacon," signed the deed, Jan. 27, 1686-7. The purchasers were residents of Roxbury, with these names: Joshua Lamb, Nathaniel Page, Andrew Gardner, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, John Curtice, Richard Draper, Samuel Ruggles, and Ralf Bradhurst. The sum of £15, New England currency, was the price. The tract of land was designated as "near the new town of the English called Worcester."

Twenty-seven years passed away, when the proprietors took measures for the settlement of the purchase. Some of the original members of the company were dead, but the remainder took to themselves thirteen associates on the 23d of February, 1713. The wars of King William and Queen Anne had prevented the extending of settlements to any great extent in the intervening time. The purchasers, with their associates, who were men of influence, applied to the General Court to confirm their title to the land bought of the natives. The Court complied, and made a grant of eight miles square on conditions. One was that there should be fifty families settled, in a "defensible and regular way," in seven years. Lots were to be reserved for the ministry and for schools. By this act the purchase was fortified by a grant, and the proprietors by the double title of a "deed" from the Indians and an "act" of the General Court. The place had been called "Strawberry Hill," from the abundance of the luscious berries that grew on the hill in the centre. The town was now named Leicester, after the ancient city of that name in England. None of the proprietors, old or new, became residents, but, to induce settlers to move in, they offered to sell the east half of the town, in lots, on favorable terms. The west half was reserved for sale afterwards, as the land should be wanted, and as the market value should rise. This was in 1713, and the condition was that the buyers should be on the land by 1717, or forfeit their purchase. The forfeits, however, were to be devoted to the building of a meeting-house, opening roads, and erecting bridges, so that the settlers would be benefited. In those times the "meadows" were much valued because they yielded grass before the other lands were subdued. There were two "cedar swamps," also, which were not divided. One was in the north-west and the other in the south-west of the town. In 1714, allotments were made in tracts of thirty, forty or fifty acres. One hundred acres were reserved for the schools, and forty for the ministry. Three lots were given on condition that mills should be erected upon them. In after divisions, each owner was to receive one hundred acres for every ten which he held.

In 1722, a committee was chosen to give deeds of land in the east half of the tract. The condition was that a family should be settled, and one shilling per acre should be paid in to the proprietors. This vote was carried into effect,

Jan. 11, 1724, when a deed was executed of the several lots to thirty-seven different persons. Among those who became residents were persons bearing the names of Denny, Green, Earle, Henshaw, Sargent, Livermore and Southgate. In 1744, the westerly half became a precinct, and in 1753 it was erected into a town by the name of Spencer. In 1765, a strip two miles wide on the north end was given, to help form Paxton, and in 1778 a section, containing two thousand five hundred acres, was set off to Ward (now Auburn). This left the boundaries as follows: On the north by Paxton; on the east by Worcester and Auburn; on the south by Oxford; and on the west by Spencer. The latitude of the centre of the town is $42^{\circ} 14' 49''$. The distance to Boston by air-line is forty-three miles, but by any traveled road about fifty miles.

The town is on the height of land between the ocean and the valley of the Connecticut, and the streams flow by the Chicopee into the Connecticut, by the Quinebaug into the Thames, and into Narraganset Bay through the Blackstone. Before Paxton was cut off, the north end of the town was on the border of the height of land which sends a strain into the Nashua. The whole of the present town slopes to the south, and the brooks descend in a rapid current, giving great power in proportion to the quantity of water. The hills are numerous and rather steep, compared with those in Worcester on the east, and Brookfield on the west. The valleys are narrow, and the meadows small; but meadows, valleys and hills are covered with "living green" from spring to autumn. From the hill-tops, wide and panoramic views are obtained, taking in lakes and forests, and cultivated summits near at hand, as well as lofty eminences in the distance. Henshaw Pond in the south-east, and Shaw Pond in the north-west, are fed by living springs, and are like sparkling gems in the landscape.

The lot on which the house of Rev. Samuel May stands was the first that was built upon, according to tradition. From the eastern edge of the central village, it looks off upon a goodly prospect eastward and southward.

The first settlers, with few exceptions, were farmers, but the needs of the farmers induced a few mechanics to take up their abodes in the new town. In 1717 Moses Stockbridge, a carpenter, came; in 1722, John and Nathaniel Potter, of the same trade, became residents, which fact indicates that other people wanted houses and barns about that time. Abiathar Vinton, a blacksmith, came in 1723. Joshua Nichols, a tailor, was on the ground in 1721. In 1724 a mason named Thomas Hopkins came to set up chimneys in the houses built by the carpenters. There were also millwrights in those early days.

On the 17th of March, 1722, the first recorded town meeting was held, but there had been meetings before, as appears by facts on record. For example, a meeting-house had been already built, which must have been done by town action. Again, the town was represented in the General Court, in 1721, by Judge Menzies. It is probable that the first action, in legal town meeting, was in 1718. At the meeting March 17, 1722, Samuel Green was chosen

moderator, first selectman, assessor and grand juror. Nathaniel Richardson was chosen town clerk. The other selectmen were John Smith, Nathaniel Richardson, James Southgate and John Lynd. Richard Southgate was treasurer. One of the earliest, and perhaps the first physician, was Dr. Lawton, of respectable business and reputation in his profession; died in 1761. This may warrant the inference that he had resided some years in the town. His medical library was not large, as his medical books were appraised at £2 4s. 6d., in an estate valued at £317 8s. 6d. The law-books inherited from his father, an attorney-at-law, were appraised at 5s. 3d. The silver plate of the doctor was valued at £4 15s. 4d., and his two looking-glasses at 12s. According to Judge Washburn he had an hour-glass and a pillion, but neither a watch, clock or carpet.

One or two similar facts may be stated as showing the comparative meagreness of house-furnishing in the first half of the last century. Israel Parsons, the son of the first minister, died in 1767. He was the grantee of all his father's estate, real and personal, and was at one time a large landholder. At his death his farm was appraised at £240, but he left neither carpet, clock or watch. He had two looking-glasses, one valued at 32s., and the other at 10s. 8d. Dr. Larned, a young physician, died in 1783, and his "physical authors," or medical works, were valued at 16s. 3d. Another instance in the same line is found in the inventory of Stewart Southgate. He was a man of property, a surveyor, and much engaged in public business. The inventory contains no article of glass, china or earthenware. It mentions one silver spoon, value 11s; three looking-glasses appraised at 7s. 6d., and a clock. There was no carpet in his house. His library consisted of one Bible, one Bailey's dictionary, and thirty-eight small pamphlets.

The roads in the early days of the town were exceedingly primitive and rough. It was necessary to wind into the town from Worcester by the most feasible route. This was from the south-east through the centre, and this was the great route of travel to the west for several generations, though the location had been changed in spots several times. The road to Paxton was laid out in 1721, and ran from a starting point "behind the meeting-house, and close by the same," through the woods, by marked trees, towards the north. In 1744 a road was laid out from the south line of the town to Dr. Green's, by "said Green's wolf-pit," which was dug for the purpose of catching wolves which then infested the settlement. But the great road was that through the centre, from east to west. The town, in 1722, applied to the Court of Sessions to have the "country road" laid out through the town. The application failed. It was then laid out as a town way, though generally called the "county road." It was four rods wide. It was probably made a county road in 1728.

As the fathers gave religion the foremost place, it is time to consider what provision they made for public worship. It appears that a meeting-house was

erected before 1722 — perhaps in 1719 — but it was left unfinished till 1741, though it was used in its rough condition. In 1741 the town raised a hundred pounds to cover the meeting-house, and in 1743 it was enlarged. It was plain and cheap, with doors on three sides, but no steps. It had neither porch nor belfry, neither pew or gallery. The windows were small, were made of diamond-shaped glass, and swung inward on hinges. The clap-boards were not painted, and the interior was not plastered, but "sealed" with boards as high as the "great girt" of the house. "Pew-grounds" were sold to a few families, and a carpenter was paid twelve shillings "for building the deacon's pew," but the larger part of the floor was supplied with "body seats" or settees — plain benches, without backs — which were public, as in a hall. A centre line divided the women from the men. The men sat on the west, and the women on the east side of the line. When galleries were erected, the women occupied those on the east side of the house, and the men sat on the opposite side. In 1741 it was voted that "some young men," naming them, might build a pew in "the hind seats on the women's side" of the gallery, and a like number might do the same on the men's side. In 1743 measures were taken to add twelve feet to the length of the house, on the back side. When this was done the posts were left standing in the midst of the room. This house was used until 1784, when it gave place to a new and commodious structure, with ample galleries, and large square pews and sounding-board. The principal door was on the south side, with smaller doors on the east and west sides. About five years later the tower and steeple were added. It received a bell and clock in 1803. This building, the whole interior of which was changed in 1829, continued until 1867. In November of that year the present larger and very handsome church building was dedicated. It includes, on the first floor, a large vestry, with several smaller rooms.

The church was organized in the year 1721, probably on the 15th of September, the day on which the Rev. David Parsons was installed. This is the statement of Dr. Joseph Clark in "Congregational Churches of Massachusetts." Mr. Parsons was the grandson of Joseph Parsons of Northampton. He was a brother of Rev. Joseph Parsons, at one time minister in Lebanon, Conn., and afterwards in Salisbury, Mass. For twelve years Rev. David Parsons had been settled in Malden, whence he was induced to remove to Leicester, and enter on a new pastorate in that destitute settlement. He came under the most flattering auspices, and all things promised a happy and useful ministry. The town, in calling him, in conjunction with the church, voted that he should have the "forty-acre lot next the meeting-house, and the rights, in quantity and quality, as other forty-acre lots drawn in after division," besides sixty pounds settlement. His salary was fixed at sixty pounds. Thirty individuals then offered forty pounds additional to his settlement, and fifteen pounds to his salary. But in the course of a few years difficulties arose about paying his salary. There was a long and bitter quarrel, which resulted in his dismissal

by a mutual council in 1735. The impression left by the narrative of Judge Washburn is unfavorable to the minister, but not a fact appears impeaching his character. His claim against the town was sustained by the Court of Sessions, and the town finally acknowledged it. The fact appears to be that he sought his right in a harsh and provoking way. It was folly to suppose that he could usefully minister to a people whom he had sued for the arrears of his salary, and he paid a severe penalty for his unwisdom. Among his descendants was a grandson, the Rev. Dr. David Parsons of Amherst, who was eminent for his talents and his sincere devotion to his sacred calling.

The second settled minister was the Rev. David Goddard, who was born in Framingham, Sept. 26, 1706, and a graduate of Harvard in 1731. The church and society gave him a call after a day spent in fasting and prayer for Divine guidance. His ordination took place, June 30, 1736, and he continued in the office till his death, Jan. 19, 1754. His salary was often in arrear, but his spirit of Christian forbearance was more effectual than his predecessor's resort to the courts of law. Arrearages were paid in time, and repeatedly fifty pounds were added to his salary. When on a visit to his native place, in the time of the "great sickness," he was suddenly cut off. His connection with his people, says the town historian, "was uniformly kindly and happy on both sides; and his sudden and early death, at the age of forty-seven, was deeply lamented as the loss of a faithful minister and good man."

The Rev. Joseph Roberts, a native of Boston in 1720, and a graduate of Cambridge in 1741, succeeded, and was ordained Oct. 23, 1754, on an annual salary of £66 13s. 8d., silver money. His settlement was £133 6s. 3d., silver money, at 6s. 8d. per ounce. At the ordination the town provided for the entertainment of "ministers, messengers and scholars." This gentlemanly hospitality was, however, but a trifle compared with the open-house hospitality of the people in their private capacity. An ordination, all through the last century, was made the occasion of general festivity. Every lath-string was out, and every person, friend or stranger, was a welcome guest. A traveler could scarcely get through the town, on such a day, without repeated invitations to stop and take refreshments. "Ministers were settled for life," and the ordination, in addition to the solemn public services in the sanctuary, was a "great marriage feast." Mr. Roberts began his ministry with good prospects, as might be inferred from the terms of settlement, from his natural mental powers, and from his scholarly attainments, but his ministry here was a failure, from some cause. This failure has been attributed to his miserly spirit. The connection terminated in 1762, December 14, though much against his wishes. After being in business and in public life in Weston, he died a bachelor, at the great age of ninety-one, in 1811, having not "an article of his wardrobe fit for the tenant of an almshouse," yet with bags of money in his house.

The next pastorate was eminently happy and useful. The Rev. Benjamin

Conklin, a native of Long Island, and a graduate of Princeton College, in 1755, was settled in August, 1763. Provision was made for the entertainment of "ministers, scholars and gentlemen," by the town, and the families offered the same generous hospitality as on former occasions. His pastorate lasted during thirty years. Though not distinguished as a brilliant preacher, he maintained a respectable rank in his profession, and his influence among his people was great and salutary. He was large in person, pleasant in manners, and his conversation was enlivened with humor and anecdote. In the Revolution all his sympathies were with his countrymen, and he was an ardent advocate of their cause. In conventions, and on a committee of correspondence, his influence was felt. But when Shays' Rebellion was rampant and some of his townsmen were in the ranks of the insurgents, he gave all his influence in favor of upholding the State government, though at great personal peril. It is said that he was obliged, more than once, to fly from his house in order to escape the violence of infuriated and lawless men. In consequence of a "painful and incurable disease" he was led to accept a proposition for the termination of his ministry in 1794. His people gave him a gratuity of one hundred and seventy pounds, and exempted his property from taxation. The separation was with mutual kindness, and this spirit continued till his death, which occurred about four years later, Jan. 30, 1798, when he was sixty-seven years of age.

The succeeding pastor was the Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore. He was called after several candidates had been heard, one of whom, afterwards President Appleton of Bowdoin College, received a unanimous invitation to settle. Mr. Moore was born in Palmer in 1770, November 20; and he graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793, with high reputation. His ordination was on the 10th of January, 1798, and his pastorate extended to Nov. 1, 1811, when he left town, to become professor of languages in his *alma mater*, "attended by a large number of his parishioners and friends in carriages, who escorted him several miles from town; while the children of the schools, ranged by the side of the road along which he was to pass, paid their simple testimony of respect and of sorrow at his departure by standing with saddened countenances and uncovered heads as the procession passed slowly by them." President Moore became the head of Williams, and later of Amherst College, and distinguished himself as a learned, wise and efficient Christian man in those exalted positions. A sketch of his life cannot be cramped into these narrow limits, but there is room to say that his ministry in Leicester was pre-eminently pleasant, and fruitful in all good influences and results. It is instructive to read the following words of Judge Washburn: "It is now — 1860 — near half a century since Dr. Moore's connection with Leicester ceased; but the silent, indirect influence of such a man's teachings and example might have been traced in the moral and intellectual tone of that community, for many years after his voice had ceased to be heard in their pulpit, their schools, and their social cir-



TOWN HALL, LEICESTER, MASS.

cles. His memory is still one of the historical treasures of which the town has so goodly a store in the recollections of the past."

The late Rev. John Nelson, D. D. was ordained on the 4th of March, 1812, and his pastoral connection with the church and society continued till Dec. 6, 1871, a period of fifty-nine years nine months and two days; and it is within the limits of truth to say that the favor bestowed on his youth, and the confidence and respect accorded to him in mature life, were ripened into love and veneration in his old age. A volume would be needed for a full memoir of his life and ministry. In this place it will be enough to give the estimate of one of his clerical friends: "He ever seems to my thought as a man who, with the guilelessness of a Nathanael, had given himself to Jesus and habitually renewing strength from the Lord, has been continuing faithful unto death. I think we may appropriately say of him, as has been written of Barnabas, 'he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith.'"

The Rev. Andrew Clark Denison was ordained as a colleague, March 4, 1851, when Dr. Nelson had completed the fortieth year of his ministry save one. Mr. Denison's salary was six hundred dollars, while four hundred were continued to Dr. Nelson. Each received a hundred additional afterwards. The connection closed with harmonious feelings between all the parties in March, 1856. A year later, April 21, 1857, the Rev. Amos H. Coolidge, the present pastor, was ordained. It may be allowed to say of him, after twenty-two years of peaceful and Heaven-blessed labor, that he appears to be walking in the steps of his venerable predecessor, who gave him his blessing, and received his respectful homage, while preparing for his upward flight.

A society of Baptists had established worship in Leicester as early as the year 1736, under the lead of Thomas Green, M. D., who became their minister. Their place of worship was in the south part of the town, — now Greenville, — about three miles from the centre. By his influence a meeting-house was erected, which was used until 1825, when it was enlarged and repaired. The society now have a new, handsome and well-arranged meeting-house, with bell and clock. Dr. Green was born in Malden, but came to Leicester with his father when a young man. After working his way into the medical profession, and obtaining a good practice, he became the pastor of the church, composed of members from Sutton and Leicester, in 1736. He gave a lot of land, together with a farm and house for a parsonage, to the society. He was popular in the pulpit, and a faithful pastor. His death occurred Aug. 19, 1773, after a "life of great activity and usefulness."

The Rev. Benjamin Foster, D. D., the next minister, was born in Danvers, in 1750, and was graduated at Yale College in 1771. Dr. Stillman, a distinguished Baptist divine of Boston, was his theological teacher. He came to the church in Greenville in 1772, and remained eight years, when he left because of inadequate support. After preaching in Danvers and Newport, he became the pastor of the First Baptist Society in New York. The manner of his death

evinced the mingled heroism and piety of his character. While the yellow fever was raging in the city in 1798, and others fled in consternation, he remained at his post, met every call of duty, and ministered to the dying and the dead until he fell a victim to the fatal disease. He was a man of learning, as well as of ability and piety, being a scholar in the Greek, Hebrew and Chaldaic languages. He was succeeded by Rev. Isaac Beals, Rev. Nathan Dana and Rev. Peter Rogers. A minister at one period was the Rev. Nathaniel Green.

In 1818 the society was divided, and a new society was formed in the north-east part of Spencer. After the division the society in Greenville was ministered unto by Rev. Mr. Hill, and Revs. Benj. N. Harris, John Green and Moses Harrington. There was for some years another society, which had Elder Richard Southgate for its minister, but at his death the meetings were discontinued. At Greenville, the Rev. N. B. Cooke was settled in 1862, and continued several years. The present pastor, settled in 1877, is the Rev. J. W. Searll. The number of members of the church is fifty-three.

The Quakers or Friends in Leicester were formed into a society as early as 1732, but in consequence of the removal of a large number of its members, its place of meeting was transferred to Worcester some twenty-four or more years since. Ralph Earle, ancestor of a numerous posterity, was a leading member of the society. He was active in the settlement of Mr. Parsons, it is believed, but, in 1732, with seven others, certified off, and became a member of the Friends, or what the town clerk styled "those people called Quackers." His associates were William Earle, Benjamin Earle, Nathaniel Potter, Joseph Potter, Thomas Smith and Daniel Hill. They built a meeting-house, twenty by twenty-two feet, in the north part of the town, where most of the members had their homes. The spot where their meeting-house stood, — for it no longer exists, — was one of the most attractive in the town, being in a pine grove on a slight eminence, which also served them for a burial-place; and here, in the words of Mr. Washburn, "the ashes of some of the best citizens of the town in their day repose." In 1826 the society had as many as one hundred and thirty members. Removals and deaths have caused such changes that now only a single member of the society remains in the town.

The Protestant Episcopal Church and Society, named Christ Church, was formed in Clappville (now Rochdale) in 1823, and the church edifice, erected upon land given by Mr. Ezekiah Stone, was consecrated in May, 1824. Three other men among the most active in the enterprise were Samuel Hartwell, James Anderton and Francis Wilby. Mr. Anderton, and perhaps some of the others, were Englishmen, and attached to the national church. This is the oldest Episcopal church in the county. The first rector was the Rev. Joseph Muencher, who was born in Providence, and graduated at Brown University in 1821. He studied theology at Andover, and was ordained in March, 1824. After two or three years' service, he left, and, in time, became a professor in Kenyon College, Ohio, and received the title of D. D. Rev. William Horton

was his successor two years. He was followed by the Rev. Lot Jones, who was rector four years, and afterwards was a very devoted minister in Philadelphia. The rectors since, for one or more years, have been Revs. Stephen Millet, ——— Blackaller, Eleazer Greenleaf, John T. Sabine, William Withington, F. C. Putnam, Orange Clark, D. D., and James L. Scott. The last was followed by the Rev. J. Hill Rouse, who remained in charge until his death in 1860. Its present minister is the Rev. S. R. Bailey. The number of communicants reported in 1878 was sixty-four.

A religious society was organized by the Unitarians on the 30th of April, 1833, and the next year they built a house of worship, which is described as "neat and convenient." This was dedicated in 1834. The first minister was the Rev. Samuel May, who was ordained Aug. 13, 1831. Mr. May is a native of Boston, and a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1829. After a pastorate of twelve years, and on account of a difference between some leading men of the society and himself, as to his right to speak and act on the subject of slavery, he asked and received a dismission, according to usage. He has since resided in the place, taking an interest in all that concerns the public good. Since 1846 the pulpit has been supplied for different periods by Rev. James Thompson, D. D., during many years the pastor of the Unitarian Church in Barre, Rev. Frederick Hinckley, Rev. William Coc, Rev. Joseph Angier, Rev. James Thurston, Rev. Everett Finley and Rev. David H. Montgomery, who was pastor from 1869 to 1877.

The Methodists began to hold meetings in the town hall in October, 1842, though their number was small. But their increase was such that in 1846 they built two meeting-houses, one in Cherry Valley, and the other in the Centre. The first is a Methodist Episcopal church. The other, which was composed of seceders from the first on anti-slavery grounds, became Wesleyan Methodist. It is now in the Methodist Episcopal connection, the cause of difference having been removed. Both societies are now supplied by the same minister.

A Catholic church was erected in Leicester in the year 1855. This was a good-sized wooden building, on a lot of land about half way between the centre village and Cherry Valley, and half a mile from either. The influx of Catholic population employed in the various factories has tended to bring about this result. After some ten or twelve years, the church edifice becoming too small, it was removed to Rochdale, and there re-erected, so that there are now two Catholic churches in the town. On the site of the first church, a large and handsome brick edifice was erected when the old building was removed. The names of these churches and their pastors are given in the statistics of churches in the county history.

There were quite a number of Jews in the town between 1777 and 1783, when they returned to Newport, R. I., whence they had come in the Revolution. They, with their servants and slaves, numbered about seventy. Though they had no synagogue or place of worship, it was their custom to keep Saturday

as their Sabbath with great strictness, and out of deference to their neighbors they abstained from all business and out-door recreations on Sunday. It is said that they maintained with reverent diligence their peculiar forms of faith and worship. The reason of their leaving Newport was the occupation of that place by the British forces. The cause of their leaving having been removed, they returned from Leicester after the treaty of peace was signed in 1783. They were of Portuguese descent, and some of their names were Lopez, Rivera and Mendez. The name of Lopez was borne by five. The head of the family was Aaron Lopez, who was highly respected by friends, and by those with whom he had business transactions. During his residence in Leicester his business as a merchant of great wealth was still prosecuted. It is the tradition that this Jewish colony, as it may be called, so comported themselves as to win the respect and esteem of all in their neighborhood. As an indication of the strictness with which they trained their children, it is related that when a child came from a neighbor's house one day, where he unwittingly tasted of pork, the mother hastened to have his mouth cleansed from all taint of "swine's flesh." Mr. Lopez, the leading man, was accidentally drowned while on the way to Newport. A contemporary paper spoke of him in the following terms:—"He was a merchant of eminence, of polite and amiable manners. Hospitality and benevolence were his true characteristics. An ornament and a valuable pillar in the Jewish society of which he was a member, his knowledge in commerce was unbounded, and his integrity irreproachable. Thus he lived, and thus he died: much regretted, esteemed and loved by all."

CHAPTER II.

MOVEMENTS FOR EDUCATION—LEICESTER ACADEMY—THE TOWN IN THE SUCCESSIVE WARS—REBELLION RECORD—BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURES—LIBRARY—BANK—NOTABLE AND WORTHY MATRONS.

The first notice of a school in the town is under the date of 1731, when a school was kept for three months in three different places. The expense was £10 10s. in depreciated currency equal to \$8.75. The next year the town failed to have a school, and were "presented" to the Court of Sessions for delinquency. This secured a school next year for three months, where reading and writing were taught. The school was kept in the public house or tavern of Jonathan Sargent. In 1736, measures were taken for building a school-house, twenty by sixteen feet, and six and a half feet "between joyns." It was to be placed "about ten rods north of the meeting-house, in the most convenient place."

The following facts in relation to the schools are gathered from a report

drawn up by Joseph A. Denny, Esq., in 1849. Mr. John Lynde, Jr., was the first schoolmaster in the town, in 1731. For his second engagement he received £4 10s. or \$3.75 per month; probably board was included. In the winter of 1736, nine pounds were raised to pay Mr. Joshua Nichols for keeping a school in two places, for one month each, but the selectmen employed him only one month. In 1737 there was a school one month and ten days, kept by Lynde and Nichols in succession. It is supposed that the school-house was set up in 1738, at a cost of \$47.84. They had three months' schooling that year, and some higher branches than reading and writing were in the curriculum. In 1739, Mr. Samuel Coolidge taught six months, and received \$1.32 per week in addition to his board. At that time the salary of the minister was \$125. In 1741, the town voted to remove the school from place to place, as "shall be thought proper by the selectmen." But the school was not moved till next year, when it was voted to remove it "into the four quarters of the town," and in 1743, the vote was to have the school in six parts of the town. From this date to 1765, there was very little change in the amount of money raised, or the mode of its expenditure; but in the latter year measures were taken in regard to dividing the town into districts. The money for building school-houses was so assessed as to throw the expense upon the districts while the town kept the control of the schools. The first female teacher was employed in 1766, when seventy pounds, lawful money, was raised for schools. From this date to 1777, the annual appropriation rose from seventy to ninety pounds, lawful money. In 1781, the amount of forty pounds in silver money, or about \$133.33 was raised, and this was continued till 1791. The next three years the sum was sixty pounds, and the next three, 1795-97, it was eighty pounds in silver money.

In the year 1798, Federal money superseded the old mode of computation, and \$300 were devoted to education. Between 1802 and 1812, the sum was \$400 per annum. It then rose to \$600, at which figure it remained till 1826. From that time to 1834 it was \$800; for four years it was fixed at \$1,000; and from 1839 to 1849 the sum was \$1,200. Besides the sum thus expended for the support of schools, it was necessary, from time to time, to build school-houses.

The sum raised in 1849 for schooling, was \$1,500. In 1878, the appropriation was \$5,000, exclusive of what was paid for superintendence and some other incidental expenses. The schools were kept eight months and twelve days, and the number of schools was fourteen. The sum paid for each scholar was \$9.79.5; the town standing in the middle of the towns of the county, or number twenty-nine. In this year the sum of \$344 was paid for repairing school-houses in addition.

In this connection the Leicester Academy claims some notice, though already referred to at some length, in the county history, under the head of academies. The history of this institution is full of interest, as detailed in a large

pamphlet, by Judge Washburn, where it may be read. It is the oldest academy in the county that has a continuous history as an endowed academy, and it is the only one that ever had the whole county looking to it as a higher seminary for the youth, who were desirous of a better education than the town schools could give.

Col. Ebenezer Crafts of Sturbridge, and Jacob Davis of Charlton, have the honor of being recorded as the founders of this well-reputed school. It seems that the first idea of the school, and the first steps towards establishing it are to be credited to the former. The house of Mr. Lopez, the wealthy Jew, being for sale, it was purchased and turned into an academy. It was called an "elegant structure," and doubtless it was for the time and place, though Dr. Pierce of Brookline wrote of it in rather disparaging terms:—"It was an oblong, barrack-like looking building, erected by Jews who had migrated from Newport, and raised this rough-looking structure for mercantile uses." But rough or elegant, it became the centre of a broad and beneficent influence. The bill incorporating the academy was passed March 23, 1784. The first preceptor was Benjamin Stone, and the school was opened by him on the 7th of June, 1784. He had charge of the Latin and Greek department. In the fall, Thomas Payson took charge of the English department. The school began with two pupils from Sturbridge, and one from Leicester. Soon after, Eli Whitney of cotton-gin fame, joined the school, and in the course of the summer about twenty entered. In the autumn term there were between seventy and eighty. From this beginning the academy went forward, drawing in students from all parts of the county, and from places more remote. Probably no school in the county has on its catalogues the names of so many useful and distinguished men as Leicester Academy. Its history cannot be pursued, but it may be said, in a word, that it is one of the celebrities of Worcester County, and deserves to be so richly endowed as to enable it to compete with the very best secondary schools of New England.

The war history of Leicester gives abundant proof of the patriotism and bravery of its people. The town does not appear to have suffered much from hostile Indians, though garrisons were set up and soldiers detailed to guard them, about the time of "Lovewell's War." There was really more danger from wolves and rattlesnakes in those early days than from the human denizens of the forest. But in the French and Indian wars and the Revolution, in the reigns of George II. and George III., the men of Leicester bore their part. Mr. Washburn states that a "considerable number of men" from the town were engaged in the expedition to Louisburg in 1745. In succeeding years, detachments of soldiers were stationed at different places, to guard against the inroads from the Indians and French. Others were in the "Canada Expedition." In the second or last war with the same enemies, 1755-63, officers and soldiers went from Leicester, under Gen. Winslow, to the eastern frontiers in 1754, and in 1755-56, under Lord Amherst, to Crown Point, Fort Edward and

Fort William Henry. In the year 1759, when Quebec was taken, between twenty and thirty men were in the service. During the three following years, the town supplied its proportion of soldiers.

In the Revolution there was a still greater demand for men, and the supply was correspondingly larger. Between May, 1775, and June 28, 1780, there were twenty-seven drafts for soldiers, and Leicester furnished two hundred and forty-seven men. This does not include the minute-men under Capt. Seth Washburn, nor a standing company who marched, under Capt. Newhall, to Cambridge on the memorable 19th of April; nor quite a number of others called out for a few months at different times. Many of the enlisted men of Leicester were in the battle of Bunker Hill. From that time till the close of the war, the town was represented in many fields of service, and on many battle-fields. At the same time, the people at home endured almost equal hardships in maintaining themselves, in raising money and provisions of food and clothing for their men in the field, and in the fears and forebodings for the absent, which filled the hearts of mothers and wives. The spirit of the men, and the women also, was expressed by the remark of Capt. (afterwards Col.) Seth Washburn, as the volunteers were about to march from the Common in Leicester to Concord. Addressing his mother in a cheerful voice, he said: "Mother, you *pray* for me, and I will *fight* for you." That was a solemn moment. The company were ready to march: a great gathering of their friends was present; Rev. Mr. Conklin was there, and when "he lifted up his voice in prayer for their protection and safe return, every head was uncovered, and every murmur hushed, and every heart gathered new strength to meet whatever emergency awaited this little band." The alarm from Lexington reached Leicester after noon; by four o'clock the company was mustered on the Common, and before dark it was on its way to the scene of danger. Such was the spirit at the beginning, and such it continued till the close of the war. Some of the principal men in the town in the Revolution were these: Col. William Henshaw, who was in the fight at Flatbush, and in the battles of Trenton, Princeton and White Plains; his brother David was a captain of artillery, and attached to Col. Crafts' regiment; Dr. John Honeywood was surgeon in Col. Brown's regiment; Dr. Isaac Green was a surgeon at the taking of Burgoyne. William Henshaw, Thomas Denny, Rev. Mr. Conklin, Joseph Henshaw, Samuel Denny, Hezekiah Ward and Thomas Newhall were on the first "committee of correspondence." Seth Washburn rose in rank during the war, and acquired honorable distinction. Lieut. Joseph Washburn was at the battle of Saratoga, and afterwards under Washington in New Jersey. Joshua Henshaw, and Capt. John Southgate, an officer in the same regiment, were leading spirits in the Revolution. Col. Thomas Denny, mentioned above, was a man of great ability. The resolutions and papers probably written by him and Col. William Henshaw would do credit to the leading statesmen of the time. Col. Thomas Denny, his son, was much in public life. Col. Samuel Denny,

his brother, was in the army in 1777. He was in the General Court, and in the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Solomon Parsons, grandson of Rev. David Parsons, was in the battle of Monmouth, and left a most graphic account of that engagement. Peter Salem, a colored man, is supposed to have been the man who shot Maj. Piteairn at Bunker Hill.

Shays' Rebellion had a few ardent sympathizers in Leicester, but the chief men of the town were on the side of the government, and were efficient in the overthrow of the insurgents. They were, indeed, exposed to the violence of the rebels, but none of them lost their lives in consequence.

In the war of the Rebellion "the spirit of seventy-six" blazed out anew in Leicester, and the town responded to all the calls of the government. At a public meeting May 4, 1861, resolutions introduced by Joseph A. Denny, Esq., breathing the most ardent patriotism, love of liberty and trust in God, were passed. In legal town meetings, appropriations were made on the most liberal scale to pay bounties to soldiers, aid indigent widows and families of volunteers who fell in the service, and furnish stores of every kind needed. Much also was done privately to show sympathy with those who "bore the brunt of the battle." The ladies were active and zealous in their kind ministries. One venerable lady, Mrs. Dr. Nelson, upwards of eighty years of age, knit over one hundred pairs of woolen socks for the soldiers with her own hands. The town furnished three hundred and twenty men for the war, which was a surplus of sixteen. Six were commissioned officers. The amount of money contributed for military purposes was \$30,275.86. The amount paid for State aid was \$12,383.42, making a total of \$42,659.28. Leicester furnished men on all the calls for troops made by the President, commencing with the first call for three months' men. To those men the town paid the compensation of ten dollars per month each, in addition to the sum paid by the government. A large proportion of all the enlistments were for three years. No single or full company was at any time made up of Leicester men, but in the call for men to serve for the term of nine months, the town raised its quota of forty men, with whom were subsequently enrolled the quotas of Spencer and North Brookfield, completing the company which was assigned to the 42d regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, and designated as company F. Of this company John D. Cogswell of Leicester was captain, T. M. Duncan of North Brookfield was first lieutenant, and L. A. Powers of Spencer was second lieutenant. This company was in the "Banks Expedition," so called, Department of the Gulf, and was detailed for provost and picket duty in New Orleans, and on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain. The following is a summary of the enlistments from Leicester: For three months, there were seventeen men; for one hundred days, nine men; for nine months, forty-three men; for twelve months, three men; for three years, two hundred and forty-eight men; total, three hundred and twenty men.

Leicester has a Memorial Hall, constructed at a cost of about four thousand

dollars, which was dedicated Dec. 23, 1872, wherein are placed marble tablets, bearing the names of thirty-seven of her soldiers who lost their lives in the war of the Rebellion, with a record of their position in the regular or volunteer forces of the United States, and of the places where they met their death, or their death-wound. Here a service is held on the thirtieth day of May, annually, in memory and honor of these dead, and of all who fell with them in this war. The national and State coats-of-arms are painted upon the ceiling of the hall, and around the walls are the names of the principal battle-fields of the war. Here, also, the town has placed its library, now containing over four thousand five hundred volumes; and here are gathered such records, portraits and other memorials as may help to illustrate the nation's great struggle with the seceding States.

The business of Leicester was principally agriculture during the first hundred years from the date of its settlement; and it is a gratifying fact that farming has not been neglected as other occupations have been introduced. The number of acres in the town is over 9,000, all of which is said to be improvable except 182 acres. The value of the products of the land was, in 1875, \$107,502. The valuation of all farming property, including buildings, was \$514,736.

The town, as we have seen, was soon supplied with necessary mechanics, but manufacturing was not done on a large scale till some years into the present century. Samuel Watson had a clothier's shop in Cherry Valley, on Kettle Brook, before 1814. He enlarged his mill and began to make woolen cloth. Then he sold out to James Anderton of England, who sold his interest to Thomas Bottomly in 1825. The latter also erected the works upon the same stream, just below the works of Mr. Watson. Then the Bottomly Manufacturing Company bought the property, and the business was superintended by Mr. Bottomly. In 1837, a grist-mill site was bought by him, and an establishment set up, which afterwards was carried on by the Manhattan Company. In 1850, in company with his son Booth, he purchased a privilege below the great road from Worcester to Leicester, and erected thereon a brick factory. At Mannville, farther up the stream than any of these works, a woolen-mill was carried on many years by Messrs. Mann & Marshall, which gave an air of life to the neighborhood. In 1821, Mr. Anderton began the woolen business in Rochdale, and the establishment became large under the name of the Leicester Manufacturing Company. Hand-cards were made in the town as early as 1785 by Edmund Snow. Mr. Pliny Earle, an ingenious man, contrived a machine for pricking twilled cards, to meet the wants of Samuel Slater. Earle associated his brothers with him in the business. Col. Thomas Denny was in the same business, and continued in it till 1814, having acquired wealth thereby. It is impossible to crowd all the names of the enterprising men who built up the business of Leicester into this page. A few statistics must suffice. In 1860, the largest hand-card establishment in the town was in the centre, and

carried on by Joseph B. & Edward Sargent, who then could manufacture more than 2,000 dozen pairs of cards each week. In 1837, the woolen-mills produced cloths valued at \$319,450, and the cards made annually were valued at \$152,000, and the aggregate of manufactures in the town was \$452,065. By the census of 1875, the products of manufacturers were valued at \$1,569,451. Some of the men above mentioned were ingenious inventors, and thus added greatly to the productive power of the town.

Like all of the better class of towns, Leicester has a good library. The academy has had an influence in fostering a love of literature, and a library has, in a measure, supplied the demand for good books. A proprietors' library has existed in the town since 1793. This was offered to the town, and on the 4th of March, 1861, it was accepted. It then contained about 1,000 volumes. Since then, the town has made annual appropriations of a moderate sum, and individuals have made many generous gifts. There are now about 4,500 volumes in the collection, which is held for the benefit of all the inhabitants, and is freely used.

The Leicester Bank was chartered in 1826, and has been a prosperous institution. It began with a capital of \$100,000, which was afterwards raised to \$200,000. The presidents have been: John Clapp, N. P. Denny, Joseph A. Denny, Cheney Hatch. The cashiers have been: John A. Smith, H. G. Henshaw. The present officers are: Charles A. Denny, president; and D. E. Merriam, cashier. The latter has held the position for many years. There is, in connection with it, a savings bank. Both have been well managed.

The women of a New England town are not only its ornaments, but they have always contributed much to its strength and character. It would seem that Leicester has been highly favored in this regard. This appears from the pages of its history, but especially in the interesting sketches of the town which were printed in the "Worcester Spy" a few years since. These were from the pen of Joseph A. Denny, Esq., and are, in part, the results of personal knowledge. Nothing could furnish a more fitting close to this epitome than a brief reference to some of these "mothers in Israel." The mother of Col. Washburn has been mentioned, and others of the "olden time" have been alluded to in preceding pages. The venerable widow of the late Dr. Nelson is held in deserved esteem; but, going back to former times, we meet with the name of Mary, wife of Nathan Sargent, who was the ancestress of many that have honored her memory. She was a woman of uncommon intelligence and great influence. A granddaughter of hers was the sister of the Hon. Nathan Sargent of Washington. She was described in these lines, written a few years since:—

"Grandmother sits by the evening fire,
And knits in her easy-chair;
Although she is more than fourscore years,
She still is brisk and fair."

In 1872, the following words were written of Mrs. Clarissa Sargent Gale. She is "perhaps the oldest, or at least the smartest, of any at her age in the county. She was born of Puritan and Revolutionary ancestry, June 11, 1788, yet she still writes an excellent hand, cuts and makes her own clothes very nicely. She is a genial companion, intelligent friend and true woman, whom all love and esteem. In early days, she stored her mind with useful knowledge, that crowns her with a halo in her old age, and, in her lingering grace of other days, she is a noble monument of the past." Capt. Daniel Denny, who came from England in 1715, married Rebekah Jones, a "woman of uncommon intellect and great energy." Her son Samuel married Elizabeth Henshaw, who "was a woman of superior accomplishments, of ardent piety, and great moral worth." Not only was she an affectionate wife and mother, but she was a true "help meet" for a great occasion, taking charge of her husband's large farm, and a family of ten children, the youngest of whom was an infant, while he was camping out in the cold regions of the North — in the Revolution — in defence of his country. These are but examples out of a large number who have made the homes of Leicester shrines of affection and sanctuaries of pious devotion.

INDEX.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

A.

Academies, 116.
 Adams, Charles F., 130.
 " Joseph, 37.
 Adventists, 158.
 Agricultural Society, The Worcester, officers of, 143.
 Allen, Charles, 38, 83.
 Anabaptists, 37.
 American Antiquarian Society, officers and corporators of, 134.
 Anderston, Mr., 171.
 Aplin, John, 53.
 Argillaceous Slate, 6, 7.
 Arians, 151.
 Armed Men in Worcester, 101
 Ashburnham, 25.
 Assimilation of faces, 185.
 Associations of Churches, 146.
 Atherton, Dr. Israel, 109.
 Athol, 25.
 Auburn, 25.

B.

Bailey, Silas, 122,
 Baker, Moses, 66.
 " Samuel, 32.
 Baldwin, Loammi, 82.
 Bangs, Edward, 58.
 Baptist Conferences, 147.
 Baptists, 164.
 Baptist Woman, 36.
 Barre, Town of, 3, 25.
 Burstow, John, 85.
 Barton, Edmund M., 136.
 Bass, Edward, 119.
 Batcheller, Tyler, 181.
 Bayquage, 3.
 Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, 18, 35.
 Berlin, Town of, 25.
 Bible, The, 107; Society, 149-50.
 Bigelow, Erastus B., 180, 199.
 Blackstone, 26; Canal, 81-2; River, 1-2; Valley, 4.
 Blanchard, Mrs. Margaret, 132.
 Blanchard, Thomas, 198.

Bliss, George, 83.
 Bolton, 23.
 Bottomly, Thomas, 179.
 Boylston, 26.
 Boynton, John, 126-7.
 Brace, Charles L., 121.
 Bridges, 79, 80; arched, iron and stone, 83.
 Broadcloths, 79.
 Bromfield, Henry, 132.
 " School, 132.
 Brookfield, destroyed, 12, 13; Murders, in 17, 22.
 Brooks, William, 57; executed, 59-60.
 Brown, John, 81-2.
 " William O., 79.
 Buchanan, James, 57; executed, 59-60.
 Bullock, Alexander H., 132.
 Bunyan, John, 165.
 Burroughs, Stephen, 69-70.
 Business, statistics of, 174, 183.
 Business Towns, 184.

C.

Caldwell, John, 66.
 " Seth, 66.
 " William, 44.
 Canal, The Blackstone, 81-3.
 Capron, John, 179.
 Carpet Business, 180.
 Carriages, 88.
 Carrington, Edward, 82.
 Carter, Dr. Calvin, 72.
 " James G., 119.
 Cases in Court, 51.
 Catholic Churches, 148-9, 162.
 " Population, 158.
 Census of towns, 26-7.
 Chabanakongkamon, 10.
 Chamberlain, D. C., 121.
 Changes in Doctrine, 159-171.
 " Polity, 159-169.
 " Population, 184.
 Chandler, Gardner, 97.
 " John, 29, 30, 42, 47.
 " John, Jr., 29, 31, 33-4, 42-3, 53.
 " John, 3d, 43.

Channing, William E., 119.
 Chapin, Chester W., 84.
 " Henry, 128, 151.
 Chatillon, 24.
 Cheap Philosophers, 109.
 Chicopee River, 1, 3.
 Children, all educated, 106.
 Choral Union, 143.
 Christian Disciples, 158.
 " Indians, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 40.
 " Religion, its effects, 185.
 Churches, number of, 149, 159.
 Church Members in the County, 157; how many, 152-3.
 Circuit Court of Common Pleas, 38.
 Clergy, Congregational, 117.
 Clerks of Courts, 42.
 Clinton, 26.
 Coal, 6.
 Coalition Party, 93.
 Colburn, Dana P., 121.
 Conferences and Denominations, 145.
 Congregational Churches in the County, 156.
 " Conferences, 146.
 Congregationalists, 151.
 Constable, Indian, 11.
 College of the Holy Cross, 125.
 Cooley, Ephraim, 59.
 Corporeal punishment, 109.
 Cotton business, 180.
 County Buildings, 43:
 " Commissioners, 37-8.
 " Officers, 42.
 " Roads, 73.
 Counties, large or small, 90.
 Court, Central District, 41; judges and clerks of, 41-2.
 Court Houses, 34, 43-5.
 " of Common Pleas, 29, 30, 37, 100-1.
 " of other Districts, 41.
 " of Probate and Insolvency, 29, 40.
 " of Sessions of the Peace, 29, 32, 37, 46, 100-1.
 " Superior, 39.
 " Supreme Judicial, 39, 40.
 Crafts, Ebenezer, 18.
 Criers of the Courts, 43.
 Crimes, 172, 174.
 Crocker, Alvah, 86.
 Crosby, Rev. Josiah D., 136.
 Curtiss, Caleb, 48.
 Cushing Academy, 130.
 " Edward, 37.
 " John, 40.
 " Judge William, 58, 68.
 " Thomas P., 130.
 Cutler, Dr. Calvin, 121.

Dana, Town of, 26.
 " Isaac, 122.
 " Jacob, 118.
 Davis, John, 82-3, 85-6.
 " Jonathan, 37.
 " Stephen, 44.
 Davenport, Addington, 40.
 " David, 44.
 Debt, State, 99; Continental, 99.
 Democrats, 93.
 Deer-killing, 36.
 Devens, Gen. Charles, 40.
 De Witt, Alexander, 86.
 Dorr, Joseph, 32-3.
 Dow, Joseph, 66.
 Drury, Luke, 48.
 Dunsmoor, John, 48.
 Dwight, Joseph, 29, 31.
 " President, 90.

 E.
 Editors and Publishers, 185-192.
 Education and schools, 105; improvement in, 106.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 165.
 Eliot, Rev. John, 10-12, 14, 16.
 Emerson, George B., 119.
 Enfield, 21.
 Episcopal Churches, 148, 163.
 Everett, Edward, 16.
 Expunging a Record, 97.
 Execution of Brooks, Buchanan, Ross and Mrs. Spooner, 64.

F.

Farming, 174-5; improved, 178.
 Fisheries, 176.
 Fishing Towns, 176.
 Female Teachers, 116.
 Fiske, Oliver, 37.
 Fitchburg, 25.
 Fitch, Major, 17.
 Flagg, Benjamin, 31.
 Foreign-born, 184.
 Foster, Dwight, 32, 40.
 " Jedediah, 32, 40, 58.
 " John, 165.
 " Miss Florence, 130.
 Freedom of the Will, 171.
 Free Institute of Industrial Science, 126.
 Free-Soil Party, 93.
 French and Indians, 16, 18.
 French Huguenots, 17.
 Friends, 158.
 Fulling-Mills, 177.
 Fuller, Andrew, 165.

G.

- Gaols or Jails, 15-6.
 Gardner, Jerome, 41.
 " town of, 25, 87.
 Gauntlet, running the 98.
 Geography, 107.
 Geological Notes, 5.
 George Hill, 9.
 George Hill, 49.
 Gill, Moses, 32, 66, 91, 118.
 Goddard, Benjamin, 182.
 " Michael, 32.
 Godding, Dr. William W., 121.
 Gookin, Daniel, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.
 " Daniel, Jr., 40.
 Goss, Rev. Thomas, 167.
 Goulding, Jacob, 48.
 Governors, royal, 97.
 Grafton, 21-3.
 Grammar, 107.
 Grants, 6, 17.
 Greenleaf, Gen., 65, 102.
 Green, Prof. S. S., 121.
 " Rev. Harris K., 124.

H.

- Hale, Nathan, 85.
 Hall, Robert, 165.
 Hammond, Rev. Charles, 117.
 " Timothy W., 86.
 Hardwick, 23.
 Harrington, Rev. Timothy, 169.
 Hartwell, Edward, 31, 53.
 Harvard, Town of, 23.
 Harvard College, 117.
 Hassanamisco, 10, 14, 21.
 Hastings, Scott, 37.
 Haven, Samuel F., 136.
 Hazeltine, John, 35.
 Heard, Nathan, 83.
 Hemenway, Rev. Moses, 119.
 Hinchman, Capt., 14, 15.
 Heywood, Benjamin, 32, 36.
 " Daniel, 45.
 Higher Schools, 116.
 Highland Military Academy, 125; teachers in, 128.
 Hoar, George F., 151.
 Holbrook, Sylvanus, 82.
 Holden, 24.
 Hopkins vs. Ward, 51, 52, 54.
 Horowaninit, or John, sachem, 10.
 Horticultural Society, The Worcester, 144;
 officers of, 145.
 Houghton, Ralph, 74.
 Howe, Elias, 200.
 Hubbard, John, 40.

- Hubbard, Prof. E. A., 117.
 Hubbardston, 25.
 Hutchinson, Capt. Edward, 13.
 " Gov. Thomas, 18.

I.

- Illiteracy, 114.
 Indian Churches, 10.
 Indian Fight, The, 18.
 Indian Lands, purchase of, 9.
 Indians, 7.
 Indian Wars in the County, 12.
 Industries of the Farm, 175.
 Intemperance, 172-3.
 Intervale, 4.
 Inventors, Four great, 197.
 Iron, 6; iron spring, 9.
 Irving, Edward, 40.

J.

- Jailers, List of, 43.
 Jefts, Miss Mary P., 131.
 Jennison, Nathaniel, 66, 68.
 " William, 29, 30-1, 34, 43, 45, 77.
 Jethro of Natick, 10, 11.
 Jillson, Clark, 137.
 Jones, Henry R., 82.
 " Miss Rebecca, 130.
 Joslin, Peter, 17.
 Juries, patriotic, 96.
 Justice, administration of, 27.
 Justices of the Peace, 28, 29.

K.

- Kimball, Benjamin, 37.
 King, Dr., 57, 59.
 " Thomas, 9, 73.
 Kinnicut, Thomas, 86.
 Know-Nothing Party, 93.
 Knox, Gen. Henry, 82.
 Krüsi, Herman, 121.

L.

- Lamb, Col. Joshua, 22-3.
 Lambstown, 23.
 Lancaster, 1, 3, 6, 10, 13; Raids on, 17, 18, 21,
 27, 75; destruction of, 14-17.
 " Academy, 119.
 Leather Business, 181.
 Lee, Henry, 29, 33.
 Leicester, 22.
 " Academy, 118.
 Leominster, 3, 24.
 Leslie, Rev. George, 62.
 Limestone Quarry, 7.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 37.
 " Daniel W., 84.

Lincoln, Edward W., 115.
 " Gen., 192.
 " John W., 37, 78, 82.
 " Levi, 69, 66-7, 63, 83, 85.
 " Levi, Gov., 49.
 Long Lake, 5.
 Lord London, 52.
 Lowe, Dr. Abraham, 132.
 Lunenburg, 23.
 Lyceum and Natural History Association, 137.
 140; officers of, 140.

M.

Macarty, Rev. Thaddeus, 62-3.
 Manchoag, in Oxford, 10.
 Manners, 108.
 Marriage Relation, The, 172.
 Mason, Lowell, 121.
 Matoomus, Constable, 10.
 Mather, Cotton, 134.
 " Increase, 134.
 Matthew, or Sagamore Sam, 14.
 Mechanics, 175.
 Mellen, Edward, 38.
 Mellen, Rev. John, 167.
 Mendon, 21, 76.
 Merrick, Pliny, 37.
 " " Jr., 34, 40, 72, 86.
 Metcalf, C. B., 125.
 Methodist Districts, 147.
 Methodists, 164.
 Mica-slate, 6, 7.
 Midwives, and Mrs. Spooner, 62.
 Miles, Solomon P., 119.
 Military History of the County, 192-6.
 Militia, 193-4.
 Milford, 25; Academy, 120.
 Millbury, 26; Academy, 120.
 Miller's River, 1, 3.
 Milton, John, 109, 165.
 Ministers and Education, 117.
 Moen, Philip L., 183.
 Mohegans, 8.
 Morse, Rev. Jedediah, 107.
 Murray, Lindley, 107.
 Musical Association, 140-2.

N.

Narragansetts, 8.
 Nashaways, or Nashawogs, The, 9, 11.
 Nashua River, 1; Valley of, 2, 4, 5, 9.
 Natives, Number of, 8.
 New Braintree, 24.
 New England Normal Institute, 121.
 Newspapers, 185-192.
 Nichols Academy, 122.
 Nipnet Country, 8, 10, 13.

Nipnets or Nipnuncs, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 16.
 Normal School at Worcester, 128.
 Northborough, 25.
 Northbridge, 25.
 North Brookfield, 26.
 Nye, Bonum, 78.

O.

Oakham, Town of, 25.
 Oliver, Peter, 97.
 Orend Institute, 124.
 Otto Sutor, Case of, 70, 71-2.
 Oxford, Raid upon, 17, 22.

P.

Packachoag, in Worcester, 10, 14.
 Paine, Elisha, 36.
 " Robert Treat, 49, 59, 60.
 " Timothy, 97.
 Palmer, Joseph, 119.
 Paper Stock, 107.
 Parsing, 107.
 Parsons, Rev. David, 34-5.
 Paxton, Town of, 24-5.
 Pearson, Eliphalet, 132.
 Pegan Tribe, 16.
 Penniman, Henry H., 86.
 Pequods, 18.
 Petersham, 3, 24.
 Philip, King, 9, 12, 14-16.
 Phillips, Ivers, 86-7.
 Phillipston, 26.
 Pierce, Edwin, 131.
 Piombow, 10.
 Pitt, the Elder, 176.
 Polley, Ebenezer, 35.
 Potash Works, 176.
 Pratt, Benjamin, 53.
 Prentice, Rev. John, 29.
 " Thomas, 36.
 Prescott, John, 9, 73.
 " Jonathan, 175.
 Press, The, of Worcester County, 185-192.
 Princeton, 24.
 Prince, Rev. Dr., 91.
 Prison for Women, 51.
 Prisoners for Debt, 47.
 Probate, Judges of, 40, 41.
 " Registers of, 41.
 Psalter, The, or Psalms, 107.
 Purgatory, 3.
 Putnam, James, 97.

Q.

Quabog, 10.
 Quartz Rock, 6.
 Quasi-Slavery, 35.
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr., 183.

Quinsigamond Lake, 4, 6.
Quork Walker, 66, 68.

R.

Railroad, Boston and Albany, 84.
" Boston and Worcester, 84.
" Boston, Barre and Gardner, 86.
" Fitchburg, 85.
" " and Worcester, 86.
" Norwich and Worcester, 85.
" Providence and Worcester, 85.
" Western, 84.
" Worcester and Nashua, 86.

Railroads, Short Lines, 88-9.

Railways in the County, 83.

Rebellion, The, 96.

Registers of Deeds, 43.

Religious History of the County, 151.

Religion, State of, 154-5.

Republican Party, 93-4.

Result of Philip's War, 17.

Revolution, The, 96.

Rice, George T., 86.

" Jonas, 31, 40.

Roads, County, &c., 73-9.

Robinson, Jeremiah, 37.

Rockwell, Julius, 83.

Rolfe, Ezra, 57, 59-60.

Roper, John, 74.

Ross, Ezra, 57, 59-60.

" Jabez, 60-61.

" Joanna, 60.

Rowlandson, Joseph, 22.

" Mrs., 16.

" Rev. Joseph, 15.

Royalston, 25.

Ruggles, Timothy, 31-2, 53-6.

Russell, Miss Anna V., 121.

" Prof. E. H., 130.

" Prof. William, 121.

" Rev. Frank, 121.

Rutland, 18, 22.

S.

Salisbury, Stephen, 37, 86, 135.

Sargent, Dickery, killed, 18.

" Mrs., killed, 18.

" Nathaniel P., 58, 66, 68.

Satinets, 179.

Scenery, different, 2; beautiful, 4.

School Books, 111.

School-Houses, Improved, 108, 110.

Schools affect character, 115.

" Cost of, 115.

" Select for Girls, 117.

Senatorial Districts, 95.

Senators, 89, 90; Names of, 90-96.

Seventh-Day Adventists, 159.

Sewall, David, 58, 66, 68.

" Jonathan, 67.

Shaw, Lemuel, 44.

Shays, Daniel, 99, 102.

Shays' Rebellion, 99, 100-5.

Sheriffs, 42.

Shorter Catechism, 107.

Shoshamin, or Sholan, 9, 11, 14, 73.

Shrewsbury, 23.

Sill, Capt. Joseph, 14, 15.

Simmons, Senator, 85.

Slate Quarry, 6.

Slater, Samuel, 180.

Slavery, Illegal, 67.

Sleeper, Rev. William T., 151.

Smalley, John, 74.

Smith, Edward, 35.

" Stephen H., 82.

Soapstone, 7, 22.

Society of Antiquity, 136-7.

Socinians, 151.

Southborough, 23.

Southbridge, 26.

Sparks, Jared, 119.

Spencer, 24.

Spere, James, 10.

Spinning and Weaving, 26.

Spooner, Bathsheba, 54, 56, 59, 60, 62.

" Joshua, killed, 56-9.

" Case, The, 54.

Sprague, A. B. R., 47.

" John, 32, 66.

Spurr John, 37.

Spy, The, 185.

State of Morals, 171-4.

Stearns, Mr., 66.

Steel, Thomas, 31-2, 53.

Sterling, 18, 25.

Stevens, Dea. J., sons killed, 18.

Still River, 5.

Stone, A. P., 120.

Stoughton, Lieut.-Gov., 17.

Strong, Caleb, 66.

" Solomon, 38.

Sturbridge, 21, 23.

Suffield, 21.

Sullivan, James, 59, 66.

Summer, Increase, 68.

Surface of Country, 1.

Sutton, Scenery of, 3, 22.

Swans' Swamp, The, 5.

Swansey Attacked, 12.

Sweetser, Rev. Dr. Seth, 127.

Symmes, Caleb T., 70-1.

" Mrs. N. R., 70-1, 121.

T.

- Tackuppowillan, 10.
 Tait, Daniel, 29, 33, 76.
 " Henry C., 79.
 " Velorous, 79.
 Teachers, 108, 111.
 Templeton, 24.
 Tenney, Sanborn, 121.
 Terrific Thunderstorm, 65.
 Thayer, Eli, 124, 126.
 " Rev. Nathaniel, 152.
 Thomas, B. F., 40, 72.
 " Isaiah, 44, 46, 134, 185.
 Thompson, Prof. C. O., 127.
 Thurber, Charles, 44.
 Thurston, John G., 72.
 Topography of Worcester County, 1.
 Torrey, Ebenezer, 131.
 Tory Spirit, 97-8.
 Towne, Salem, 44.
 Towns, Origin of, 21; Valuation of, 34; Pre-
 sentments of, 35.
 Traitors, 48.
 Trask, Joseph, or Puogastion, 22.
 Treasurers, County, 43.
 Trowbridge, Edmund, 53.
 Trumbull's Schoolmaster, 109.
 Tufts, Aaron, 37.
 Turner, Charles S., 86.
 Twichell, Ginery, 87.

U.

- Unitarian Conferences, 148.
 Unitarians, 151, 158, 161.
 Universalist Churches, 148.
 Universalists, 158.
 Upham, Phineas, 13.
 Upton, 23.
 Uxbridge, 22.

V.

- Vehicles, 87.
 Veto Power of the Clergy, 166.
 Vose, James E., 131.

W.

- Wachusett, Height of, 1, 2, 8.
 Waentug, in Uxbridge, 10.
 Wall, Caleb A., 23, 43, 1-9.
 Walton, George A., 117.
 Wampanoags, 8.
 Wampus, John, sachem, 22.
 Ward, now Auburn, 25.
 " Artemas, 31-2, 104.
 " Henry, 53.
 " Nahum, 29, 31, 33.
 " Samuel, 51-2, 54
 " William, 29-31.

- Ware River, 1, 3.
 Warren, 24.
 Warren, Dr. Joseph, 119.
 Washacum, 9.
 Washburn, Emory, 38-9, 73, 85, 117, 128.
 " Ichabod, 126, 179, 182.
 Watatic, Height of, 1.
 Waters, Andrus, 182.
 " Asa, 1-2.
 " Col. Asa, 182.
 " Lawrence, 175.
 " Richard, 1-2.
 Water System of the County, 1.
 Watson, Charles, 181..
 Wattasacopanum, a Ruler, 10, 14.
 Wayland, Rev. Dr., 85, 131.
 Webster, 26.
 Weshakim, 8-10, 14.
 Westborough, 22.
 West Boylston, 26.
 West Brookfield, 13, 26.
 Westminster, 21, 24; Academy, 119.
 Wheeler, Capt. Thomas, 13.
 " George, 74.
 Whipping-Post, 33-4.
 Whitcomb, David, 127.
 " The Widow, 17.
 White, Capt. John, 24.
 " Moses, 37.
 Whiting, John, 37.
 " Rev. John, killed, 17.
 " Timothy, 37.
 Whitney, Eli, 180, 197.
 " Obio, 131.
 " Rev. Peter, 16, 18.
 Wild Animals, 3.
 Wilder, David, 97.
 " Dr. C. W., 85.
 " Joseph, 28-31, 119.
 " Joseph, Jr., 31-2.
 " Sampson, V. S., 49, 50.
 Wilkinson, Ezra, 72.
 Willard, Abel, 119.
 " Benjamin, 29.
 " Henry, 22.
 " Joseph, 119.
 " Josiah, 29, 33.
 " Rev. Joseph, slain, 18.
 " Samuel, 31.
 " Simon, The Major, 13.
 Williams, Roger, 164.
 Wilson, Samuel, 179.
 Winchendon, 25, 87; Academy, 120.
 Winchester, George C., 131.
 Winthrop, Hon. John, 1.
 Woods, Asaph, 79.
 " Matthew F., 70.

Woodstock, 21; road to, 77.
 Woolen Business, 179.
 Worcester, 3, 18, 22; Academy, 122; Shire Town, 27.
 Worcester County, incorporated, 18; growth of, 19; original towns, 19.

Worcester County, Political Unity of, 89.
 " " versus Rebellion, 194-5.
 Wright, Samuel, 29, 33.

Y.

Yale College, 117.
 Young, Henry, 13.

TOWN OF ASHBURNHAM.

Banks, 207.
 Barrett, Col. G. H., 211-12.
 " Col., Sr., 212.
 Robbins, 207.
 Boundaries, 201.
 Bontelle, Rev. Thomas, 209.
 Brooks and Springs, 202.
 Bullock, Hon. A. H., 210.
 Burying-Ground, 204.
 Business, 206.
 Chair Patterns, 207.
 Chairs, 207-8.
 Chaise, First, 206.
 Church organized, 208.
 Climate, 202.
 Clothiers, 207.
 Coolidge, Elisha, 208.
 Corner Tree, 201.
 Cotton Factory, 207.
 Crosby, Rev. Josiah D., 205, 209-12.
 Cushing Academy, 210; endowed, 211.
 Cushing, Rev. Dr. John, 206, 209.
 " Thomas P., 210.

Davis, Rev. Elnathan, 209.
 Division of Lots, 204.
 Dorchester Canada, 203.
 Dow, Lorenzo, 210.

Families, 208.
 Farming, 206.
 Farm Property, 208.
 Fellows, Dea. Samuel, 205, 209.
 Fisher, Rev. George E., 209.
 Fiske, Rev. F. A., 209.
 Fitts, Samuel, 212.
 Fortified Houses, 204.
 Foster, Jeremiah, 205.
 " Jerome, 212.
 " Moses, 208.
 Frobisher, Moses, 207.
 Fulling-Mills, 207.

German Settlers, 203-4, 208.
 Goodyear, Rev. George, 209.
 Grant, Sale of, 203.

Harding, Rev. Elisha, 208.
 Healthy Town, 203.
 Hills, 201.
 History, Manuscript, 212.
 House of Entertainment, 204.

Ichabod, 209.
 Incorporation, 204.
 Indians, 204.
 Industry, Statistics of, 208.

Jennison, Rev. Edwin, 209.
 Junction Railroad, 207.

Kibling, Mrs., 205.

Latitude, 201.
 Light Infantry, 211.
 Little, Rev. E. G., 209.
 Log-House, 205.
 Lowe, Dr. Abraham, 205, 209-12.

Mahan, Pres., 209.
 Matches, 207.
 Meeting-House, 204, 208; new, 209.
 Men of Ability, 211.
 Methodist Church, 210.
 Military Spirit, 211.
 Mills, 204, 206.
 Morocco, 208.

Naukeag Ponds, 202.
 Norcross, Hon. Amasa, 210.
 North Ashburnham, 209.

Parker, Rev. Leonard S., 209.
 Perfectionism, 209.
 Perkins, Rev. George, 209.
 Potash Works, 207.

Railroads, 206.
 Rand, Rev. Asa, 212.
 Religion, 208.
 Rice, Lieut. Col. Joseph, 212.
 River Sources, 202.
 Roads, 205-6.

Salary of Minister, 208-9.
 Schools, 210.
 Settlement, 203.
 Sleighs, 205.
 Smith, Joshua, 206.
 South Ashburnham, 207.
 Spools, 207.
 Stage-Coach, 205.
 Stevens, George F., 211.
 " Rev. Moody A., 209.
 Surface, Variety of, 201.
 Timber, 207.
 Torrey, Ebenezer, 211.
 Townsend, Reuben, 212.
 Union Church, 209.

Vehicles, First, 205.
 Walker, Capt. Addison, 212.
 Watatic, 201.
 Watershed, 202.
 Wayland, Rev. Dr. Francis, 210.
 West, Mrs. Julia Houston, 212.
 Whitcome, William, 205.
 Whitney, Hon. Ohio, 211-12.
 " Milton, 212.
 Wight, Rev. Daniel, 209.
 Wilder, Col. Caleb, 207.
 Winchester, Charles, 207.
 " George C., 207.
 " Rev. Jonathan, 208-9.
 Wood-ware, 207.

TOWN OF ATHOL.

Against the Rebellion, 226-8.
 Agricultural and Mechanical Society, 230.
 Athol, Duke of, 216.
 " in the Revolution, 217.
 " Surveyed, 213.
 Babcock, Jason, captured, 215.
 Bailey, Rev. Ira, 221.
 Banks, 231.
 Baptist Church, 221.
 " Meeting-Houses, 222.
 " Ministers, 222.
 Beckwith, Rev. B. B., 221.
 Bigelow, William, 217.
 Blake, Rev. Henry A., 221.
 Boots and Shoes, 232-3.
 Bosworth, Rev. L. A., 222.
 Boundaries, 216-17.
 Brass Bands, 230.
 Brown, Rev. Mr., 218.
 Burton, Rev. W. S., 221.
 Burying-Place, 218.
 Business Interests and Firms, 231-34.
 " Men, 239.
 Catholic Church, 222.
 Cemeteries, 236.
 Chipman, Rev. R. M., 221.
 Church organized, 219.
 " Names of Members, 219.
 Clapp, Rev. William, 222.
 Clarke, Rev. Jonas, 220-1.
 " S. F., 218.
 Committee of Correspondence and Inspection,
 217-18.
 Companies, Two of Militia, 217.
 Contention, 219.
 Corporate Act, 216.

Cotton Factory, 232.
 Coyne, Rev. Joseph, Jr., 222.
 Cutler, Rev. Temple, 221.
 Division of Church, 220.
 Emmet Literary Society, 230.
 Estabrook Family, 236.
 " Hon. B., 238.
 " Rev. Joseph, 219-20, 225, 238.
 Evangelical Church, 221.
 " Society, 221.
 Fire Department, 231.
 Fish and Game, 215.
 Fish, Mrs. Sally, 236.
 Flora of Athol, 229.
 Forts, 215.
 Freemasons, 230.
 Fringed Gentian, 229.
 Gas, 235.
 Geological Structure, 229.
 Gibbs, Rev. E. P., 221.
 Graduates, 239.
 Grammar School, 223.
 Grand Army of the Republic, 230.
 High Schools, 224.
 Hill, Wells L., 237.
 Horr, George W., 213.
 Hotels, 239.
 House-Lots Drawn, 213.
 Hoyt, Dr. George, 237.
 " Gen. George, 237.
 Humfries, Rev. James, 219.
 Humphrey, Rev. George F., 238.

- Incorporation, 216.
 Indians, 214, 216.
- Jennings, Lyman, 235.
 Jacobs, Elder Whitman, 221.
- Kelton, Calvin, 238.
- Library Association, 230.
 Log-Hut, 214.
- Machinery, 234.
 Meeting-House, 218-221.
 Methodist Churches, 222; names of Ministers, 222.
 Miller's or Pequoia River, 228.
 Minerals, 229.
 Minister's Musket, The, 215.
 Minute-Men, 218.
 Moore, Rev. Josiah, 221.
 Morton, A., first white child, 214.
 Murray, John, 216.
 Music Hall, 234.
- National Politics, 225.
 Newspapers, 237.
 Nightingale, Rev. Crawford, 221.
 Norton, Rev. John F., 221.
- O'Daniels, Rev. D. C., 221.
 Officers, Names of, 216.
- Parsons, Rev. James C., 222.
 Peace-Maker, 220.
 Peat-Bed, 229.
 Pequoia, 213.
 Physicians, 238-9.
- Population, 236.
 Post-Offices, 235.
 Priest, Rev. S. R., 221.
 Proprietors' Names, 213.
- Railroads, 234.
 Representatives, 226.
 Round Top, 228.
- Scenery, 228.
 Schools, 223-4.
 School Committee, 234.
 Second Advent Society, 222.
 Second Unitarian Church, 222.
 Senators, 226.
 Settlement hindered by War, 215.
 Settlers, First, Names of, 214.
 Shaw, Rev. Linus H., 221.
 Sidewalks, 235.
 Silver Lake, 236.
 Singing, 223.
 Soldiers in the Field, 218.
 " Names of, 227, and Number, 227.
 Squadrons, 223.
 Stockwell, Capt. Ephraim, 218.
 Sweetser, Charles H., 237.
- Temperance Lodges, 230.
 Twitchell, Hon. Ginery, 238.
- Wallingford, Ezekiel, killed, 218.
 Warner, Rev. James F., 221.
 War of 1812-15, 224.
 Water Company, 235.
 Waterman, R. W., 237.
 Wiswell, Miss Esther, 219.
 Woolen Factory, 223.
 Wood-work, 233.

TOWN OF AUBURN.

- Adams, Rev. Darwin, 247.
 Auburn changed from Ward, 246.
 " in the Revolution, 243.
 " vs. the Rebellion, 249.
- Bailey, Jacob W., 249.
 " Rev. Isaac, settled, 247.
- Baptist Church, 247; Elders of, 247.
 Beef for the Army, 245.
 Boundaries, 243.
 Brooks and Rivers, 241.
 Business Establishments, 248.
- Catholic Mission, 247.
 Chamberlain, Rev. Charles, 247.
 Church and Common, 248.
 Congregational Church organized, 247.
- Constitution of the State, 244.
 Correspondence and Inspection, 246.
 Crowell, Capt. John, 240.
- Davis, Rev. Elnathan, 247.
 Deer-Reeves, 244.
 Dwinell, Elder Isaac, 247.
- Eddy, Jesse, 240. ♥
 Education, 247-8.
- Farming Lands, Good, 241, 248.
 French, Rev. George, 247.
- Going, Rev. Dr. Jonathan, 247.
 Goulding Jonah, 246.
 Grants, 240.
 Green, Dr. Thomas, 249.

Hills, 240.
 Hoadley, Rev. L. J., 247.
 Incorporation, 242.
 Indian Village, 240.
 Kendall, Rev. Charles, 247.
 King Philip, 240.
 Library, Public, 248.
 Location and Surface, 240.
 McGregor, Elder Elias, 247.
 Meeting-House, 242, 246.
 Monument, 249.
 Packachoag Hill, 240.
 Paine, Elder John, 247.
 Parish Meeting, First, 241.
 Poll Parish, 241.
 Pond, Rev. Dr. Enoch, 247, 249.
 Population, 249.
 Pratt, Rev. Minor G., 247.
 Preaching, 242, 244.

Quota of Soldiers, 249.
 Representatives, 249.
 Richardson, Rev. D. W., 247.
 Roads, 241.
 Sagamore John, 240.
 School Committee, First, 248.
 Shays' Insurrection, 246.
 Slater, Peter, 240.
 Statistics, 250-1.
 Stockwell, George A., 240.
 Stone, Joseph, 241.
 Suspected Tories, 244-5.
 Town Meeting, First, 243.
 " Officers, 243.
 Villages, 248-9.
 Ward, Gen. Artemas, 242.
 Warren, Jonah G., 249.
 Water-Supply, 241.
 Wind Grist-Mill, 240.

TOWN OF BARRE.

Aldrich, Judge P. Emory, 270.
 Agriculture, 268.
 Artillery, Battalion of, 267.
 Asylum, Private, 270.
 Baptist Church, 260.
 Barre, original connection, 252; Surveyed,
 273; Slave Case, 258.
 Bates, Dr. Anson, 270.
 Brown, Dr. George, 270.
 Buckminster, Col., 265.
 Burying-Grounds, 260.
 Caldwell, James, 256.
 Cheese, 269.
 Churches, 269.
 Dana, Rev. Josiah, 259.
 District, Petition for, 254.
 Eminent Men, 269-70.
 Evangelical Church, 265; Society, 260; Min-
 isters of, 261.
 Factories, 269.
 First Settlers, 257.
 Foster, Joseph, 252.
 Free Worshippers, 261.
 Frink, Rev. Thomas, 259.

Gazette, 271.
 God-Fearing People, 257.
 Graduates of Colleges, 264.
 Harwood, Prof. Daniel, 258.
 High School, 263, 271.
 Hills, 271.
 Holden, James, 256.
 Hotels, 271.
 Incorporated as Hutchinson, 255.
 Jenkins Family, 258.
 Kimball, Rev. Moses, 261.
 Lawyers and Doctors, 269.
 Leading Families, 258-9.
 Lee, Gen. Samuel, 266.
 " Henry, 256.
 Light Infantry, 267.
 Mandell, Moses, 263.
 Masonic Lodge, 271.
 Men and Money to put down Rebellion, 268.
 Meeting-House, 259-60.
 Military History, 265.
 Mills, 269.
 Ministers, Methodist, 261; Unitarian, 261.
 Minute-Men, 265.

- Osgood, Joshua, 256.
- Pierce, Frederick C., 252.
- Proprietors' Meeting, 253.
" Names of, 252-3.
- Powder and Ball, 267.
- Public Spirit, 268.
- Purchase of the Land, 252.
- Rebellion ; Action of the Town, 267.
- Rice, Henry E., 256.
" Jotham, 256.
- Rocking-Stone, 273.
- Rowlandson, Joseph, 252.
- Rutland District, 255.
- Scenery, Fine, 271.
- Schools, 262.
- School Districts, 262.
- School-Masters, 263.
- School, State Normal, 263.
- Selectmen, 268.
- Shays' Rebellion, 266.
- Sibley, Capt. Lyman, 259.
- Soil, Excellent, 271.
- Soldiers in the Revolution, 266.
- Stevens, Cyprian, 252.
- Storrs, Rev. John, 261.
- Taxes in the Revolution, 266.
- Thompson, Rev. Dr., 260-61.
- Town Hall, 271.
- Universalist Society, 260.
- Ware River, 271.
- Wilbur, Dr. Henry, 270.
- Willard, Benjamin, 252 ; Henry, 252 ; Samuel, 253.

TOWN OF BERLIN.

- Assabet River, 272.
- Baker, Hon. Samuel, 277.
- Baldwin, Rev. A. C., 277.
- Boundaries, 272.
- Burdett, Rev. Michael, 277.
- Business, 274.
- Carver, Rev. Robert, 277.
- Christy, Rev. A. B., 277.
- Church Affairs, 276.
" Members, 274.
" Origin of, 273.
- Clark, Rev. Eber L., 277.
" Rev. Selden C., 277.
- Clergymen, 279.
- District, 272.
- Farming, 274.
- Friends or Quakers, 277.
- Gates' Pond, 272-3.
- Goss, Rev. Mr., 273.
- Green, Rev. George W., 277.
- Hills, 272.
- Houghton, Rev. William A., 277.
- Houses and Lands, 275.
- Howe, Hon. S. H., 279.
- Lamson, Rev. David K., 276.
- Meeting-House, 274.
- Origin of Families, 273.
" of the Town, 272.
- Orthodox, 274.
- Parish and Precinct, 272.
- Patriotism in Time of the Rebellion, 276.
- Physicians, 279.
- Puffer, Rev. Dr. Reuben, 274, 277-8.
- Railways, 275.
- Roads, 273.
- Schools, 275.
- Streams, 272.
- Surface and Soil, 272.
- Unitarians, 274.
- Unitarian Society, 276.
- Walcut, Rev. Robert F., 274.
- Walley, Rev. Mr., 273.
- Whitney, Rev. Peter, 273.

TOWN OF BLACKSTONE.

- Absentees, 297.
- Agricultural Interest, 288.
" Library, 289.
- Athenæum, 289.
- Balch, Rev. Benjamin, 281.
- Ballou, Rev. Adin, 282.
- Banks, 293.
- Blackstone Incorporated, 280.

Blackstone Manufacturing Co., 284-5.
 Blackstone, William, 280.

Canal, 294.
 Catholic Church, 284.
 Catholic Union, Young Men's, 289.
 Chairman of Town Officers, 290-1.
 Choate, Rufus, 297.
 Chronicle, The Blackstone, 291.
 Clothiers, 286.
 Congregational Church, 282; Ministers of, 282.

Distressing Accident, 296-7.
 District Court, 292.
 Dow, Lorenzo, 282.

Early Landholders, 281.
 East Blackstone, 281.
 Elders, Names of, 282.
 Emmons, Rev. Dr., 282.
 Episcopal Church, 283; Ministers of, 283.
 Exhibit of Manufactures, 287-8.

Farnum, Welcome, 294-5.
 Foreign Element, 288.
 French, 288.
 Freewill Baptists, 282.
 Friends, The, 282.

Hill, Dan, 295.
 Hotels, 294.

Intervale, 296.
 Irish, 288.

Junction of Railroads, 281.

Lawyers, 292.
 Libraries, Sunday School, 289.
 Library Association, 289.
 Localities, 281.

Machine Shop, 287.
 Meeting-House, Old, 281-2.
 Men of Mark, 296.
 Methodist Church, 283; its Ministers, 283
 " Reformed Church, 283.
 Military and Patriotic Spirit, 292-3.
 Mill-Privilege, 285.
 Mill River, 286.
 Millville, 281, 286.

Old Mill, 284.

Physicians, 292.
 Pitts, Esek, 295.
 Police Courts, 292.
 Population, 288.
 Postmasters 291.
 Putnam, Judge A. A., 280.

Railways, 280, 294.
 Representatives, 290.

Satinets, 287.
 Scenery, 296.
 Schools, 289; Houses, 289.
 Secret Societies, 293.
 Senators, 290.
 Smith, Rev. Preserved, 281.
 South Precinct, 281.
 Study Hall, 280.

Thayer, Caleb, 295.
 Todd, Paul P., 292.
 Town Clerks, 291.
 Treasurers, 291.

Waterford, 281.
 Water-Power, 280.
 Wilder, Rev. T. G., 282.

TOWN OF BOLTON.

Agriculture, 306.
 Allen, Rev. Isaac, 302.

Baptist Church, 303-4; Ministers of, 304.
 Barrels, 306.
 Beauty of Scenery, 298.
 Belcher, Gov., 298.
 Boots and Shoes, 306.
 Bricks, 306.

Chickering, Rev. Dr. J. W., 303.
 Church organized, 300; its later Ministers, 303.
 Clergymen, 308.
 Comb-making, 306.

Ede, Rev. Richard S., 303.

Farmers' Club, 308.
 Fire Statistics, 307.
 Friends or Quakers, 303.

Geography, 298.
 Geology, 299.
 Goss, Rev. Thomas, 300.
 Guards, The Bolton, 308.

Hills, 298-9.
 Hillside Church, 303.
 Hoops, 306.
 Houghton, Joseph, 306.
 Houghton School, 306.

Incorporated, 298, 301.
 Indian Wars, 304.

Johnson, Asa, 308.

Lafayette's Visit, 307.

Library, Public, 306.

Limestone, 298.

Long Lake, 299.

Meeting-house, 300.

Metals, 299.

Military History, 304; officers, 304.

Minerals, 299.

Nashua River, 308.

Philip's War, 309.

Physicians, 308.

Population, 307.

Railways, 308.

Rebellion, The, 305.

Rivers and Brooks, 299.

Schools, 305.

Soldiers in the late War, 305.

Stone, Rev. Dr. Thomas T., 303.

Still River, 299.

Swans' Swamp, The, 299.

Teachers, 306.

Thompson, Dr. J. L. S., 306.

Veto Power of the Minister, 302.

Walley, Rev. John, 302.

Wheeler's Block-house, 300.

Whitcomb, Gen. John, 304.

White, Rev. Phineas, 302.

Wilder, S. V. S., 303, 308.

TOWN OF BOYLSTON.

Agriculture, 312.

Andrews, Willard, 313.

Area of the Town, 309.

Boylston Family, 311.

Boylston, Ward N., 317.

Boundaries, 309.

Burying-ground, The New, 318.

Burying-yard, 317.

Bush, Jotham, 318.

Charming Scenery, 309.

Church organized, 313.

Cotton, Rev. Ward, 314, 317.

Fairbanks, Rev. Eleazar, 314.

First town meeting, 316.

Flagg, Augustus, 309.

Flagg, John, 318.

Four Ponds, 309-10.

Hooper, Rev. Hezekiah, 314.

Indians, 312.

Kimball, Rev. Henry S., 315.

Library, 312.

Longevity, 311.

Lougley, James, 318.

Maynard, Turner, 318.

Meeting-House, 313, 316.

Mills, 310.

Minerals, 310.

Morse, Rev. Ebenezer, 313-14, 318.

Old Families, 315.

Partridge, John, 318.

Prominent Citizens, 316.

Rebellion, The, 315.

Revolution, The, 315.

Roads and Bridges, 310.

Ross, Rev. A. Hastings, 315.

Russell, Rev. Samuel, 314.

Sanford, Rev. Wm. H., 314.

Sawyer's Mills, 310.

Sawyer, Thomas, 311.

Sholan, sachem, 311.

Six Nations, 311.

Straw Hollow, 310.

Villages, 310-11.

THE BROOKFIELDS.

Hills, 320.

Iron-Ore, 321.

Old Meeting-House Hill, 320.

Ponds, 319-20.

Quaboag Pond and River, 319.

Soil, 320.

Swamp Land, 320.

Valley of the Quaboag, 320.

Wickaboag Pond, 321.

BROOKFIELD.

Ambush, 323.

Baptist Church, 344-5; Ministers of, 348.

Boots and Shoes, 313.

Brookfield, divided, 340-1.

 " Tavern, 340.

Buildings burned, 323.

Business, 342-3.

Cattle frightened, 324.

Cemetery, 346.

Cheney, Rev. Thomas, 327, 333.

Church gathered, 333.

Churches, The, 343.

Committee, The governing, 325, 327.

Congregational Church, Third, 343; Ministers of, 344.

Desolation, 325.

Early Ministers, 332.

Education, 322, 341-2.

Eliot, John, 322.

Farming, 342.

Fiske, Rev. Dr., 322, 336.

First Settlement, 322.

Forbes, Rev. Eli, 330, 338.

Foster, Jedediah, 337.

Foundry, 343.

French and Indian War, 330.

G. A. R. Post, 347.

Gilbert's Fort, 326-7.

Goose, Philip, 331.

Goss's Garrison, 326.

Grant, 322.

Harding, Rev. Elisha, 335.

Hills and Valleys, 321.

Horrors, Scenes of, 329.

Hotels, 347.

House of Mr. Spooner, 339.

Indian Haunts, 321.

Indian Hostility, 328.

Indian Ingenuity, 324.

Indians, The, 323; fifteen killed, 328.

Iron Works, 343.

Lawyers, 346.

Library, The Merrick, 346.

Lodge of Masons, 347.

Man, wounded, 323.

Marks' Garrison, 326.

Marks, Mrs., 326.

Mason, Mr., killed, 328.

Mather, Increase, 324.

Meeting-House, 326-7, 333.

Murder of three Indians, 321.

Newell's Company, 338.

Nipnets or Nipmucs, 321-3.

Old Muster-Rolls, 331.

Pastorate, long, 334.

Philip, 324.

Physicians, 346.

Politics, Federal, 341.

Principal House, 323.

Prominent Men, 346.

Prosperity, 330.

Ratsbane, Political, 337.

Rebellion, The, 345; Soldiers and bounties, 345-6.

Rendezvous, 323.

Re-planting, 325.

Savages, invisible, 324.

Second Church, 336.

Self-governing, 327.

Shays' Rebellion, 339.

Singular Scenes, 340.

Steamboat, 342.

Third Church, 336.

Toryism, 339.

Town Meeting, 331.

Treaty, 323.

Unitarian Society, 344; Ministers of, 344.

Waite Family, 338.

Whitefield, 334.

Wickaboag Pond, 321.

Willard, Maj. Simon, 324-5.

Wilson, Maj., 323.

Winthrop, Gov. John, 322.

Woolcot, John, anecdote of, 329.

 " Joseph, 328.

NORTH BROOKFIELD.

Adams, Charles, Jr., 356.

Appleton, Hon. William, 348.

 " Rev. Joseph, 347-8.

Avann, Rev. J. M., 352.

Barns, Capt. Jonathan, 350.

Batcheller House, 350, 354.

Batcheller, Ezra, 350.

Batcheller, E. & A. H., 354.
 " Tyler, 350-1.
 Boots and Shoes, 350, 354.
 Business, 354.

Catholic Church, 354.
 Churches, Four, 356.
 Conway, Rev. John, 354.
 Cushing, Rev. C., D. D., 348, 353.

Danforth, Capt. Asa, 350.
 De Bevoise, Rev. G. H., 353.
 District Society, 347.

Edson, Hiram, 350.
 Education, 354.

Farming, 343, 354-5.
 Forbes, Rev. Eli, 347.

G. A. R. Post, 356.
 Gilbert, Capt. Daniel, 350.
 Growth of the town, 351.

Harwood, Capt. Peter, 350.
 High School, 354.
 Hird, Rev. J. W., 354.
 Houses, poor, 349; good, 351.

Johnson, William, 350.

Kittredge, Dr. Jacob, 349.

Lawyers, 356.
 Library, The Pastor's, 346, 356-7.
 Location, pleasant, 356.
 Loom and wheel, 349.

Meeting-House, 347, 349, 352.
 Methodist Church, 353.
 Monument, 356.

Odd Fellows, 356.

Patriotism in all wars, 355.
 Physicians, 356.
 Population, 350.
 Public-spirited Men, 356.

Railroad, 357.
 Rebellion, The, 355.
 Religious History, 347.

Savings Bank, 356.
 Snell, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 348, 350, 352.
 Society, improved, 351.
 Soldiers and bounties, 355-6.
 Sons of Temperance, 356.

Union Congregational Society and Church
 formed, 353; Meeting-house, 353; Ministers
 of, 353.

Walker, Amasa, 356.
 Walker, Freeman, 350.
 Walsh, Rev. Michael, 354.
 War, French and Indian, 349.
 Ward, Hiram, 350; Oliver, 350.

WEST BROOKFIELD.

Against the Rebellion, 369-70.
 Ainsworth, Thomas, 359.

Barnes, John, 363.
 Boots, 369.
 Bounties, 370.
 Business, 368.
 Butter, 368.

Cemeteries, 371.
 Cheese, 368.
 Church History, 362-7.
 Church, Ministers of, 367.
 " Covenant, Extract from, 365.
 Clark, Rev. H. W., 368.
 Common, The, 371.
 Corsets, 369.

Dorcas Society, 371.
 Dunham, Rev. Samuel, 363.

Early Wars, 359.
 Education and Schools, 368.

Fales, John M., 369.
 Female Classical Seminary, 368.
 Foot, Rev. Joseph, 366.
 Foster Hill and other hills, 358.
 Foster, Hon. Jedediah, 363.

Game, 359.

Half-Way Covenant, 364.
 Harding, Rev. Elisha, 362.
 Hotels, 369.

Incorporation, 357.

Library, Public, 370.
 Lynde, E. B., 371.

Meeting-Houses, 363-4, 367.
 Merriam Family, 369.
 Methodist Church, 368; Ministers of, 368.
 Milk, 368.
 Ministry Lands, 364.

Newspapers, 369.

Old Squaw, 361.

Parsons, Rev. Joseph, 367.

Phelps, Rev. Eliakim, 366.

Philip, 359.

Printing, 369.

Prominent Persons, 376.

Quaboag Valley, 358.

Revolution, The, 362.

Scenery, Fine, 358.

Singular Shape of Town, 358.

Soldiers, 370.

Stone House, 358.

Tavern, Old Wait, 360.

Tories, 365.

Wait, John, 360 ; his brothers, 362.

Ward, Rev. Ephraim, 365.

Whigs, 365.

Wickaboag Lake, 358.

TOWN OF CHARLTON.

Acreage, 384.

Ante-Revolutionary, 375.

Baptist Church, 377.

Bay-Path, 379.

Beef for the Army, 376.

Blood, Isaiah, 375.

Boots and Shoes, 380.

Boundaries, 372, 374.

Campbell, Rev. Archibald, 377.

Calvinistic Congregational Church and Society, 377 ; Ministers of, 377.

Charlton Centre ; City ; Depot, 380.

Committee of Correspondence, 375.

Curtis, Rev. Caleb, 375, 377.

Davis, Jacob, 375.

Declaration of Independence, 375.

District, 374.

Dresser, Harvey, 380-1.

Farm Products, 384.

First Congregational Church and Society, 377.

Gore, The, 374.

Green, Rev. Nathaniel, 378.

Haven, Rev. John, 377.

Height of Land, 379.

Hills, 379.

Incorporation, 372.

Indian Hill, 381.

Land, strong and rich, 379.

Larned, Rev. Erastus, 377.

Lumber Mills, 380.

Marcy, Moses, 374.

Meeting-House, 375-6.

Methodist Church, First in Massachusetts, 378.

Military Discipline, 375.

Morseville, 380.

Morton, Dr. W. G. T., 383.

New House of Worship, 377.

Orcharding, 379.

Petition, 373.

Petitioners, Names of, 372-3.

Population, 384.

Preaching, 376.

Quimby, Rev. J. P., 379.

Rebellion, The, Soldiers and Bounties, 382.

Representatives, 383.

Ruter, Rev. Dr. Martin, 383.

Schools, 375, 381-2.

Senators, 383.

Size of the District, 374.

Situation, 372.

Soldiers in the Revolution, 376.

“ who died in the late war, 382.

Statistics, 384.

Stockwell, George A., 372.

Taxing Non-Residents, 379.

Towne, Gen. Salem, 383.

Town Officers, First, 374.

Tucker, Capt. Jonathan, 375.

Unitarians and Universalists, 377.

Unitarian Society, First, 379.

“ “ Ministers of, 377.

Villages, 380.

Voluntary Principle, 377.

Woolen Mills, 380.

Worship of God, 372.

TOWN OF CLINTON.

Agriculture, 406.
 Area and Surface, 385.
 Attendance at School, 395.
 Baptist Church, 398.
 Bigelow Carpet Company, 393, 403.
 Bigelow, Charles B., 404.
 " Erastus B., 385, 387, 401, 404, 406-9.
 " H. N., 401-3, 407.
 Bigelow Mechanics' Institute, 395.
 Boundaries, 385.
 Bowers, Rev. Dr. Charles M., 398.
 Business Prosperity, 391.
 Cemetery, 389.
 Check to Enterprise by the War, 391.
 Church of the Good Shepherd, 399; Rectors of, 399.
 Clinton Banks, 405-6.
 " Courant, 397.
 " Mill, 402.
 " Weekly Record, 397.
 Coach-Lace Loom, 401.
 Common, The, 400.
 Coulter, William J., 397.
 Dame, John T., 383.
 District Court, 400.
 Ellam, J. W., 397.
 Evening Schools, 394.
 Fire Department, 389, 400.
 First Industries, 390.
 Forbes, Franklin, 403, 407.
 Gas Company, 404.
 Gibbs Loom-Harness and Reed Company, 405.
 Grammar Schools, 394.
 High School, 394; Masters of, 394.
 Horn-Combs, 405.
 Horticulture, 406.
 Houses of Worship, 398.
 Impulse to Growth, 388.
 Iron Foundry, 405.
 Lancaster Mills, 402-3.
 Library, Joint Stock, 395.

Library, Public, 396; Room, 396; Volumes, 395.
 Light Guard, 406.
 Lumber-Mill, 405.
 Lyceum Association, 396.
 Machine Shop, 405.
 Manufacturers, 401.
 Masons, 400.
 Methodist Church, 398; Ministers of, 399.
 Moral and Religious Culture, 397.
 Nashua River, 385-6.
 Newspapers, 397.
 Odd Fellows, 400.
 Origin of Business, 387; of the Town, 385.
 Orthodox Church, 398; Ministers of, 398.
 Parkhurst, W. E., 397.
 Patriotic Feeling, 391.
 Ponds, 386.
 Population, 389-90.
 Public Buildings, 389.
 Public Property, 388.
 Quilt-Loom, 402.
 Railroads, 406.
 Reservoir Gave Way, 392.
 Roman Catholic Church, 399; Pastors of, 399.
 Schools, 393-4.
 Second Advent Church, 399.
 Serious Disaster, 392.
 Situation and Latitude, 385.
 Societies, Various, 400.
 Soldiers and Bounties, 391.
 Soldiers' Monument, 401.
 Streams, 386-7.
 Swan, C. L., 405.
 Tannery and Tanning, 393, 405.
 Taxable Lands, 387.
 Town Hall, 390, 406.
 Unitarian Society, 399; Pastors of, 399.
 Waters, Charles H., 404.
 Wire-Cloth Company, 404.

TOWN OF DANA.

Aunt Pratt, 410.
 Ballou, Hosea, 413.
 Baptist Church, 412.

Boundaries, 408.
 Box Company, 417.
 Bridgman's Fort, 411.

Earliest Settlement, 409.

Flax, 409.

Foster, Nathaniel, 409.

Gatfield, Benjamin, 410.

" Mrs., 411.

Great Frost, 417.

Grout, Hilkiah, 410.

Hills and Valleys, 408.

Horr, George W., 408.

Howe, Caleb, 410; Mrs. Howe, 411.

Incorporated, 408.

Indians, 411.

Johnson, Stephen, 418.

Keep, Rev. John, 414.

Lindsey, Dr. Marshall L., 417.

Lodge of Good Templars, 417.

Manufactures, 415.

Meeting-Houses, 410, 417.

Men of prominence, 419.

Merritt, Rev. E. W., 414.

Methodist Church, 414.

Names of landholders, 410.

Orthodox Church, 413; Ministers of, 414.

Officials, 418.

Palm-Leaf Hats, 416.

Piano-Forte Legs, 416.

Population, 417.

Railroad, 417.

Schools, 414.

Shakerism, 414.

Shays' Rebellion, 411-12.

Soldiers, 415-16.

Spotted Fever, 417.

Stone, Daniel, 419.

Stone Mill, 416.

Town Meeting, first, 410.

Universalist Society, 413; Ministers of, 413.

Wars: — The Revolution; War of 1812-15;
the Rebellion, 415.

Wheeler's Cave, 412.

TOWN OF DOUGLAS.

Ancient Hotels, 422.

Arrow-Heads, 421.

Axe Company, 429.

Axes, 428.

Band of Music, 427.

Bloody Fight, 423.

Bold Spirits in the Revolution, 422.

Boundaries, 420.

Briggs, Rev. Wm. T., 425.

Catholic Church, 426; pastors of, 426.

Congregational Church, 424; Ministers of,
425; Second, organized; Ministers of, 425.

Continental Money, 423.

Delphos, Rev. A., 426.

Divisions, 420.

Douglas, Dr. William, 420.

Dow, Rev. W. W., 425.

East Douglas Musical Society, 427.

Education, 426.

Elevations, 420.

Emerson, Wm. A., 420.

Face of the Country, 420.

Farming, 420.

Geology, 420.

Grants, 421.

Holman, Rev. David, 425.

Independence, 422.

Jennison, Samuel, 422.

Library Association, 427.

Lodges, 427.

Lyceums, Clubs, etc., 427.

Manufactures, 428.

Meeting-Houses, 424-5.

Methodist Episcopal, Reformed and Wesleyan
Churches; Ministers of, 425.

Mills, 429.

Minute-Men, 422.

Newspapers, 428.

Nipmuc Indians, 400.

Notable Families, 429.

Patriotism in the Rebellion, 424.

Phipps, Rev. Wm., 424.

Ponds, 420.
Population, 421.

Quakers or Friends, 425.

Right of Suffrage, 421.

School Fund, 420.
 " Houses, 427.
Shays' Insurrection, 423.
Shoddy-Mills, 429.
Squadrons, 426.
Stone, Rev. Isaac, 424.

TOWN OF DUDLEY.

Admissions to the Church, 436.
Apples, 431.
Area, 430.

Baker, Rev. Zephaniah, 430.
Bates, Rev. Dr. Joshua, 435.
Birds, 430.
Boundaries, 430.
Business, 440-1.

Clergymen, 442.
Congregational Church, Ministers of, 435.
Cows, 432.

Diseases, few, 432.
Domestic animals, 430-2.
Dundee, 440.

Early Families, 431.
Education, 437.
Eliot, Rev. John, 431.

Farm products, 431.
Fertility of land, 430.
Fish, 430.
Flora, 431.
Forty-Foot Wheel, 439.

Gleason, Rev. Charles, 432.
Gookin, Gen., 433.
Great Rogue, 442.

Hancock, Col. Wm., 438.
High School, 437.
Howe, Rev. Perley, 435.

Indians, 433-4; intemperate, 434; lost their land, 434.

Large Families, 433.
Lawyers, 441.
Location, 430.

Manners and Morals, 433.
Meeting-Houses, 432, 436-7.

Merino Wool Factory, 439.
Methodists, 436; Ministers, 437.
Middlesex, 443.
Moqua, John, Minister, 435.

Nichols Academy, 436-8.
Nichols, Amasa, 436.
Nipmucs, 434.

Officers chosen, 432.

Pegan Tribe, 433.
Perryville, 440.
Physicians, 441.
Politics, 442.
Ponds, 430.
Population, 430.
Prayer and Fasting, 432.
Preceptors, 438.

Railways, 431.
Rainfall, 431.
Rattlesnakes, 431.
Roads, 431.

Scenery, admirable, 430.
Schools, 441-2.
Sheep, 432.
Squaw sachem, 433.
Stevens Linen Works, 439.

Teacher, Joseph, 434.
Tillers of the Soil, 432.
Town Meeting, first, 432.
Tufts, Hon. George H., 438.
Tufts' Mills, 440.

Universalists, 436; Preachers, 437.

West Dudley, 440.
Wild Animals, 430.
Wild Geese, 430.
Williams, Rev. Abiel, 433, 435.
Wolcott, Rev. W., 436.

TOWN OF FITCHBURG.

Academy, 452, 464.	American Rattan Company, 490.
Agricultural Society, 460.	Area and Boundaries, 444.

- Arrow-heads, 445.
 Athenaeum, 459.
 Bailey, Eben, 444; G. F., 478.
 Banks, 492.
 Biographical, 494, 504.
 Board of Trade, 460.
 Bridges, 450, 463.
 Bullard, Rev. Ebenezer, 482.
 Burleigh Rock-Drill, 487.
 Business in Early Times, 461-2.
 " Increase of, 467.
 Catholic Chapel, 459.
 " Church, 459.
 Calvinistic Orthodox Church, 458.
 Chair Business, 489.
 Chapel, 459.
 Church erected, 461.
 Church organized, 454.
 City of Fitchburg, 467.
 Coal Indications, 445.
 Cotton Goods, 482-3.
 Cowden, Thomas, 495.
 Crocker, Alvah, 465, 499, 501.
 Daily Press, 465.
 Dean Hill, 455.
 Declaration of Independence, 473.
 Drafts, 481.
 Duck Mill, 483.
 Education, 451-2.
 Efforts to Divide the County, 477.
 Episcopal Church, 459.
 Families in 1764, 448.
 Farming, 467.
 Fitchburg Gazette, 463.
 " Réveille, 464.
 " Sentinel, 464.
 Fitch, John, captured, 446.
 Fox, Oliver, 497.
 Freewill Baptists, 458.
 Garrisons, 448.
 Government, Self, 468.
 Grain Business, 490.
 Incorporation, 448-9.
 Indian Hunters, 445.
 " Raids, 446.
 Instructions to Delegate, 470.
 Insurance Companies, 493.
 Iron Business, 484-5.
 Kimball, Col. J. W., 480.
 Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, 481.
 Lead, Powder and Flints, 471.
 Library, Public, 459.
 Loan Association, 493.
 Manufacturing Pioneers, 482; Capital, 491.
 Marshall, Jonas, 497.
 Masonic Lodges, 460.
 Meeting-Houses, 453-6, 458.
 Memorial to the Soldiers, 481.
 Metals, Precious, 445.
 Methodist Church, 458.
 Mica-Slate, Gneiss and Granite, 444.
 Miles, Eugene T., 503-4.
 Military, 493-4.
 Mills, 482.
 Minister's Salary, 475.
 Minute-Men, 470-1.
 Money and Soldiers, 479.
 Monument, Soldiers', 467.
 Nashua River and other Streams, 445.
 " " a Blessing, 482; a Nuisance, 456.
 Newspapers, Extinct, 465.
 Officers of the Town, 450.
 Old Cemetery, 454.
 " City, 455.
 Orthodox Church, 457.
 Page, David, 447.
 Paper Currency, 473-4.
 Paper-making, 487-8.
 Payson, Rev. Phillips, 454, 471-2.
 Philosophical Society, 459.
 Physicians, 497.
 Political Matters, 477.
 Population, 468.
 Preaching, 453-4.
 Prices Fixed, 474.
 Proposed New Town, 456.
 Putnam Machine Company, 485-6.
 Putnam, Salem W., 501-3.
 Railroads, 465.
 Rebellion, The, 478; Soldiers raised, 480.
 Relief Committee, 481.
 Religious Differences, 457.
 Resistance to the British Ministry, 468.
 Revolution, Soldiers in, 472.
 Roads, 461.
 Rollstone and other Hills, 444.
 " Congregational Church, 459.
 School Children, 453; Districts, 451-2.
 Scythes, 487.
 Second Adventists, 459.

Second Congregational Church, 459.
 Settlers, First, 447-8.
 Shays' Rebellion, 476.
 Snow, C. H. B., 482.
 Soil, Good, 444.
 Soldiers from Lancaster, 446.
 Spring, Rev. L. W., 459.
 Surface, 444.

Tea, 469.
 Temperance Organizations, 460.
 Thurston, Rev. Asa, 497-8.
 Torrey, Ebenezer and Rufus, 498.
 Town Meeting, First, 450.

Unitarian Church, 457.
 Universalist Church, 459.
 Upton, Col. Edwin, 479.
 Valuation in 1771, 451; valuation, 468.
 Various Societies, 459.
 Village Baptist Society, 458.
 Villages, The, in 1835, 462.

Water Works, 466.
 Whitney, Rev. Peter, 453.
 Wood, Nathaniel, 498; Moses, 504.
 Woolen Business, 483-4.
 Worcester County Courier, 463.
 " " Star, 463.

TOWN OF GARDNER.

Address to President Jefferson, 508.
 Anti-Slavery, 522.
 Artificial Ponds, 506.

Bands of Music, 513.
 Banks, 510.
 Baptist Church, 523.
 Bass-Viol, 521.
 Bounded, 505.
 Bounties, 516-17.
 Burying-Yard, 507.
 Business Men, Prominent, 509-10.

Catholic Church, 523.
 Cemeteries, 511.
 Chair Business, 508.
 Common, The, 507.
 Congregational Church, 522.
 Cooperage, 507.
 Cost of the War, 517.
 Crystal Lake, 506.

Education, 518.
 Elevation of Land, 505.
 Evangelical Church, 522.

Farming, 506.
 Fire Companies, 512.
 First Congregational Church, 523.
 First Settlers, 507.

Gardner News, 511.
 G. A. R. Post, 512.

Herrick, Rev. Wm. D., 505.
 Heywood, Levi, 524.
 High School, 519-20.
 Hills, 506.

Incorporation, 505.

Lincoln, Dr. Nathan S., 524.
 " Rev. I. S., 522.
 Lodges, 512-13.

Meeting-Houses, 507, 520-3.
 Men of Note, 524.
 Methodist Church, 523.
 Military Companies, 512.
 Minute-Men, 512.
 Musical Association, 513.

Osgood, Rev. Jonathan, 508, 522.
 Otter River, 505-6.

Parish and Town, 520.
 Political Matters, 507.
 Population, 506, 508.

Railroads, 508.
 Rebellion, The, 514-17.
 Roads, 511.
 Rough and Hilly, 505.

School-Houses, 519.
 School Squadrons, 518.
 Soldiers in the Rebellion, 517.
 " " Revolution, 514.
 Statistics of Business, 509.

Temperance Cause, 513-14.
 Town Poor, 511.

Universalist Church, 523.

Volunteers, 515-16.
 Water-shed, 505.
 Wood, Moses, 524.

TOWN OF GRAFTON.

- Against the Rebellion, 533-5.
 Banks, 543.
 Baptist Church, 538; Second, 539.
 Bible, its history, 538.
 Biographical, 544-5.
 Biscoe, Rev. Thomas C., 538.
 Boundaries, 525.
 Brigham, William, 533.
 Burying-Ground, 528.
 Cemeteries, 537.
 Church and School, 528, 539.
 Church of Christ, First, 538.
 Clocks, 543.
 Church in Saundersville, 539.
 Cotton Mills, 542-3.
 Carriers, 541.
 Eliot, Rev. John, 527.
 Farnumsville, 537.
 Fire, The, 534.
 Fire Department, 533.
 Fisher Mills, 542.
 Freewill Baptists, 539.
 French and Indian Wars, 530.
 G. A. R. Post, 543.
 Gookin, Major Daniel, 526.
 Grosvenor, Daniel, 531, 538.
 Hassanamisco, 526.
 High School, 540-1.
 Hills, 526.
 Howe, Rev. E. Frank, 536.
 Hutchinson, Rev. Aaron, 538.
 Incorporation, 529.
 Indians, 526, 530.
 Indian Burying-Ground, 537; Deed, 528.
 James Printer, 527.
 Lawyers, 543.
 Leather, 541.
 Leland, Joseph, 536.
 Library, 533; Public, 533-5.
 Lighting the Streets, 536.
 Linen Mill, 542.
 Lodges, 543.
 Manufacturers of Leather, 541.
 Meeting-House, 528, 537-9.
 Men of prominence, 544-5.
 Methodist Church, 539.
 Mill-Privileges, 529.
 Ministers, Names of, 538-9.
 Monument to Soldiers, 534.
 National Centennial, 536.
 New England Village, 536.
 Nipmucks or Nipnets, 526.
 Park, 533.
 Parish and Town, 539.
 Physicians, 543.
 Population, 536.
 Prentice, Rev. Solomon, 538.
 Queen Ann's War, 530.
 Railway, 536.
 Reserves for Indians, 530.
 Revolutionary War, 531; Soldiers in, 531.
 Rivers, 525-6.
 Roads, 521.
 Rock Mill, 541.
 Roman Catholics, 539.
 Saundersville, 537.
 Scandlin, Rev. W. G., 534.
 School-Houses, 528, 540.
 Shays' Rebellion, 532.
 Soldiers in the late War, 534.
 State Senators, 544.
 Surface and Soil, 526.
 Tea Question, 531.
 Town Map, 532.
 " Poor Farm, 533.
 Training Field, 528.
 Unitarian Church, 539.
 Valuation, 536.
 Villages, 536.
 War Debt, 532.
 " of 1812-15, 532.
 Wheeler, Ebenezer, Jr., 530.
 Windsor, Rev. John H., 535, 538.
 Woolen Business, 532.

TOWN OF HARDWICK.

- Allen, Dea., Rhymes of, 548.
 Anti-Rebellion, 557.
 Baptist Society and Church, 555.
 Bisbee, Rev. John, 555.

Bounties to Soldiers, 557.
 Brown, Rev. William D., 555.
 Burial-Place, 548.
 Burt, Rev. E., 555.
 Butter, 516.

Carpenter, Dr. Joel, 551.
 Carpenter, Nathaniel, 549.
 Catholic Church, 556.
 Cheese, 566.
 Church organized, 549; additions, 555; divided, 555.
 Constitution Makers, 553-4.

Education, 554.

Farms, good, 556.
 Farm Products, 556.
 First improved lots, 548.
 French and Indian Wars, 551.
 Furnace erected, 548.

Galleries, 550.
 Gilbertville, 555-6.
 Glazier, Rev. Joseph, 555.
 Goldsburry, Rev. John, 554-5.
 Grant, The, 548.
 Green, Samuel, 547.
 Grist-Mill, 548.

High School, 554.
 Hill Country, 546.
 Holt, Rev. Thomas, 555.

In the Revolution, 549.

Lamb, Joshua, 547.
 Lambstown, 547.
 Land purchased, 547.
 Liberty, spirit of, 554.
 Longevity, 556.

Mandell, Paul, 552-3.
 Meeting-House, 548-9.
 " Party, 555.

Men of Money, 553.
 Merrick, Rev. John, 555.
 Methodist Church, 556.
 Minister, Pay for, 548.
 Ministers, Names of, 555.

New Lights, 550.

Officers chosen, 549.
 " Military, 553.
 Orthodox Party, 555.

Page, Dea. C., 549; Rev. Dr. Lucius, 555;
 " Nathaniel, 547.

Pews, 550.
 Ponds and Brooks, 546.
 Population, 556.
 Prominent Men, 557.
 Psalm-Books, 550.

Rebellion, The Shays, 554.
 Roads, 547.
 Robinson, Thomas, 552.
 Ruggles, Benjamin, 552.
 " Gen. Timothy, 547, 550-2.
 " Rev. Timothy, 547-8.

Safford, Challis, 551.
 Salary of Mr. White, 549.
 Schools, 554.
 Separates, 550.
 Statistics of Education, 554.
 Steeple built, 550.

Town Incorporated, 546.
 Town, Votes of, in the War, 557.
 Tract of land purchased, 547.

Union Church, 555.
 Universalists, 555.

Ware River, 547.
 Wesson, Rev. W. B., 555.
 Wombmesisecook, 547.

TOWN OF HARVARD.

Agriculture, 567.
 Aid Society, Soldiers', 569.

Baptist Church, 563-4.
 Bear Hill Pond, 561.
 Beautiful Scenery, 558.
 Boundary and situation, 558.
 Bounties, 568.
 Brownfield School, 565.
 Burying-Place, 562.

Buying a Minister, 560.

Church formed, 559.

Education, 565.
 Elders, Baptist, 564.
 Emerson, Rev. Wm., 560.

Family Names, Old, 558.
 Farms, 567; excellent, 567.

Farm products, 567.
 Fisher, Rev. George, 566.
 Fruit-Trees, 567.

Gardner, Rev. A., 561.
 Garrisons, 561.
 Grosvenor, Rev. E., 560.
 Gurney, Rev. John H., 566.

Harvard, Rev. John, 558.
 Hell Pond, 561.
 Hills, 560.
 Houses, number of, 567.

Incorporation, 558.
 Indian Wars, 562.
 Indignation against the British Ministry, 562.
 Ireland, Shadrack, 564-5.

Johnson, Rev. Daniel, 560.

Liberty and Union, 568.

Meeting-House, 558.
 Mills, paper, 567.
 Mineral indications, 560.

Nashua River, 561.

Original Lancaster, 558.
 Orthodox Church, pastors of, 566.

Parker, Elder Isaiah, M. D., 563.
 Peculiar people, 565.
 Poems of Mr. Seccombe, 559.
 Ponds, 561.
 Powder and ball, 562.

Revolutionary veterans, 563.
 Round, Rev. Daniel, 564.

Samson, Rev. Abishai, 564; Rev. Dr., 569
 School Money, 561-2.
 Seccombe, Rev. John, 559-60, 562.
 Shakers, 564.
 Soil, 567.
 Springs and brooks, 561.
 Still River, 561, 563.

Training field, 562.

Unitarian Ministry, 566.

Volunteers, 568.

War of the Rebellion, 568.
 Wheeler, Rev. Joseph, 560.
 Willard, Henry, 563, 569.
 " Lemuel, 563.
 " Luther, 569.
 " Maj. Samon, 563, 569.
 " Neighborhood, 561.
 " Rev. John B., 569.

TOWN OF HOLDEN.

Acreage, 570.
 Acting Pastors, 577.
 Anti-Rebellion, 573.
 Associations and Clubs, 582.
 Avery, Rev. Joseph, 575.

Baptist Church, 577.
 " Ministers, 577.
 Bardwell, Rev. Dr. H., 575.
 Boundaries, 570.
 Bullets and flints, 572.

Catholic Church, 578.
 Census, 572.
 Churches, 574.
 Church fund, 575.
 Cloth, yards of, 581.

Damon, Maj. Isaac, 570-1.
 " Rev. Dr. S. C., 582.
 " Samuel, 580.
 Davis, Rev. Joseph, 575.

Earthquake, 581.
 Education, 578.

Factories, 579-81.
 First Settlers, 572.

G. A. R. Post, 574.
 Griffin, Rev. Thomas, 578.

Hall, Theron E., 574.
 Heard, Thomas, killed, 573.
 Hills and valleys, 570-1.
 Holden Rifle Company, 573.
 Holder, Samuel, 570.

Incorporation, 570.

Lovell, Dea. John, 580.

Mack, Miss Sarah M., 576.
 Manufactures, 579.
 Marshall, Rev. Thomas, 577.

Meeting-House, 574, 577.
Men in the late War, 573.
Military affairs, 572.

North Worcester, 570.
Noted Men and Women, 582-3.

Orthodox Ministers, 575.
Owners of Mills, 579-80.

Paine, Rev. Dr. William Pitt, 575-6.
Railroad, 581.
Revolutionary Soldiers, 573.
Rice, Jonas, 572.
Roads, 581.

Salary of Minister, 575.
Schools and Schoolmasters, 578.
Soldiers' Monument, 574.
 " Names of, 574.
Streams, 571-2.
Surface, 570.

Tornado, 581.
Town Hall, 581-2.

Villages, 579-80.

Webb, Capt. George, 573.
Welsh, Rev. Thomas, 578.

TOWN OF HUBBARDSTON.

Agriculture, 592.
Anti-Rebellion, 588.
Area, 584.

Bears, 585.
Beginnings, 583.
Bellows, Muzzy, Woods, 587.
Boot and Shoe Business, 594.
Boundaries and Situation, 581.
Brown, Eleazar, 585.

Card-board, 593.
Cattle, Herds of, 587.
Church formed, 588-9.
Constitution, State, 588.
Coopers, 593.
Copperas, 593.

District, 586.
Dwight, Rev. W. E., 591.

Early Settlers, 585, 587.
Elevation, 584.
Evangelical Congregational Society, 590.

First Congregational (Unitarian) Church, 590.
First Officers, 583.

Gay, Rev. Samuel, 590.
Green, Israel, 585.

High School, 592.
Hubbard, Thomas, 586.
Hunters, 585.

Indians, 584.

Kendall, Rev. David, 589-90.

Lee, Abner, 585.
Loyalty, 588.
Lumbering, 593.

Mail Route, 594.
Meeting-Houses, 589, 591.
Methodist Church, 590-1.
Mills, 592.
Minute-Men, 594.

Names of Orthodox Ministers, 590.
 " Unitarian " 590.
North-east Quarter, 585.

Owners, Original, 584.

Parker, Rev. Nehemiah, 588-9.
Population, 586.
Postmasters, 594.
Post-Office, 590.
Potash, 593.

Salary of Minister, 589.
Schools, 591-2.
Soldiers in the Revolution, 588.
Spirit in the Revolution, 587.

Tannery, 593.
Tinware, 593.

Waters, 584.
Whitman, Rev. Joseph, 591.
Wild beasts, 585.
Willard, Samuel, Jr., 585.
Wolves, 586.
Wood, Capt. John, 588.

TOWN OF LANCASTER.

- Academy, 610.
 Acreage, 614.
 Adams, Pres., 607.
 Adventists, Seventh-Day, 612.
 Agriculture, 614.
 Area, large, 596-7.
 Attack in five places, 600.
- Balls and Powder, 606.
 Bancroft, George, 613.
 Banks, 614.
 Bartol, Rev. George M., 610.
 Beautiful Scenery, 597.
 Bounties, 608.
 Bridges and Roads, 612-13.
 Bunker Hill Battle, 607.
- Canada Expedition, 603.
 Cannon, 604.
 Captives, 600-1.
 Carnage, awful, 601.
 Carter, James G., 610.
 Cemeteries, 614.
 Church formed, 598, 604.
 Clay beds, 615.
 Cuba, Soldiers in, 604.
- Destruction of the Town, 599-600.
 Distinguished Persons, 615.
 Dolefullest day, 600.
- Early Settlers, 598; intelligent, 608.
 Education, 608.
 Eighty Men enlisted in 1777, 607.
 Elms, 615.
 Evangelical Congregational Church, 611.
- Families, Names of, 599.
 Farmers' Club, 614.
 Farming, 614.
 Fay, Francis B., 613.
 First Town in the County, 591.
 Fish, 597.
 Fort Dummer, 604.
 Fortified Houses, 599.
 Freeman, 598.
- Gardner, Rev. A., killed, 603.
 Garrison on fire, 600.
 Garrisons in 1704, 604.
 Gates, Capt. Thomas, 606.
 George Hill, 601.
 Godly Minister, 596.
 Good Reading, 613.
- Grammar School, 609.
 Grand Carouse, 601.
- Harrington, Rev. Timothy, 605.
 Hell-hounds, 600.
 Heroes of Lancaster, 604.
 High School, 612.
 Highways, 612.
 Historic Fictions, 602.
 Houghton, Capt. B., 606.
 Hotels, 614.
- Incorporation, 595-6.
 Increase of people, 597-8.
 Indians, 596.
 Indian attack, 599.
 Indian massacre and burning, 602-4.
 Industrial School for Girls, State, 612.
 Intervales, 597.
 Iron Bridges, 613.
- Killed, Number of, 600.
 King William's War, 603.
- Ladies' Aid, 608.
 Lancaster against the Rebellion, 607.
 " in the Revolution, 606.
 Landscape, 615.
 Libraries, 613-14.
 Long Pastorates, 605.
 Loose Spirits, 596.
 Louisburg, 604.
- Manufactures, 614.
 Meeting-House, 603.
 Memorial Hall, 614.
 Men of Ingenuity, 615.
 Minerals, 615.
 Ministers, Orthodox, 611.
 " Universalist, 611.
- Nashaway, 596.
 Nashua River, 597.
 New Jerusalem Church, 611-12.
 New Towns, 606.
 Normal Institute, 610.
- Officers of Banks, 614.
 Offices, Post, 614.
 Oldest Town, 595.
- Packard, Rev. Charles, 611.
 Parker, George A., 613.
 People Killed, 604.
 Philip, King, 599.

Plunder, Burning and Torture, 600-1.
Prentice, Rev. John, 604-5.
Prescott, John, 596.
Printing, 614.

Railroads, 614.
Read and Write, Ability to, 599.
Ripe for Independence, 606.
Roman Catholics, 612.
Roper, Mrs., killed, 600.
Rowlandson, Mrs., 599-600.
 " Rev. Joseph, 598-9.
Russell, Prof. Wm., 612.

Sabbath Days, Cheerful, 599.
Sawyers and Biglo captured, 604.
Schools, 608.
Sears, Rev. E. H., 610.
Sholan, sachem, 596.
Social Life, 598.
Stearns, Miss Deborah, 613.
Stebbins, Rev. M. C., 610.

Takanto Purchase, 5 7.
Teachers, Distinguished, 610.
Thayer, Nathaniel, 613-14.
 " Rev. Dr. N., 605, 610.
Town Officers in 1801-5, 607.

Unitarian Views, 605.
Universalist Society, 610.

Volunteers, 608.

Washaeum Pond, 596.
Washington, President, 607.
Welcome to new Comers, 597.
White, Capt. John, 604.
Whiting, Rev. John, killed, 603.
Whitney, Abel, 601.
 " Miss Mary, 613.
Willard, Maj. Simon, 595.
Wise Men, 596.

Young Men's Christian Association in 1748, 605.

TOWN OF LEICESTER.

Academy, 627-8.
Agriculture, 631.

Banks and officers, 632.
Baptist Churches, 623.
 " Ministers, Names of, 624.
Boundaries, 618.
Business Men, 631-2.

Cedar Swamps, 617.
Church formed, 620.
Cogswell, Capt. John D., 630.
Company, Military, 630.
Conditions of purchase, 617.
Conklin, Rev. B., 622.
Coolidge, Rev. A. H., 623-4, 629.

Denison, Rev. A. C., 623.
Dr. Lamb's "Physical Authors," 619.

Early Residents, 618.
Episcopal Church, 624.
 " Ministers, 625.

Factories, 631-2.
Farmers, 618.
Foster, Rev. Dr. B., 623-4.
French and Indian Wars, 628.

Goddard, Rev. David, 621.
Green, Elder Thomas, M.D., 623.

Hall, Memorial, 630-1.
Height of Land, 618.
Heroes in the Revolution, 629.
Hills and Valleys, 618.
Historians and Annalists, 616.

Indian Women, 617.

Jews, 625-6.

Lawton, Dr., 619.
Library, 632.
Lopez, Aaron, 626.
Lots for Ministry and Schools, 617.

May, Rev. Samuel, 618, 625.
Mechanics, 618.
Meeting-House, 619-20.
Methodists, 625.
Money for the War, 630.
Moore, Rev. Dr., 622.
Muencher, Rev. Joseph, 624.

Nelson, John, Rev. Dr., 623.
 " Mrs. Dr., 630.

Oraskaso, sachem, 617.

Panoramic Views, 618.
Parsons, Rev. David, 620-21.
Ponds, 618.
Purchasers of Territory, 617.

Quaker Meeting-House, 624.

Quakers or Friends, 624.

“ Leading Men, 624.

Rattlesnakes, 628.

Rebellion, The, opposed, 630.

Revolutionary Spirit, 628.

Roads, 619.

Roberts, Rev. Joseph, 621.

Roman Catholics, 625.

Schools, 625-7.

Settlement, 617.

Shays' Rebellion, 630.

Strawberry Hill, 617.

Territory bought of Indians, 616.

Town Meeting, First, 618.

“ Officers-chosen, 618-19.

Towtaid, Indian Name, 617.

Troops in 1861-5, 630.

Unitarian Society and Ministers, 625.

Venerable Women, 632-3.

War History, 628-31.

Washburn, Col. Seth, 628-9.

“ Hon. Emory, 617.

Wolf-Pit, 619.

Wolves, 628.

“ You Pray, and I'll Fight,” 629.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 996 503 6